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HISTORY OF CHANNELKIRK



CHANNELKIRK CHURCH

[Frontispiece]

HISTORY OF CHANNELKIRK

BY

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Minister of the Parish

WITH FULL-PAGE ILLUSTRATIONS

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Dedication

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED TO

JAMES A. NASMYTH, Esq.

MIDDLEBANK, DUNFERMLINE

WITH EVERY EXPRESSION OF AFFECTIONATE RESPECT

PREFACE

THE following chapters had their origin in the idea of "Church Defence." In 1892, an agitation became general throughout the Church with reference to the question of its Disestablishment; and in Lauderdale, as elsewhere, its influence became paramount, and almost simulated a phase of panic. The writer ventured to believe that, as a rule, more harm than good is done when platform and political tactics are adopted to accomplish moral and spiritual ends; but far from waiving responsibility in the cause of national religion, and convinced that the Church can only be safe when her principles, her work, and her character are respected, it seemed to him a duty to try, in his own parish, to effect, if possible, somewhat of this desirable result, and by methods which appeared to him to promise as enduring success as those which were then in vogue. The book is a humble contribution towards this purpose. True, it is an indirect and slow method: in the nature of things it must be so: but even when the immediate end to be compassed is chiefly conditioned by political action, an increased public interest in a Church and Parish, sustained by the records of their ancient traditions, may make itself long felt through many channels. It is also a method to

which local sympathies are peculiarly susceptible, for men of all shades of opinion and faith pay homage to the past; and, at least, it is always above those irritable and divisive feelings which spring so disastrously from sectarian or denominational action pressed along the lines of party politics.

The writer claims no merit in the work save that of trying to be faithful in the collection, compilation, and arrangement of his materials. The narrative has grown from a single lecture, delivered in Oxton Schoolroom, to about a score of people. Approximately, one half of the book deals with the Church, and the other half with the places in the parish. It is hoped that thereby one may be able to gratify a particular interest without requiring to peruse the whole.

The warmest gratitude is due to many kind friends who have, one and all, given ready and invaluable aid. It would be impossible, of course, to give details, but important help has come from Principal Story, Glasgow; the late Professor Mitchell, St Andrews; Professor W. W. Skeat, Cambridge; Professor T. York-Powell, Oxford; Professor Mackinnon, Edinburgh; Professor J. Rhys, Oxford; Rev. Dr James Gammack, West Hartford, Connecticut, U.S.A.; the late Dr Hardy, Old Cambus; William Aitken, Esq., retired Classical Master, Strathkinness, St Andrews; John Ferguson, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., Writer, Duns; John C. Brodie, Esq., & Sons, W.S., Edinburgh, etc., etc.

A special meed of praise is due the librarians and assistants in the Advocates' Library, the Signet Library, the Museum of Antiquities, and the Public Library, Edinburgh; also to those of the University Libraries of St Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, and the Free Library,

Dundee. Their disinterested kindness and intelligent helpfulness have placed the writer under the deepest obligations. The same falls to be said as emphatically with regard to the officials in H.M. Register House, Edinburgh. In the Historical, Record, and Teind Departments, the able and necessary aid, freely and ungrudgingly bestowed by all, can only be mentioned in terms of the heartiest gratitude. Earlstoun Presbytery, the Heritors of the Parish, and Lauder Magistrates, for records lent; local authorities, local working-men, and others who have contributed items of interest regarding the people and places of the district, are all warmly remembered here.

The Illustrations have been specially prepared for the book by the firm of Hislop & Day, Swinton Row, Edinburgh.

ARCHIBALD ALLAN.

MANSE OF CHANNELKIRK,

May 1900.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

	PAGE
Natural Agencies—Geological View of Lauderdale—Twice a Valley—The Leader—Prehistoric Man—Stone and Bronze Ages—Population of the Dale in the Second Century—Iberians—Goidels—Brythons—Picti—Scotti—Saxons—Cuthbert—Kingdom of Bernicia—War and Religion—A Common Faith—Lauderdale in Cuthbert's Day—Coming of Cuthbert to Channelkirk—Norse Names in Upper Lauderdale—Lauderdale in England—Parish Boundaries of Channelkirk—The Lords of Lauderdale,	1

CHAPTER I

THE NAME

"Channelkirk"—Theories regarding the Origin and Derivation of the Name—Its Form at Various Dates—Chalmers' View—The <i>Irish Life</i> of St Cuthbert—Cuthbert in Channelkirk—The Church Raised in Honour of the "Childe" Cuthbert—Dryburgh Abbey Charters and the Dedication—Bishop De Bernham—The Priest Godfrey—Hugh de Morville as Patron—The Name and the Reformation—Its Local Forms, . . .	36
--	----

CHAPTER II

THE CHARTERS

The first Charter in the <i>Liber de Dryburgh</i> —The De Morville Family—The Patron Saint of Channelkirk—Godfrey the Priest and Hugo de Morville—Extent of De Morville's Estate in Lauderdale—Kirk Lands near Pilmuir—Lauderdale in the Thirteenth Century—Its Devout Men and their Gifts to Channelkirk Church—Gifts "In Perpetuum"—An Era of Bequests to Holy Mother Church—Supposed Atonement for National Sin—Thomas of Collielaw—Ancient Agricultural Life—The Domus de Soltre and Channelkirk Church—Fulewithnes—Glengelt Chapel—The Veteriponts—Carfrae Chapel—The Sinclairs—Premonstratensian Order—Dedication of Channelkirk Church, A.D. 1241—Then and Now,	52
--	----

CHAPTER III

THE PARISH KIRK OF LAUDERDALE

Ecclesiastical Disputes in the Thirteenth Century—The Lauder Case—Struggle for Teinds—Lord Andrew Moray—Eymeric, Lauder Priest—Judicial Proceedings—The Pope's Sentence and Suspension of Eymeric—Resistance of Eymeric—Final Settlement Concerning the Chapel of Lauder—Channelkirk Church, the Mother and Parish Church of the Whole Valley—Triumph of Dryburgh Abbey—The "Parish" of the Twelfth Century—First Mention of Lauder Church—Its Patrons—Channelkirk Priests and Lauder—Lauder Church or Chapel—Its Status before the Reformation,	81
--	----

CHAPTER IV

THE MINISTERS AND THEIR TIMES

Before the Reformation.

Godfrey, the Priest—Cuthbert and the Holy Water Cleuch—The First Minister in Channelkirk and Lauderdale—The First Church—Cuthbert's Fame—Five Hundred Years of Historical Darkness—Channelkirk Priest in the Twelfth Century—Papal Taxation—King Edward I. in Lauderdale—The Priests Serving Channelkirk and Lauder—Troublous Times—Lauder Brig—Moorhousland and Lauderdale—Social Life in the Fifteenth Century—Corruption of Church and Clergy—Reformation,	106
---	-----

CONTENTS

xiii

CHAPTER V

THE MINISTERS AND THEIR TIMES—*continued*

After the Reformation

PAGE

Seven Years after the Reformation—Ninian Borthuik—John Gibsoun, Reader—Alexander Lauder—King James VI. and I., and Episcopacy—Famine—Allan Lundie—Francis Collace—Henry Cockburn—Report on Church and Parish in 1627—The Teinds—Knox's Indictment against the Scottish Nobility—Lord Erskine—Suspension and Deposition of Cockburn—Suffers "great miserie"—Preaches at Earlston—His Lawsuit—His Restoration to Channelkirk—His Death,	135
---	-----

CHAPTER VI

THE MINISTERS AND THEIR TIMES—*continued*

After the Reformation

Professor DAVID LIDDELL—Cromwell's Soldiers at Channelkirk—At Lauder and Bemersyde—First Glimpse of Channelkirk People—The Kirk Records—Divine Right of Kings, Prelacy, and Presbyterianism—Terror and Desolation—Divot Renovation of Kirks—Collections and Old Customs—The Lord's Supper—Liddell's "Laus Deo" and Promotion—WALTER KEITH—Earlston Presbytery and Prelatic Presbyterianism—Kirkton on Keith—WILLIAM ARROT—Received into Presbyterian Communion from Prelacy—His High Character—Called to Montrose,	159
--	-----

CHAPTER VII

THE VACANCY

An Ecclesiastical Five Years' War—June 1697-Sept. 1702

Election of Ministers, Past and Present—John Story—Charles Lindsay, Lord Marchmont's Nominee—The Patron or The People?—The Presbytery and the Lord High Chancellor—John Thorburn—Case Referred to Synod—Referred to Commission of Assembly—New Elders—New Candidates—Presbytery Distracted—Foiled Attempt to Elect—Presbytery Obsequious to Lord Marchmont—William Knox—A Day of Decision—Heritors and Elders of Channelkirk—Election of Henry Home—Deplorable State of Religion—Presbytery to be Blamed—Culpability of Marchmont,	192
--	-----

CHAPTER VIII

THE MINISTERS AND THEIR TIMES—*continued*

	PAGE
HENRY HOME—The Records—Lithuania—Home as a Preacher—Public and Domestic Troubles—Libelled by Presbytery—Death Decides—The Rebellion of 1745—Cope's Halt at Channelkirk—Prince Charlie at Channelkirk—Church Discipline—DAVID SCOTT—Church Property—Scott's Description of the Church—Stipend Troubles—New School—Declining Health and Death—THOMAS MURRAY—Heresy Hunting—Recalcitrant Parishioners—Sabbath-Breaking—Becomes a Heritor—Stipend Troubles—Farmers in Channelkirk in 1800,	208

CHAPTER IX

THE MINISTERS AND THEIR TIMES—*continued*

Rev. JOHN BROWN—Characteristics—Stipend Troubles—Odious to Heritors—Litigation—Deficiencies in the Manse—Parsimony and Law-cases—Glebe Worries—Church Ruinous—Refuses to Preach—Church Courts—New Church—Muscular Christianity—Behaviour in Church—His Death—Rev. JAMES RUTHERFORD—Character—Ingenuous and Injudicial—Records—Assistants—Portrait—Rev. JAMES WALKER—Parish and Presbytery Complications—Testimony of the Records—Resignation and Emigration—Rev. JOSEPH LOWE—Student, Assistant, and Minister—Church Declension—Resignation,	236
--	-----

CHAPTER X

THE ELDERS, BEADLES, CHURCH, AND CHURCHYARD

Elders since 1650—Beadles since 1654—The Mortcloths—Salary—The Church—Style of Architecture—Mode of Worship—Kirk Bell—Rural Religion—Attendances at Church—The Roll—Church Patrons—The Churchyard—Consecration—Notable Tombstones—Resurrectionists,	256
---	-----

CONTENTS

xv

CHAPTER XI

THE STIPEND

	PAGE
Its "Bad Eminence" in Church Histories—In Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries—Worth and Wealth of the Monks—Dryburgh Abbey and the Titulars of Channelkirk—Stipend during the Years 1620-1900—Heritors and Agents—Cess Rolls,	291

CHAPTER XII

SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

Education, Priests, Protestants, and Acts of Parliament—Knox's Dream — First Glimpse of Channelkirk Schoolmaster — Nether Howden School—Patrick Anderson—Hugh Wilson —Carfraemill School—Andrew Vetch—John Lang—Cess for Schoolmaster's Salary—Lancelot Whale—Robert Neill—Channelkirk School and its Furnishings in 1760—John M'Dougall—Removal of School to Oxton—Nichol Dodds—Alexander Denholm—Alexander Davidson—Henry Marshall Liddell,	319
---	-----

CHAPTER XIII

THE BARONIES

Oxton—The Name, Origin, Meaning, and History—The Proprietors —Oxton "Territory"—Kelso Abbey—The Abernethies—The Setons—Home of Herniecleuch—Ugston and Lyleston—Heriots of Trabrown—The Templar Lands of Ugston—James Cheyne—James Achieson—Division of Ugston Lands —Wideopen Common—Inhabitants of Oxton—Trades in 1794 and in 1900—Gentry, Tradesmen, Merchants, etc., in 1825 and in 1866—Oxton Church—Societies,	354
---	-----

CHAPTER XIV

THE BARONIES—*continued*

The Name "Carfrae"—Ancient Boundaries of Carfrae Lands—The Sinclairs of Herdmanston —Serfdom at Carfrae —Division of Lands—The Homes—The Maitlands—The Haigs of Bemersyde and Hazeldean—The Tweeddales and Carfrae —Tenants—Robert Hogarth—The Wights—Headshaw—Herniecleuch—Hazeldean—Friarsknowes—Fairnielees—Hill-house—Kelphope—Tollishill,	402
--	-----

CHAPTER XV

THE BARONIES—*continued*

Hartside, the Name—Early Proprietors—Extent of Land— House of Seton—Nether Hartside—Clints—Over Hartside— Trinity College and the Superiority of Hartside and Clints— The Riddells of Haining—Barony of Hartside—Hepburn of Humbie—Hope of Hopetoun—Henryson—Dalziel—Borth- wick of Crookston—Lord Tweeddale—The Original Hartside— <i>Barony of Glenelt</i> —The Name—The Veteriponts and Mundevilles—The Lord Borthwick—Raid of Glenelt —Lawless Lauderdale—Hepburn of Humbie—The Ed- monstons—Sleigh—Cockburn—Robertson—Mathie— Hunter—Borthwick of Crookston—Tenants—The Den,	440
---	-----

CHAPTER XVI

COLLIELAW

The Name—Residence in 1206—Sir Vivian de Mulineys— Thomas the Cleric—The Borthwicks—The Heriots—Re- duplication of Place-Names—The Kers of Morristoun— House of Binning and Byres—Fairgrieve—Adinston of Carcant—The Scottish Episcopal Fund—Earl of Lauderdale —Tenants,	481
--	-----

CHAPTER XVII

AIRHOUSE—*Arowes, Arwys, Arus, Arrois, Arras, Aruts.*

The Name—Adam del Airwis—Strife at Arrois in 1476—The Hoppingles—The Heriots of Arrois—The Somervilles of Airhouse, 1654—"Arras, now called Airhouse," 1773—Kirk- Session Squabbles—Gloomy Days at Airhouse—Lord Lauder- dale—Situation and Area of Airhouse—Tenants—Parkfoot— Tenants,	500
--	-----

CHAPTER XVIII

OVER HOWDEN—KIRKTONHILL—JUSTICEHALL

	PAGE
Howden, the Name—In Oxtou Territory—Kirk Land—John Tennent—The Heriots—The Kers of Cesford—Sir Adam Hepburn, Lord Humble—John Sleigh—The Watherstones—The Polwarth Scotts—Justice of Justicehall—Dr Peter Niddrie—Situation and Area of Over Howden—Tenants.	
Kirktonhill—The Moubrays and Pringles—Murehous—The Lawsons of Humble—The Henrysons—Teind Troubles—The Watterstones—Captain Torrance—Robert Sheppard—His Peculiarities—William Patrick—Borthwick of Crookston—Area of Kirktonhill and Mountmill—Tenants—Redwick and Rauchy.	
Justicehall—Sir James Justice of Crichton—James Justice of Justicehall—Captain Justice—Miss Justice—Sir John Calender—Sir James Spittal—The “Halves” of Ugston—The Parkers—Situation and Area,	523

CHAPTER XIX

THREEBURNFORD—NETHER HOWDEN—BOWERHOUSE—
HERIOTSHALL

Threburneforde in 1569—Anciently called Futhewethynis or Fulewithnis—Trinity College, Edinburgh—Wedaleford—The Three Burns—The Borthwicks’ Possession—The Allans, Portioners—John Cumming, Minister at Humble—Alexander Pierie, Writer—The Falconers of Woodcote Park—The Taylors—Situation and Area—Tenants.	
Nether Howden—Kirk Lands—The Kers—The Mill—William Murray—The Achesons—William Hunter—Charles Binning—Rev. Dr Webster—Lord Tweeddale—The Tenants.	
Bowerhouse—The name—Possessed by the Borthwicks—Andro Law—Kers of Morriestoun—Charles Binning—The Thomsons—Fairholm—Lord Marchmont—The Earl of Lauderdale—The Robertsons—Ten Rigs—Situation and Area—Tenants.	
Heriotshall from 1742—The Two Husband Lands of Ugston—The Heriots—The Forty-Shilling Lands of Ugston—The Murrays of Wooplaw—Rev. Thomas Murray—The Dobsons—The Masons—Situation and Area—Tenants,	562

CHAPTER XX

THE MILLS

	PAGE
The Miller—Thirlage—The Mills of the Parish and their Sucken —Mill of Oston—Proprietary—Carfrae Mill—Adam the Mill- knave—Carfrae Mill Inn—Tenants—Area of Farm—Wiselaw Mill—History and Name—Tenants,	594

CHAPTER XXI

SHIELFIELD—OSTON MAINS—MIDBURN—BURNFOOT—
PARKFOOT—BRAEFOOT—ANNFIELD—INCHKEITH.

Shielfield—The Erskines—Over and Nether Shielfield—Kirk Land—Area and Situation; Oston Mains—Proprietors— Area, Situation and Tenants; Midburn—Soil and Area; Burnfoot—Carsemyres—Ugston Shotts—Tenants; Parkfoot; Braefoot; Annfield; Inchkeith,	614
---	-----

CHAPTER XXII

EXTINCT PLACES

Sumuindnight—Venneshende—Langsyde—Channelkirk Village— Muirhouse—Peasmountford—Pickieston—Old Collielaw— The Dass—Bain's Croft—Rigside—Midlie—Southfield— Butterdean—Longhope—Hillhouse—Dodfoot—Carfrae Common—Carfraegate—Upper Carfraegate—Headshaw Hauch—Ugston Shotts—Ten Rigs—Walker's Croft— Oston Brig End—Rednick—Alderhope—Rauchy—Long- cleuch—Herniecleuch—Hazeldean—The King's Inch—Malt- Barns,	629
---	-----

CHAPTER XXIII

ANTIQUITIES

The Camps—at Channelkirk—at Kirktonhill—at Hillhouse—at Carfrae; Carfrae Peel—Ancient Burial—Bowerhouse—Over Howden—Nether Howden—The Roman Road—The Girthgate—Resting House—Holy Water Cleuch—Stone Cross at Midburn—Curious Memorial Stone at Threeburnford —The Kirk Cross and Sundial—Old Roads,	639
---	-----

CONTENTS

xix

CHAPTER XXIV

CHANNELKIRK TO-DAY

	PAGE
The Lammermoors—Skelton and Carlyle—Area of Channelkirk Parish—Population from 1755—Industry—Soil and Sheep— Shepherding—The Farmers and the Land—The Agricultural Labourer—Prices of Stock in 1490 and 1656—The Game— The Weather—Our Public Men—The Railway,	674

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

CHANNELKIRK CHURCH	<i>Frontispiece</i>
DISTRICT AROUND OXTON VILLAGE (FROM THE WEST)	<i>Face page</i> 354
DISTRICT AROUND OXTON VILLAGE (FROM THE NORTH)	" 400
RUINS OF CARFRAE PEEL	" 402
NETHER HARTSIDE	" 440
GLENGELT	" 462
SITE OF OLD COLLIELAW	" 482
AIRHOUSE	" 500
OVER HOWDEN	" 524
KIRKTONHILL	" 536
THREEBURNFORD	" 562
BOWERHOUSE	" 580
MOUNTMILL, SITE OF THE "MILL OF ULFKILSTON"	" 600
CARFRAE MILL	" 604
CAMP AT KIRKTONHILL	" 648
CAMP AT HILLHOUSE	" 652
RESHILAW OR RESTING HOUSE	" 668
THE HOLY WATER CLEUCH	" 668
VIEW OF UPPER LAUDERDALE FROM ABOVE MOUNTMILL	" 674

HISTORY OF CHANNELKIRK

INTRODUCTION

Natural Agencies—Geological View of Lauderdale—Twice a Valley—
The Leader—Prehistoric Man—Stone and Bronze Ages—Population
of the Dale in the Second Century—Iberians—Goidels—Brythons—
Picti—Scotti—Saxons—Cuthbert—Kingdom of Bernicia—War and
Religion—A Common Faith—Lauderdale in Cuthbert's Day—Coming
of Cuthbert to Channelkirk—Norse Names in Upper Lauderdale—
Lauderdale in England—Parish Boundaries of Channelkirk—The
Lords of Lauderdale.

THE history of a parish, in the most extended sense, begins properly, not with its people, though the study of man is to men the first of studies, nor with its Church or the movements of religion, but with a consideration, however brief, of those natural forces which through vast ages have raised its hills, hollowed out its plains, sent forth and directed its streams, given to it soil and vegetation, and modelled its varied area into the general geographical conformation of landscape which is presented to the eye of the interested spectator. The profound researches of the past hundred and thirty years have happily rendered this a task of comparatively easy accomplishment. The earth as well as the heavens has sent forth a revelation, and the geological record has now proved itself no mere wild speculation, but a veritable apprehension of truth and fact, which, though

necessarily characterised by stupendous horizons proportionate to the gigantic changes effected within them, cannot henceforth be deemed unworthy a place on the same lofty eminence occupied by our most sacred beliefs. The Creator, long before Moses' day, wrote upon tables of stone.

When, however, we say that Channelkirk stands upon Lower Silurian rock, which composes generally the higher crests of the Lammermoor range, that Lauderdale is for the most part surrounded by hills of Upper Silurian composition, that the upper surface of the dale is of Old Red Sandstone lying upon a bed of Silurian, we are aware that we are touching upon spaces so vast and periods of time so remote as, for all historical purposes, to be beyond the ken of the boldest imagination. "The more the subject is pondered over," says an authority,* "the more remote does the first origin of the present topography become—the farther back are we led into the geological past, and the greater are the demands on our imagination in picturing to ourselves conditions of geography and forms of surface that preceded those which now prevail." When the Silurian rocks which now compose the hills of Lammermoor were being moulded in Nature's kneading trough, Lauderdale, like all Scotland, was deep under sea,† and though the hills on either side of the dale are only differentiated from the summits of Lammermoor by the respective terms of Lower and Upper Silurian, the periods of time embraced in their separate formation must be reckoned perhaps by millions of years. We should also grasp but a feeble view of the actual facts did we imagine that Lauderdale, with its graceful outline of mountain steep and winding glen, rose out of the bosom of the primitive

* *Scenery of Scotland*, p. 11., Sir A. Geikie. London, 1887.

† *Catalogue of Western Scottish Fossils*, p. 9. Glasgow, 1876.

ocean wearing the same contour and general aspect which we behold to-day. There is clear evidence that it has been twice a level expanse and twice a valley. Our best authority on the question thus discourses concerning it*: "It is interesting to note that, in some instances, the existing valleys coincide more or less markedly with valleys that were excavated in ancient geological times, and were subsequently buried under piles of débris. The depression that now forms the vale of Lauderdale, for example, is at least as old as the Upper Old Red Sandstone period. Even at that early time it had been worn out of the Silurian tableland. Masses of gravel and sand, washed down from the slopes on either hand, gathered on its floor. A little volcano, contemporaneous with the larger outbursts of the Eildon Hills and the Merse of Berwickshire, broke out at its upper end, but was at last buried under the accumulating heaps of detritus, which in the end filled up the valley and spread over the surrounding hills. In the course of later geological revolutions, this region has once more been upraised, denudation has been resumed, the Old Red Sandstone has been in great measure stripped off the hills, and at last the long hollow, once more exposed to the air, has again become a valley that gathers the drainage of the surrounding high grounds."

The view which, it seems, we must try to comprehend, is that, millions of years ago, what we now know as Lammermoor, Lauderdale, and Merse, was part of a vast plain composed of Lower Silurian deposit. The interior forces of the earth plicated this level sea-bottom so as to tilt and crumple and invert it in every conceivable way. Air, rain, springs, frost, and changes of temperature attacked these, and through many ages the first Lauderdale valley was formed by such

* *Scenery of Scotland*, p. 306.

processes of disintegration, or were, as Professor Geikie puts it, "worn out of the Silurian tableland." Then came the time when over all this the conglomerates and Lower Red Sandstone were placed, and the valley of Lauderdale made once more a level plain, to be raised subsequently to a height much higher than our present Lammermoor hills. Again, the frictional agents of the air, and the powers of heat, cold, and gravitation began to scoop out the valley, with the glens, the ravines, and the corries which we see to-day; and so vast has been the denudation that nearly the entire Red Sandstone deposit has been scoured off the Lammermoors. The vale of the Leader still retains a remnant of the stupendous deposit, but all the hills surrounding it show once more the Silurian or older rocks.

This, roughly, is the general conception of Lauderdale which geology gives to us. It is evident that the Leader water, in all its ramifications, has been the principal architect in laying down the direction of the dale, rounding the sombre summits of the hills, curving the hollows, planing the crests of the knolls, and slowly grooving through a bewildering period, the lovely vale to which it has given both name and character. The present river is as old, at least, as the Old Red Sandstone period. From what has been said it will be seen that the Lauderdale rocks are nearly all of aqueous formation. Notable exceptions, however, are found in Earlstoun Black Hill, and the hill north-east of Lauder between Earnscleuch and Blythe waters. These are known as trap hills of the species of felspar porphyry.* They are the chief exceptions to the almost unvarying graywacke and Old Red Sandstone rocks. The former consists generally of an aluminous

* See Bartholomew & Co.'s *Geological Map of Scotland*, 1892, and Milne's "Geology of Berwickshire" in *Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society*, vol. xi., 1837.

or argillaceous sandstone, sometimes of a reddish-brown, but for most part of a light greenish-blue colour. The graywacke strata are almost vertical throughout, running about due east and west. Verification of this can be proved at Soutra, Dodd's Mill, and Earlston. They seem to be, in this district, entirely destitute of organic fossil remains; but it appears * "a few specimens of graptolites have been found near Kelphope," and it is possible that many more may exist, as neither Lauderdale nor the Lammermoors have been exhaustively explored in this respect.

The Old Red Sandstone rocks completely fill the dale from side to side, running up into the various glens and lapping the sides of the Silurian hills like waves that had dashed up the valley and been fixed ere they could again recede. The village of Oxton, for example, stands on Old Red Sandstone, and the whole of Airhouse estate is, generally speaking, composed of this kind of rock. Wherever there is a hollow in the parish, especially on the edges of the dale, it is almost certain to be filled with Old Red Sandstone, while the heights surrounding such a hollow are as likely to be of graywacke. The Old Red Sandstone generally rests on a bed of conglomerate which is visible nearly all through Channelkirk parish in the bed of the Leader, and again from the neighbourhood opposite Trabrown, southwards almost to Carolside. Evidences of it are also seen in the Boon water, and that of Earnscluch. There are few fossils of any organic remains in the Upper Old Red Sandstone.

It is needless to say that at this period to which reference has been made man had not come upon the earth. Countless ages must have intervened before human history became possible in Lauderdale, and numberless geological changes

* James Wilson, Editor, Galashiels.

must also have visited the scene which now looks so peaceful and habitable and familiar to Borderers. In process of time, however, the solitary rule of natural forces became varied by human life, with all its marvellous latencies of progressive industry, civilised government, and exalted consciousness of immortality. Slowly the human brute began to apply his savage ingenuity to the capture of his prey, the destruction of his enemy, and the grinding of his food, and what we know as the Stone Age dawned upon the world. Early man discovered that instead of tracking his quarry to the earth by speed of foot, the well-directed flint arrow might as well serve his purpose. His foe abroad, and his family at home, experienced in a similar way this battle of the brain against resisting circumstances. In Lauderdale, this phase of mortal existence, as marked by both the Stone and Bronze Ages, has left a few traces of its presence. Stone and bronze axes, stone hammers, flint knives, flint arrow-heads, flint scrapers, bronze ingots, bronze bridle-bits, and such like found at Hillhouse, Over Howden, Bowerhouse, Longcroft, Lauder, Lauder Moor, and Earlston, attest the presence of aboriginal man on the banks of the Leader. From the fact also that these specimens are generally in Channelkirk parish found comparatively high up on the sloping sides of the dale, it seems a just inference that these implements were used at a remote date when the waters of the Leader flowed at that altitude, and had not eroded themselves down to their present level. This consideration, of itself, conveys a fair conception of the immense lapse of time that has transpired since man first found a home beneath the shadow of the Lammermoors.

It is with a sense of relief that in the second century of the Christian era we find ourselves within the purview of

historical human life, and see on even these far horizons the Celtic tribe of the Otadini populating broad territory, what is now Berwickshire and East Lothian, and consequently the vale of the Leader; and bequeathing to us, as seems worthy of all credence, not only the name of the river by which Lauderdale is known, but many a place-name and river-name on both sides of the Lammermoor range.

This people come before us originally, about 120 A.D., in the great work of the Roman geographer, Ptolemy, in which he curiously delineates the coasts of Scotland, marks the position of towns, describes the tribes in the interior, and denotes them by their names. Dr W. F. Skene and Professor Rhys have treated the subject so fully and learnedly that to follow them is to obtain the clearest light possible on these "dreary wastes of the past." The former says*: "A line drawn from the Solway Firth across the island to the eastern sea exactly separates the great nation of the Brigantes from the tribes on the north; but this is obviously an artificial line of separation, as it closely follows the course of the Roman wall, shortly before constructed by the Emperor Hadrian, otherwise it would imply that the southern boundary of three barbarian tribes was precisely on the same line where nature presents no physical line of demarcation. There is on other grounds reason to think that these tribes, though apparently separated from the Brigantes by this artificial line, in reality formed part of that great nation. These tribes were the Otalini or Otadeni and Gadeni, extending along the east coast from the Roman wall to the Firth of Forth." The Brigantes nation seem to have been a powerful one, and their name, says Rhys,† "would seem to have meant the free men or privileged race, as contrasted

* *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i., p. 71.

† *Celtic Britain*, p. 283.

with the Goidelic inhabitants." From the Brigantian people, it appears, who for most part north of the Cheviots were Otadeni, was derived the name *Bernicii*, the Latin form of the name known to Bede; which became, when used to denominate their country, *Bernicia*, the northern part of the kingdom of Northumbria in the seventh century or, roughly speaking, Berwickshire and East Lothian. The Otadeni were Brythons, or those who spoke the language of the people of Wales and the Bretons,* as distinguished from those who spoke the Gaelic of Ireland and the Scottish Highlands.† "They disappeared early, their country having been seized in part by the Picts from the other side of the Forth, and in part by the Germanic invaders from beyond the sea."

Briefly, the peoples who are reputed to have inhabited Lauderdale from a considerable time beyond the Christian era, were, first :—

The non-Celtic race that preceded the Goidels or Gaels and Brythons, who conquered it and probably enslaved it.‡ This race is by some called "Iberian" or "Basque," but there is some dubiety concerning this view. Professor Rhys§ believes that "Ivernian" would be a safer designation, and that it might be applied|| "to the non-Celtic natives of Britain as well as of the sister island." That this non-Celtic race, by whatever name known,¶ "spread over the whole of both of the British Isles," there appears to be little reason to doubt, as well from the expressed convictions of several ancient writers, as from an examination of prehistoric sepulchral remains. They are differentiated from succeeding races by their long cranial development, numerous skulls of this type

* *Celtic Britain*, p. 3.

† *Ibid.*, p. 222.

‡ *Celtic Scotland*, i., 164., "Origin of the Aryans," p. 92-101, Dr Isaac Taylor.

§ *Celtic Britain*, p. 265. || *Ibid.*, p. 266. ¶ *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i., p. 169.

being found in long barrows and chambered gallery graves in our country. They were a people that frequented caves, and buried their dead in them, and used stone implements.

Second, the Celts, who may have come at two distinct periods.* "The Goidels" (Gael) "were undoubtedly the first Celts to come to Britain." "They had probably been in the island for centuries when the Brythons, or Gauls, came and drove them westward." The Iberians were displaced or enslaved by the Gaels, and the Gaels in turn were subdued or routed by a branch of their own Celtic race, the Brythons.† It is these last that Cæsar is supposed to have seen and described. According to him, and writers such as Strabo, Tacitus, and Pomponius Mela, they were expert fighters, combining celerity with weight in their attacks, and the quick movements of cavalry with the compactness of infantry. They were adepts in the management of the chariot and hurling the dart. They stained themselves blue with woad, and were horrible in appearance. The hair was worn flowing, and they were clean shaven except the upper lip and the head. Parties of ten or twelve had wives in common. The tribes, under rule of kings, or say patriarchal chiefs, were continually at war one with the other. Their idea of a town or fortress was an enclosure with a tangled wood surrounding it, protected by a rampart and ditch. They built their huts inside this defence, and collected also their cattle there, but not for purposes of permanent, but only temporary, residence.

Third, the Brythons were in turn conquered by the Picts, who were of the Celtic branch known as Gaels.‡ They superseded the Brythonic Otadini, and formed the population of the Otadini district during the fifth and sixth centuries.

* *Celtic Britain*, p. 4. † *Ibid.*, p. 53. ‡ *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i., p. 218.

Doubtless the Otadini would be partly exterminated and partly enslaved, according to the usual customs of barbaric war. Speaking of the *Picti*, Picts, or *painted men*, as applied to the nations beyond the Northern Wall, and of the people on the Solway called Atecotti who were probably included in the same name, Rhys says, "Now, all these Picts were natives of Britain,* and the word Picti is found applied to them for the first time, in a panegyric by Eumenius, in the year 296; but in the year 360 another painted people appeared on the scene. They came from Ireland, and to distinguish these two sets of painted foes from one another, Latin historians left the painted natives to be called Picti, as had been the custom before, and for the painted invaders from Ireland they retained, untranslated, a Celtic word of the same (or nearly the same) meaning, namely, Scotti. Neither the Picts nor the Scotti probably owned these names, the former of which is to be traced to Roman authors, while the latter was probably given the invaders from Ireland by the Brythons, whose country they crossed the sea to ravage."

Gildas writing, it is assumed, in the sixth century, gives us a sad account of the state of the country under the attacks of Picts and Scots.† He says the Brythons were forced to crave help from the Romans to expel them.‡ They were oppressed and enslaved under nameless tortures. But when the Romans had left, never more to return, the Picts and Scots came again in their canoes,§ "differing one from another in manners, but inspired with the same avidity for blood, and all the more eager to shroud their villainous faces in bushy hair than to cover with decent clothing those parts of their body which required it." He seems to point directly

* *Celtic Britain*, p. 238.

† *Six Old English Chronicles*, Dr Giles, 1896. ‡ Sec. 15. § Sec. 19.

to the district of which Berwickshire is now a part, when he further says, "Moreover, having heard of the departure of our friends" (viz., the Romans), "and their resolution never to return, they seized with greater boldness than before *on all the country towards the extreme north as far as the Wall.*" Dr Skene says,* "this probably refers to the districts afterwards comprised under the general name of 'Lodonea,' or Lothian, in its extended sense, comprising the counties of Berwick, Roxburgh, and the Lothians."

Nothing, according to Gildas, could equal the horrors of the time. The Brythons he despises, yet deeply pities as sheep eaten up of wolves. They took to the heights and garrisoned them with men, who, he says sarcastically, were slow to fight, and hardly fit to run away. He pictures them (and the scenes may have been all exemplified on the "camp" heights of Lauderdale), as sleeping on their watch, so useless were they, and the wily enemy stealing up the slopes to hook them off the walls, and dash them to death on the ground. However, he consoles himself, it saved them from seeing the horrors that overtook their brothers and sisters. Unrelenting, remorseless cruelty reigned over all. They were butchered like sheep, "so that their habitations were like those of savage beasts." The whole country was rent also by internal feuds, and provisions could not be procured. They sent in despair to the Romans for assistance. "The barbarians drive us to the sea; the sea throws us back on the barbarians." But the Romans could not help; and so the discomfited people wandered among mountains, in caves and in the woods, a homeless life, with persecution, famine, and torture lurking in ambush for them. But the cup of their anguish was not yet full. When they were unequal to

* *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i., p. 131.

repelling the barbarian Picts and Scots, and could find no hope in Roman interference, they took counsel and resolved to invite the Saxons to their aid. This policy sealed their doom.

Fourth, the barbarian *Saxons* were "a race hateful both to God and men,"* impious and fierce. From being professedly friends, the Saxons soon became exacting and aggressive in their demands. Open rupture followed, and the entire realm, which now we name Scotland, became an arena of contending peoples. The Brythons, the Picts, the Scots, and Angles engaged in open struggle for the mastery. From the circumstance of the Lothians being central ground lying between Pictland north of the Forth, and the land of the Brythons south of it, with the Scotti breaking in from Ireland on the east coast, and the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes pressing from the south, we may reasonably infer that the forces of war raged across Berwickshire interminably during this clashing of these races throughout the latter half of the fifth century. It is at this period, however, that the great personality of Arthur moves across the historic stage as championing the cause of the oppressed Brythons against the Saxons, and that tradition sees him so near the confines of Upper Lauderdale as the vale of the Gala, victorious over his foes, in the fastnesses of Guinnion, and working such ruin among the Anglic forces there as to perpetuate their disaster in the name of Wedale.

A hundred years before Cuthbert is said to have been brought to Channelkirk, Lowland Scotland was thus the stormy theatre of those illustrious deeds which in later ages fascinated the highest genius. It was in 537, at the battle of Camlan, that the Lothian Medrand slew in battle the heroic

* Gildas, Sec. 23.

Arthur, and so to all appearance neutralised the advantages which had been achieved by that warrior's victories from Loch Lomond to the Lammermoors. And when that strong arm could no longer resist the aggressive intruders, and the kingdom was not yet fated to be consolidated under one crown, his triumphant opponents were then free to portion out the land as they listed. The boundaries of the kingdom of Bernicia came into existence under Ida, its first king, in the year 547, and extended from the Tees to the Forth, thus embracing what is now Berwickshire; and as a consequence, Lauderdale thus early was put under the domination of the Angles. Twelve years later, in 559, this kingdom seems to have been submerged as a province within the greater kingdom of Northumbria, which stretched from the Forth to the Humber, and which as one regal organisation held sway over all that district with substantial appearance of unified power. Such changes do not happen without great bloodshed and terrible sufferings among the common people. Serfdom in its fiercest forms must have prevailed throughout all the conquered districts, if the wretched people, indeed, were always fortunate to escape total extermination. As the restraints of war were then limited only by the appetites of the conquerors, and the Saxon nature was then but in its semi-savage development, the condition of life of the people who then inhabited Lauderdale under the Anglian government can be better imagined than described. But, as might be expected, the Saxon did not retain his spoils unchallenged. The Britons of Strathclyde, the boundaries of which, on its eastern side, ran down from the Lammermoor Hills by Gala Water to the Pennine Range, were incessant in their attacks upon them, as were also the Scots of Dalriada, and it was not till the great battle of Degsastane, in

603, that the mastery was decisively declared for the Angles. This battle decided much and was fateful for the future. It is described in the following account *: "Bede tells us that Aidan came against Aedilfrid with a large and powerful army. It consisted, no doubt, of a combined force of Scots and Britons, at whose head Aidan was placed as Guledic, and he appears also to have had the aid of Irish Picts. He advanced against the Bernician kingdom, and entered Aedilfrid's territories by the vale of the Liddel, from the upper end of which a pass opens to the vale of the Teviot, and another to that of North Tyne. The great rampart called the Catrail, which separated the Anglic kingdom from that of the Strathclyde Britons, crosses the upper part of the vale of the Liddel. Its remains appear at Dawstaneburn, whence it goes on to Dawstanerig, and here, before he could cross the mountain range which separates Liddesdale from these valleys, Aidan was encountered by Aedilfrid and completely defeated, his army being cut to pieces at a place called by Bede 'Degsastan,' in which we can recognise the name of Dawstane, still known there. Bede adds that this battle was fought in the year 603, and the eleventh year of the reign of Aedilfrid, which lasted for twenty-four years, and that from this time forth till his own day (that is, till 731), none of the kings of the Scots ventured to come in battle against the nation of the Angles; and thus terminated the contest between these tribes for the possession of the northern province, substantially in favour of the latter people, who, under Aedilfrid, now retained possession of the eastern districts from the Humber to the Firth of Forth, as far west as the river Esk."

When we remember that religion and war, beyond all

* *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i., p. 162.

other influences, have, in all ages, swayed the destinies of nations, we are not surprised to find these powerful elements in the ascendant at this early stage of Scotland's development. And while the forces of battle were thus forging into shape the four kingdoms of the Picts, the Scots, the Britons, and the Angles, the moral powers were not less industrious in changing the wide realms of superstition and pagan belief into those of spiritual enlightenment and Christian faith. As of old, when the chaos of nature obeyed the divine order which marshalled all into use and beauty, so while armies raged around boundaries and territorial sovereignty, the voices of the Christian missionaries were heard above the storm, directing the path of kings and peoples towards a loftier civilisation and a nobler humanity. It is true that both political and moral movements expanded far beyond the district which is our immediate concern in this place, but as the motions of the smallest planet are only understood when their relations to the solar system are comprehended, so it seems to us that the condition of Lauderdale when Cuthbert first crossed its boundaries can only be grasped when we have sufficiently realised the state of the country at large.

Only four years before Northumbria had formed itself into the kingdom of that name under King Ida, and Lauderdale had thus become not only a part of Bernicia but of the Northumbrian dominion which included it, Columba, of renowned memory, was leaving the shores of Ireland to carry the Christian Evangel to the benighted regions of the Western Isles of Scotland. "In the year 563," says Adamnan, "and in the forty-second of his age, Columba, resolving to seek a foreign country for the love of Christ, sailed from Scotia, or Ireland, to Britain." With his presence

and influence, the whole north of Pictland soon underwent a speedy transformation. Only two years elapsed before he had converted King Brude, the monarch of the northern Picts. And consonant with the religious modes of national conversion of those days, the enlightenment of the king was the sign to the people to conform to the same belief. Columba's power was as effective as it was comprehensive. The north and west soon stood subservient to his will. On the river Ness he directs one king and creates another at Iona. Brude and Aidan seem to have been deeply devoted to the interests which Columba had at heart, and while the one approves and assists at the founding of monasteries and the spread of the Gospel, the other girds on his armour, as we have seen at Dawstane, to expel the pagan and infidel Angles of Northumbria. And although the latter remained conquerors in arms in that great encounter, the power of Christian truth was greater than the force of war, for Northumbria also, as well as the north and the west, fell to the Christian religion not long afterwards. This notable event occurred in 627. The probable birth-year of St Cuthbert has been placed by one of the best authorities in the year 626, so that the future Apostle of Southern Scotland and Patron Saint of Channelkirk would be just a twelvemonth old when, for the first time, the whole of what we now call Scotland professedly confessed the sway of the Christian religion. This result was mainly brought to pass by the conversion of King Edwin of Northumbria, whom Paulinus, ably supported by the queen and the urgent counsels of Pope Boniface, brought to a knowledge and confession of the faith. "King Edwin,* therefore, with all the nobility of the nation and a large number of the common sort, received the faith and the

* Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, chap. xiv.

washing of regeneration in the eleventh year of his reign, which is the year of the incarnation of our Lord 627, and about one hundred and eighty after the coming of the English into Britain." Bede further says, "So great was then the fervour of the faith, as is reported, and the desire of the washing of salvation among the nation of the Northumbrians, that Paulinus, at a certain coming with the king and queen to the royal country-seat, which is called Adgefrin (Yeverin in Glendale, near Wooler, Northumberland), stayed there with them thirty-six days, fully occupied in catechising and baptising; during which days, from morning till night, he did nothing else but instruct the people resorting from all villages and places."

So that Cuthbert comes into a most crucial and exciting crisis in the history of the district, when the crude and half barbarous masses of population on both sides of the Cheviots were being disciplined to nationality and central government, and to follow with docility and ardour the spiritual instruction of Christian bishops and their ecclesiastical methods. It indicates the dawn of a new era for the country. For, notwithstanding the relapse into paganism which shortly afterwards took place under the powerful Penda, Christianity revived once more in Northumbria, all the more assured¹ perhaps, from its being buttressed by the new King Oswald and the Columban Church. "The short-lived Church of Paulinus," says Skene,* "could not have had much permanent effect in leavening these Anglic tribes with Christianity." Enlightenment came from the North and not from the South. "It is to the Columban Church, established in Northumbria by King Oswald in 635, that we must look for the permanent conversion of the Angles who occupied the

* *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i., p. 199.

eastern districts between the Tweed and the Forth," that is, the districts which now comprise Berwickshire and East Lothian.

The changes which were thus being effected by royal and religious influences when we first discern the presence of Cuthbert in Lauderdale, were, as clearly appears, of the highest importance to the land, and proved themselves the foundation structure upon which the nation of future Scotland was to be firmly built. So early as 635, the four kingdoms of the Picts, Scots, Britons, and Angles were as clearly defined as are the four provinces of Ireland to-day, each enjoying and obeying its central authority, and obtaining within that central government protection and a measure of prosperity. But the chief bond of cohesion seems to have lain in the firm basis of a common faith which the Christian religion now afforded them. Gibbon emphasises the British "love of freedom without the spirit of union" (vol. i., p. 19), but it surely marked a great advance when the whole country held one common form of worship. From the Cheviots to the Orkneys Christianity reigned supreme. Pagan darkness might linger for a while over the hearts of men, even as heavy mists linger along deep valleys till the sun has risen high enough to dispel them, but the gospel had brought a fuller day, and everywhere its vitalising strength increased as the centuries rolled onwards. But as yet, speaking generally, only the mountain peaks had caught its light. The kings and leaders of the people first felt its influences and yielded to its attractions. Many decades indeed were to pass by ere the lower levels, the humbler masses of the people, were to own with the same full intelligence the new principles of life which Columba had scattered over the land. It was this important work among the body

of the people which fell to the care of such as Cuthbert, and in this labour of patience and love history shows him as eminently successful, as well as a conspicuous example of the Christian teacher and saint.

It were perhaps a bootless task to endeavour to realise the aspect of Lauderdale in the seventh century as far as concerns its topography and general appearance of landscape. Still the district as Cuthbert then saw it must have been, in its main features, very similar to what it is to-day. The permanency of the hills and valleys, glens, ravines, and correis, climate and seasons, may pass unquestioned, and the only difference in the aspect of scenery must be found in the prevalence of open field or forest which might then obtain. In the earlier centuries Roman writers depict the Briton as living by very primitive methods. "Forests are their cities," says one; "for having enclosed an ample space with felled trees, here they make themselves huts and lodge their cattle."* It is perhaps safe to say that forest more or less abounded over all the district between the Forth and the Cheviots. This seems to have been the case, at least, through several centuries later. The birch tree, the ash, the rowan seem indigenous to the soil, and would quickly clothe the hill-sides with dense wood; while the juniper, the whin, the willow, and the broom would spread thickly over the intervening spaces. But woody land is invariably moist and rains are frequent, and we can imagine that such a valley as Lauderdale, with so many rivulets, brooks, and "waters" pouring into the Leader from the surrounding hills, would in those days often present a wild watery scene of tumbling floods the whole breadth of its planular area. The fact of Cuthbert having been engaged

* Strabo, Book IV.

under a master as shepherd seems, on the other hand, to point to cleared ground for the purposes of pasturage. But where the mode of life was perilous, and the appeal to arms perpetual, and marauding doubtless common, the flocks perhaps were few in number, and would have more need of protection from the wild denizens of the woods than of wide spaces over which to range. Cuthbert, we are told, was with *other* shepherds when he saw his vision, and this combination, together with the circumstance of tending his sheep by night, seem to give this surmise some confirmation. The peaceful character attached to pastoral life, which in general prevails amongst us now, cannot help us in forming a conception of the same life in Northumbria in the seventh century. When Cuthbert goes to Mailros Abbey to throw in his lot with its pious inmates he has neither the aspect of a shepherd nor the appearance of a monk. He is seated on horseback and has a spear in his hand, as if all who went abroad in those days either through Lauderdale or beyond it must have possessed both means of speed to fly from, and weapons to resist, imminent dangers. The overruling Saxon and the newly subdued natives were not likely to possess a deep affection for each other where tyranny balanced the social scale on one side and serfdom on the other. Private feuds would be common, and murder and secret revenge and plunder the daily features of life along the district of the Leader. Sheep and cattle would be precariously maintained to no greater an extent perhaps than to serve the mere necessities of diet and common comfort. The character of the conquering people did not insure a much higher state of civilisation. The Saxon was by nature a pirate on sea and a robber on land. "They left," says one,*

* Taine's *English Literature*, vol. i., p. 42.

“the care of the land and flocks to the women and slaves; seafaring, war, and pillage was their whole idea of a free-man’s work.” Even in the seventh century he must have looked upon Britain not so much as his home as an Ali Baba’s cave of plunder. The main characteristics of the ruling tribe with whom Cuthbert came into contact were well marked and unmistakable. We are told that their seizure of Britain did not refine them, but rather the reverse. They are found there, according to Taine * “more gluttonous, carving their hogs, filling themselves with flesh, swallowing down deep draughts of mead, ale, spiced wines, all the strong, coarse drinks which they can procure, and so are they cheered and stimulated.” As contrasted with Romans who had also met and subjugated the Briton, they “are large, gross beasts, clumsy and ridiculous when not dangerous and enraged.” These features were not effaced by a thousand years of civilisation; then “imagine what he must have been when, landing with his band upon a wasted or desert country, and becoming for the first time a settler, he saw extending to the horizon the common pastures of the border country, and the great primitive forests which furnished stags for the chase and acorns for his pigs.” But though he could kill himself in order that he might die as he had lived, in blood, he was not deficient in high moral conceptions. Marriage was pure among them. A woman was sacred. No society has ever been built up on a better basis than that for which the Saxon nature provided material. Moral beauty he acknowledged as a guide, and revered it even when wallowing in physical excess. “This kind of naked brute, who lies all day by his fireside, sluggish and dirty, always eating and drinking, whose rusty faculties cannot follow the clear and

* *English Literature*, vol. i., p. 44.

fine outlines of happily created poetic forms, catches a glimpse of the sublime in his troubled dreams." This mystic touch in his constitution predisposed him to Christianity and rendered the preaching of the monks an easy task. Its love and terror, pathos and sublimity, its lofty disregard of pain and death, and the magnificence of its hope and future inheritance, were sure to find ready acceptance among a race whose temperament seemed compounded of angel and demon, hero and beast, and to whom the eternal world was as awful and alluring as the ocean whose storms they braved, or the land-spoils they captured at the peril of their lives. The religion of the cross was first taught them, it seems, by the Roman Paulinus, who sallied forth among them from York. But the Columban Church, more aggressive from the north and west, and having a ready-made disciple in King Oswald, built up the Christian faith on a more lasting foundation, and ultimately gave the death blow to Saxon paganism.

These brief notes on the condition of the sixth century and the beginning of the seventh are, of course, meant chiefly to illustrate the personality and character of Cuthbert himself, and to help us to realise somewhat his position in Lauderdale and at Channelkirk at that early period. Cuthbert's life and work have been written of exhaustively, but the points questioned are numerous. This, of course, does not wholly surprise us. No spot of history, sacred or profane, is absolutely free from suspicion, but it would seem that those parts which refer to Cuthbert's early days are destined to go down to all time under the menace of interrogations. Writers on the subject appear to divide themselves into two groups—the ecclesiastical, and the laic. The Bollandists, Archbishop Eyre, Bishop Dowden, to take a few from the one side, doubt

the account which the *Libellus de ortu S. Cuthberti*, or, *The Irish Life*, gives of his birth and boyhood ; and Green, Raine, and Skene, to take a counter number from the other side, lean to its probabilities as far as it is possible for human credulity to go. We shall not attempt to give any decision where so many learned minds disagree, but content ourselves with following in the footsteps of those who are universally accredited as being the best authorities. We cull the following extracts from Skene's great work, *Celtic Scotland*,* the better to enable the reader to grasp the salient features in the history of our Patron Saint, as well as to give in his own words an account which is admitted to be unbiassed.

“ If the great name in the Cumbrian Church was that of Kentigern, that which left its greatest impress in Lothian, and one with which the monastery of Mailros was peculiarly connected, was that of Cudberct, popularly called Saint Cuthbert. Several lives of him have come down to us ; but undoubtedly the one which, from its antiquity, is most deserving of credit, is that by the venerable Bede.” “ Bede, too, was born in the lifetime of the saint whose life he records, and must have been about thirteen years old when he died.” “ Bede tells us nothing of the birth and parentage of Cudberct ; and though he relates an incident which occurred when the saint was in his eighth year, and which he says Bishop Trumini, of blessed memory, affirmed that Cudberct had himself told him, he does not indicate where or in what country he had passed his boyhood. When he first connects Cudberct with any locality, he says that ‘ he was keeping watch over the flocks committed to his charge on some remote mountains.’ These mountains, however, were the southern slope of the Lammermoors, which surround the upper part of the vale of the

* Book II., p. 201.

Leader, in Berwickshire ; for the anonymous history of Saint Cuthbert, which, next to his Life by Bede, has the greatest value, says that 'he was watching over the flocks of his master in the mountains near the river Leder.' There 'on a certain night, when he was extending his long vigils in prayers, as was his wont,' which shows the bent of his mind towards a religious life, he had a vision in which he saw the soul of Bishop Aidan of Lindisfarne being carried to heaven by choirs of the heavenly host ; and resolved in consequence to enter a monastery and put himself under monastic discipline." "Thus Cudberct became a monk of the Monastery of Melrose. As Bishop Aidan died in the year 651, this gives us the first certain date in his life."

"The only Life which professes to give his earlier history is 'The Book of the Nativity of Saint Cuthbert, taken and translated from the Irish.' According to this Life, Cuthbert was born in Ireland, of royal extraction. His mother, Sabina, daughter of the king who reigned in the city called Lainestri, was taken captive by the King of Connathe, who slew her father and all her family. He afterwards violated her, and then sent her to his own mother, who adopted her, and, together with her, entered a monastery of virgins which was then under the care of a bishop. There Sabina gave birth to the boy Cuthbert, and the bishop baptized him, giving him the Irish name of Mullucc. He is said to have been born in 'Kenanus' or Kells, a monastery said to have been founded by Columba on the death of the bishop who had educated him. His mother goes with him to Britain by the usual mode of transit in these legends, that is, by a stone, which miraculously performs the functions of a curach, and they land in 'Galweia, in that region called Rennii, in the harbour of Rintsnoc,' no doubt Portpatrick in the Rinns of

Galloway." "They then go to the island which is called Hy, or Iona, where they remain some time with the religious men of that place. Then they visit two brothers-german of the mother, Meldanus and Eatanus, who were bishops in the province of the Scots, in which each had an episcopal seat, and these take the boy and place him under the care of a certain religious man in Lothian, while the mother goes on a pilgrimage to Rome. In this place in Lothian a church was afterwards erected in his honour, which is to this day called Childeschirche, and here the book of the nativity of St Cuthbert, taken from the Irish histories, terminates. Childeschirche is the old name of the parish now called Channelkirk, in the upper part of the vale of the Leader; and the *Irish Life* thus lands him where Bede takes him up."

"It is certainly remarkable that Bede gives no indication of Cudberct's nationality. He must surely have known whether he was of Irish descent or not. He is himself far too candid and honest a historian not to have stated the fact if it was so, and it is difficult to avoid the suspicion that this part of his narrative was one of those portions which he had expunged at the instance of the critics to whom he had submitted his manuscript. Unfortunately, Bede nowhere gives us Cudberct's age. He elsewhere calls him at this time a young man, and he says that his life had reached to old age."

"Cudberct resigned his bishopric in 686, and died in 687. He could hardly have been under sixty at that time, and it was probably on his attaining that age that he withdrew from active life. This would place his birth in the year 626, and make him twenty-five when he joined the monastery at Mailros. The *Irish Life* appears to have been recognised by the monks of Durham as early as the fourteenth century, and it is perfectly possible that these events may have taken

place before Bede takes up his history, though they are characterised by the usual anachronisms." "The truth may possibly be that he was the son of an Irish kinglet by an Anglie mother; and this would account for her coming to Britain with the boy, and his being placed under a master in the vale of the Leader."

It is unnecessary to follow further the great work of the apostle of Southern Scotland. What Columban Iona was to the inhabitants of the lands north of Forth, so almost was the Lindisfarne establishment of St Cuthbert to the Lothians and the north of England.* All the churches of Bernicia from Tyne to Tweed, and of Deira from Tyne to the Humber, had their origin from the monastery of Lindisfarne, or Holy Island.† We know from the "Coævus Monachus," who wrote a life of Cuthbert, and Bede, who has put his life into both prose and poetry, that during his stay in Mailros,‡ "he was wont chiefly to resort to those places, and preach in such villages, as being seated high up amid craggy, uncouth mountains, were frightful to others to behold, and whose poverty and barbarity rendered them inaccessible to other teachers." There is in all probability a reference here to the district of Upper Lauderdale with which he was so well acquainted as boy and shepherd. The region was "frightful to others": they were unacquainted with its wild and barbarous inhabitants; but to Cuthbert place and people were familiar, and there he had often passed nights of prayer; and to stay among them for weeks together, as Bede tells us he did, was but to renew former experiences, and sustain his former character for piety and zealous propagation of holy religion. The story of his subsequent life and death, and the weird

* Burton, vol. i., p. 275.

† Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Bk. III., ch. iii.

‡ *Ecclesiastical History*, Bk. IV., ch. xxvii.

wanderings of his unburied corpse till it rested at last in Durham Cathedral, do not come within the scope of this work, and have rather reference to national history than to the humbler fortunes of Channelkirk.

The centuries immediately following St Cuthbert's date are noted for the historical darkness that lies over them. The three great powers of race, religion, and regality, with their thousandfold subordinate influences, are seen through the dim mist of traditions, annals, and chronicles, in tragical struggle for supremacy ; but except as involved in the vicissitudes which befell wide tracts of territory, we have scarcely a ray of light to show us, even in twilight outlines, the particular character and trend of human life as it flowed then through Lauderdale. Peace could scarcely have reigned there when so many passions were in fury and the deepest interests were in peril. The foundations of future Scotland were then being laid, and the blood of Saxon, Briton, and Dane watered them copiously. Lothian is said to have been invaded six times during the ninth century, Melrose and Dunbar reduced to ashes, and the whole of Bernicia and part of Anglia to have been subdued by Aed, son of Niel, King of Ireland. We are safe to assume that Lauderdale shared in the horrors of these invasions, though the silent earth has received all record of them into her bosom for ever. It is conjecturable, however, that the Danish incursions, and after them the Norwegian, may have left proof of their existence here in a few of the place-names which have been exhumed. "Oxton" village was originally Ulfcytelstun, or the "tun" of Ulfcytel or Ulfkill, a name which is purely Norse. The "Lileston" of to-day was originally "Ilifston," Olafs-tun, or the "tun" of Olave, also a name of Norse descent. Hartside lands come

before us in the early charters as having been held by *Heden* and *Hemming*, the former of which may possibly be a contracted form of *Haldane* or *Halfdene*, a name which was terrible enough all over Bernicia about 872. Hemming was the name of a Danish leader who landed with Turkil in 1009, and ravaged Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire,* and this Hemming, who is proprietor in Upper Lauderdale before the twelfth century, clearly belongs to the same sea-roving race. It is, of course, optional to regard these Norse names as having come into Upper Lauderdale with some plundering raiders of the east coast who found it more advantageous to remain here than return across the seas to their own country; or, on the other hand, to suppose that later they had come north in the retinue of the powerful Norman sept of De Morville, and through him had obtained landed importance in lieu of services worthy of this honour.

Some scintillations of reflected light on the mundane affairs of Lauderdale are thus perhaps possible to us from these sources, but when we endeavour to descry there the outlines of a church or any form of established religion, we must reverse the usual order of our instincts and pass from light into darkness. The period between 700 and 1100 A.D. is admittedly a benighted one. With the life of Cuthbert all reference to Channelkirk ceases till the era of record opens in the twelfth century under David the First. Yet there are inductive processes by which from authentic facts we may pass to reasonable conclusions regarding what must have taken place during that interval, and arrive inferentially at general truths. Cuthbert had passed away from Upper Lauderdale to a wider field more suitable to his energies and genius, but he was far from being forgotten there. There are few firmer

* Hoveden's *Chronicle*, vol. i.

bonds on earth than those woven out of the religious zeal and affection which converts have for their spiritual fathers. His name rang over all the south, and there must have been many who preserved the memory of his presence and work among the gloomy mountains of his early experiences, and especially on the banks of the Leader his name would be enshrined in the hearts of those upon whose heads his holy hands had been laid in consecrating baptism. A fitting memorial of worship raised to commemorate his saintly presence in their midst seems only natural when considered as a possibility. The tradition which is found in the *Irish Life*, and which is enthusiastically repeated by rhyming chroniclers, cannot have been the outcome of pure fancy. If it were a myth, what motive existed for the creation of such? The statements are infectious in the superlative expression of their convictions. "The place itself is even still held by the inhabitants as of the greatest note, in which a church to his honour is now consecrated to God." The lapse of five or six hundred years, that is, had not obliterated the fame of St Cuthbert among these early people of Channelkirk. They cannot even dream that any one in Scotland can be ignorant of the circumstances:—

"That place is knawen in all' Scotland,
For nowe a kirk thar on stand,
Childe kirk is called commonly—"

And with such exuberant faith and words before us, it seems almost obstinate to disbelieve that the connection of St Cuthbert with Channelkirk was genuinely accepted by Scottish people in general in the way they have handed it down to us.

When we reach the twelfth century, and enter the peaceful haven of the testimony of Chartularies, it is to

find Channelkirk Church a well-settled institution on the land which was then the property of Hugh de Morville, Lord of Lauderdale, and under his benign patronage. But though he bestowed it, towards the close of his life, on the Abbot and brethren of Dryburgh Abbey, there is not the least trace of an indication that it had been founded or built by him. Lauder Church, moreover, was in existence as early as 1170 A.D., but Dryburgh monks testify that Channelkirk Church had been the mother and parish church of all Lauderdale before Lauder Church was founded there, and this fact of itself seems to point to an early origin of the former. Cuthbert died in 687, an event which was certain to arouse a deeper and more hallowed enthusiasm for his name throughout all the Lowlands, and our inference from the above considerations may not be far from the truth, when we surmise that the original Church of Channelkirk, which was built and dedicated to him, may have come into existence between the seventh and ninth centuries, during the darkest period, that is, of its historical record.

Great and far-reaching changes, meanwhile, had befallen the dale since Cuthbert rode down through it to become a monk in Melrose, or had wandered over its hills and glens teaching and preaching the Gospel to the Angles and Brythonic serfs in their thrall. Ecclesiastically a religious reformation, or rather revolution, had taken place in the overthrow of the Columban or ancient Scotch Church, and the adoption of the Roman Catholic in its place, as fundamentally important, perhaps, as that which transpired in the sixteenth century under Luther and Knox, though not, indeed, so sweeping or abrupt in the changes it effected among the people of the land. The

influence of the Roman Church had steadily crept across the country, and the power of its hierarchy was soon paramount from shore to shore. This movement was greatly aided by the advent into Scotland of Margaret, afterwards Malcolm's Queen, and those who followed in her train. Under the date 1067, the year following the subjugation of England by William the Conqueror, the *Saxon Chronicle* tells us, "This summer the child Edgar, with his mother Agatha, his sisters Margaret and Christina, Merlesweyne and several good men, went to Scotland under the protection of King Malcolm, who received them all. Then it was that King Malcolm desired to have Margaret to wife; but the child Edgar and all his men refused for a long time, and she herself was unwilling, saying that she would have neither him nor any other person, if God would allow her to serve Him with her carnal heart, in strict continence, during this short life. But the king urged her brother until he said yes, and, indeed, he did not dare to refuse, for they were now in Malcolm's kingdom." Her powerful influence in partly persuading, partly coercing through her royal husband the hesitating priests who held the Ionic mode of tonsure and observance of Easter, needs but an allusion here.

Geographically we are to bear in mind that at this time also Lauderdale was still in England and not in Scotland. In 1091,* "Whilst King William was out of England, Malcolm, King of Scotland, invaded this country." King William hastened out of Normandy to repel him, and when Malcolm heard that he and his brother sought to attack him, "he marched with his array *out of Scotland*

* *Saxon Chronicle.*

into Lothian in England and remained there."* The boundaries of our country were not fixed on their present lines till some time afterwards. Curiosity is a natural feeling here, in the face of such facts, to know whereabout in Lothian King Malcolm waited for the redoubtable conqueror; and as King William marched through Laodonia† into Scotia we naturally ask if it could be possible that he may have led his forces by way of the great road, the "Regiam Stratam" of the Charters, through Lauderdale? The valley was always in ancient times the main eastern route between south and north. In 1072‡ William led both an army and fleet against Scotland, and while his ships were sailing all round the coast, he himself crossed the Tweed with his army. Possibly he may have found it necessary, as others after him, to divide his forces, and we are perhaps safe to conclude that part went up Lauderdale and part round by Dunbar. It may, indeed, have been that within five years, viz. 1067-72, these two notable royalties, Queen Margaret, strong of soul, and the Conqueror, strong of hand, representatives of much, trod the Derestrete along the banks of the Leader, past Channelkirk Church, and across the dreary hill of Soutra, one to remain in Dunfermline leavening her adopted country with her faith and pious life, the other to return to pursue in England his relentless, merciless policy, and at last, in Normandy, find none at his death who loved him sufficiently to lift his naked and despised corpse from the floor.§ But, however a pleasant fancy may speculate on such possibilities, true it is that the Anglo-Norman influx from England exerted a considerable sway over the future of

* *Saxon Chronicle and Celtic Scotland*, vol. i., p. 429. † *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i., p. 429 n.

‡ *Saxon Chronicle*.

§ *Green's History of the English People*.

Channelkirk Church and Parish. For in the floodtide of that exodus came Hugh de Morville, who was found worthy to possess most of Lauderdale, and also the high favour and confidence of King David the First, and under him to control the great office of Constable of Scotland. The country proper of the Scotch at this time terminated with the Firth of the Forth, but under David, who was Earl of Lothian as well, something like unity of policy both in Church and State prevailed over nearly all the territory which we now call Scotland, though consolidation and permanence were not given to its frontiers till 1266, when the various provinces comprising the realm were finally welded into one compact whole by the cession of the Isles. The central authority of the kingdom was therefore shifted in King David's reign from beyond the Forth southwards into the Lothians, and through the premier influence of the Lord of Lauderdale, the power of the throne over all the nation was for the first time directed from the banks of the Leader.

There was more than mere contingency in this. The Lothian men seemed to have preserved a consistent form of laws and customs through every change, religious or racial, and "Lothian law became eventually the basis of Scotch law."* "The feudalism introduced by David and his successors, though Anglo-Norman, was very much based upon the Anglo-Saxon, or what was much the same, the Lothian laws and customs."† And thus there was a higher reason than the possession of military force why tested and settled government should emanate from Central Lothian. It stood in the forefront of civilisation.

* Robertson's *Scotland under the Early Kings*, vol. i., p. 96 n. † *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 102.

The boundaries of Channelkirk Parish received recognisable definition and outline about this time. It is well known that the boundaries of a great lord's estate, as a rule, came to mark out the limits of a priest's jurisdiction, and it was all the more natural that so it should be when the lord of the manor had himself probably built the church, and personally endowed it out of the revenues of his land. As Channelkirk Church was in existence before De Morville's advent into Lauderdale, its advowson and possessions through King David passed under his hand and patronage, and as there is no sufficient evidence that there was in his day any other church in Lauderdale with prior rights to the jurisdiction implied in his being patron, there is every likelihood that nominally, at least, if not practically, the boundaries of this parish were identical with De Morville's Lauderdale possessions. This condition of affairs continued in all likelihood till the death of the magnanimous Hugo; but another tone and temper prevailed throughout the dale, and far beyond it, when his son Richard de Morville wielded the power of his father's office. At that time the parish marches are almost as clearly visible as they are to-day, though resistance and fierce protests appear latent in the background. But with the victories of Robert the Bruce in the fourteenth century, and the overthrow of what may be called the De Morville dynasty in Lauderdale, all further disturbing influences ceased, and with its departure old feuds and time-embittered quarrels vanished also.

Having thus cursorily sketched the outlines of the valley in pre-historic times, the various peoples who have successively followed each other across its narrow confines, and the establishment of the Christian Church in it with St Cuthbert's coming to Upper Lauderdale, it may suffice to

point out briefly the chief territorial influences which have swayed its destinies since the days of the pious King David.

The house of De Morville under that "Sair Sanct" sustained an authority in the nation which was almost regal in strength, if not in name, during the early decades of the twelfth century. The battle of Bannockburn, in 1314, placed the House of Douglas in the ascendant under King Robert the First; for the deposition of the lords of Galloway, who inherited the De Morville patrimony, added at that time to the Douglas the honour, among many others, of being "Lord of Lauderdale." The fifteenth century, however, saw the Douglas House fall in turn from royal favour, and from that time the Maitland House steadily increased till with John, Duke of Lauderdale, the name of Lauderdale once more stood in the seventeenth century on the loftiest national eminence possible to either locality or subject. Thrice, therefore, within the era of written history, has the trend of the national destinies received bias and direction, if not positive creation, from those whom Lauderdale acknowledged as her manorial kings. These three names, De Morville, Douglas, and Maitland, are three piers in a bridge, which carries our historical wanderings in this valley across a vista of years that stretches from the close of the eleventh century down to the present day.

CHAPTER I

THE NAME

"Channelkirk"—Theories Regarding the Origin and Derivation of the Name—Its Form at Various Dates—Chalmers' View—The *Irish Life* of St Cuthbert—Cuthbert in Channelkirk—The Church Raised in Honour of the "Childe" Cuthbert—Dryburgh Abbey Charters and the Dedication—Bishop De Bernham—The Priest Godfrey—Hugh de Morville as Patron—The Name and the Reformation—Its Local Forms.

THE name "Channelkirk" appears to have come into general use in the district about the beginning of the eighteenth century. We first find it in the Presbytery Records under the year 1716. Glancing at it briefly, one might reasonably assume that its meaning should offer no serious difficulty to any person who possessed an ordinary acquaintance with customary Scotch terms. Yet there have been so many conflicting opinions set forth as to its origin and derivation that we are under considerable necessity to discuss the matter here at some length.

The Rev. Mr Johnston gives the following account: * "Channelkirk (Lauder) old, Childeschirche, sacred to St Cuthbert, french. O.E., *cild*, a child, especially of gentle birth, but the present name means 'church of the river' Leader, common former meaning of *channel* — O.Fr. *chanel*, L. *canalis*, canal." It is not clear what is meant by

* *Place-Names of Scotland*. D. Douglas, Edinburgh, 1892.

"french." But neither *channel* nor *canal* means *river*. "Artificially cut course" seems to answer better. The Leader, however, is as devious and unartificial as it can possibly be.

The writers of the Old and New Statistical Accounts of the Parish preferred the "gravel" meaning of the word. The Rev. James Rutherford, minister of the parish, writing in June 1834, makes the following statement: "The ancient name of the parish was Childer-Kirk, *i.e.* Children's Kirk, having been dedicated to the Innocents. More recently its name was Gingle-Kirk."

"It is so written in our old parochial records, and it is still commonly so pronounced. Its etymology is uncertain; probably it may have had a reference to the nature of the soil, which is chiefly of a gravelly sort."*

This derivation, set forth with native caution, appears to have been directly inspired by the *Old Statistical Account*, so honourably associated with the name of Sir John Sinclair. The Rev. Thomas Murray, minister, Channelkirk, and who wrote the account of this parish for that work in 1794,[†] says: "The present name of the parish is evidently modern, and is happily descriptive of the nature of the soil which is, in general, a light thin earth on a deep bed of sandy gravel. In our records, which are preserved as far back as 1650, the name of the parish is spelled *Chingelkirk*. *Chingle*, I presume, is the old Scotch word synonymous to the modern term *channel*."

So far, the meaning of the present name is traced to the river *Leader*, which takes its rise in the parish, and to the general character of the soil within its bounds. The old name "Childeschirche," "Childer-kirk," is by Mr Johnston

* *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, p. 88, "Berwickshire."

† *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, "Channelkirk."

referred to a "child" of some unknown name, and by Mr Rutherford to the Holy Innocents from whom it derives the force of *Children's Kirk*. Mr Johnston is, we believe, original in his view, but Mr Rutherford draws his arrow from the quiver of another archer, viz., the Rev. Dr Ford, minister of Lauder. He acknowledges this indebtedness. But he says, "As the doctor gives no authority in support of this opinion, and as I find no such thing mentioned in Spottiswoode's Appendix to Hope's *Minor Practicks*, I am disposed to consider it a mere conjecture, and am of opinion that the obvious etymology first mentioned is the best." Mr Rutherford is not to be tempted on to "trap-doors." Holy Innocents, forsooth! He finds the Scotch "sand" and "gravel" solid enough. Dr Hew Scott in his *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ** was less timorous, and without giving any authority, boldly sustained the "Innocent" etymology. Dr James Gammack in his *Itinerary of Bishop de Bernham*, founded upon Scott, and Canon Wordsworth, Glaston (now of Tyneham), followed in his Introduction to De Bernham's *Pontifical*.† Dr Gammack, however, has since withdrawn his view regarding the "Innocents." Mr Johnston, quoted above, is also now of opinion that "there can be little doubt that the forms 'Childes-' and 'Childer-Kirk' represent two distinct traditions."

The legend on the kirk bell runs: "For Channonkirk, 1702." "Ginglekirk" and "Jinglekirk," are, it is true, often met with throughout the kirk records, being perhaps the nearest phonetic spelling of the name which has been most familiar to the ears of the people in the district for several centuries. "Chinelkirk" occurs frequently in the records of Earlstoun Presbytery from 1696 onwards. It is a mistake to say, however, that in the earliest kirk record of 1650, the name is

* Vol. I., part ii., p. 521.

† Edinburgh Pittsigo Press, 1885.

"Chingelkirk." The name there is "Chinghilkirk," or "Chinghelkirk," for the second "i" is not dotted, and may be meant for an "e." As we ascend the stream of historical narrative, we reach the form "Cheinilkirk" about 1634: about 1630, "Chingelkirk": 1620, "Chingilkirk": (Pont's map, c. 1608, has "Gingle Kirk"). In 1586-7, it is distorted once to the rather curious form "Chinglek." In 1580, it is "Cheingill Kyrk." In 1567, seven years after the Reformation, it is "Chynkilkirk," alongside of the commoner form "Chingilkirk." In 1560, the year of the Reformation, the name appears for the first time, in our backward journey, with a "d" in it. It is "Cheindilkirk," or "Chenidilkirk," and in 1535, "Chyndylkirk." It is evident that in the forms of "Chynkilkirk" of 1567, and "Cheindelkirk" of 1560, we have some evidence of the changes which were then being carried forward throughout the whole country. When names are so tossed about, there must be storms at work. We find, as a matter of fact, that the former was the name familiar to the people, and the latter the designation which was known to the Church. The one with which the monks were intimate, and which is found in the charters of Dryburgh Abbey more than forty times, is that of Childinchirch, Childenchirch, Chyldinchirch, Childenechirche, or some similarly analogous form of the same construction. These charters which mention Channelkirk Church, range between 1153-1318. About 1268, till 1318, "Childenkirk" is sometimes put as an "alias" of "Childinchirch," and this seems to point to the conflict which had already begun between the ecclesiastical and popular forms.

When we leave these charters we find our light growing dimmer, and our etymological Bridge of Mirza becomes shrouded in mist. But we do not lose heart though we lose

light. Truth is greater than either, and her very home is in mystery. Besides, it appears that there are footprints further on. That bold pioneer, George Chalmers, has passed this way, and it is here, perhaps, that we may most fittingly introduce his singular derivation. If it turn out to be a mere spectre of the Brocken, it may not prove satisfactory, but it cannot fail to be interesting and impressive, and it is just possible that Chalmers did not aim at higher results. But he evidently felt that the "sand" and "gravel" theory was impossible. And, indeed, from the present day back to 1560, it is perfectly clear that there is no rational element in the whole forest of "Gingles," "Jingles," and "Shingles," distinctive enough to warrant any sane person in building an intelligent meaning upon it. Chalmers instinctively perceived that if any meaning were possible, it must be found not on this, but on the other side of the Reformation. And having once resolved to traverse the centuries, he soon accomplishes the task. Like the prince in the *Arabian Nights*, he but mounts his steed, turns the peg at its ear, and soon the periods of the Crusades, Norman Invasions, Danish Invasions, Saxon Invasions, in short, Middle Ages, Dark Ages, and similar spaces, are all left behind him! He alights in the second century, we may say, and seeks an explanation from the people called *Otadeni*, who occupied our Berwickshire district at that time, believing that a church might have existed at Channelkirk "before the epoch of record." He states his view in the following way: "The name of the parish of Channelkirk is obscure. In the charters of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the word is written Chyldinchirche and Childincirch; which evince that Channelkirk is a mere modern corruption. The affix to the original term is obviously the Saxon *circ*, *cyr*, *cyr*, the Old English *kirk*, the

Anglo-Norman *church*. It is more than probable that the original name of the place, which is significantly marked by the site of the Roman camp, was *Childin*, which may have been left here by the Romanised Ottadini, with other names that still remain, as we have seen, in their British form. And, of course, the Cambro-British word is plainly *cil-din*, signifying the retreat, or chapel, or church, at the fort."

It must be confessed that his theory is ingenious, and we feel at once the angelic strength of wing, but like the other derivations given above, it is fatally discredited through lack of sufficient authority. "It is more than probable," he says, but it is still conjectural. The Anglo-Saxon forms are not, it appears, *circ*, *cyrc*, *cyric*, as he affirms, but *cirice*, *cyrice*, *circe*, *cyrce*, the final "e" being necessary to get the "ch." We are convinced that Chalmers has shown us a spectre among the mists. Still, one parts reluctantly from him. He is our last hope.

Hitherto, the solution of the meaning has been prosecuted in the regions of the topographical, the etymological, and the military. Why should we not try the ecclesiastical? A place-name so churchy as Channelkirk seems traceable to such a source. Is there any strongly persistent fact, historical or traditional, or both combined, set down in the centuries preceding those of the Dryburgh Charters, where we last leave written testimony, which might justly be esteemed powerful enough to create a place-name of the "Childen-Chirch" complexion? May not the sufficiently proved historical connection of St Cuthbert with the Lammermoors, on which Channelkirk is built, lie at the foundation of the difficulty? The labyrinths, however puzzling, had a veritable entrance and exit, and where we have lost ourselves by so many paths, we can but attempt another in search of liberty.

The merest thread, contemptible for strength in all other circumstances, may save us in this one.

We turn, then, to a MS., which, says Dr James Raine, is in a fourteenth century hand,* and may have been first written towards the close of the twelfth century. In his *Life of St Cuthbert*, Canon Fowler says (*Surtees Society*, No. 87, II., pref. vi., New Edition, 1889), "It is possible there may be some germ of historic truth at the bottom of the Irish story." He also thinks it "probable" that this *Irish Life* was "written towards the close of the twelfth century," though the "older forms" of the name "Childenechirche," he quotes as only "c. 1295" (note 2, 5). If this *Irish Life* is reliable, it certainly puts the whole matter in quite a different setting, and seems to yield more satisfactory results, on the whole, than anything which has been propounded by the writers already noticed. The MS. is, of course, assailed by many critics as unworthy of belief. It is stuffed with the miraculous, the mystical, and the anachronistic. It is needless to say that nearly every manuscript of a similar kind is characterised by the same blemishes, those of Bede himself, who is more than a Delphic oracle to us, not being exempted. The MS. is entitled *Libellus de Ortu Sancti Cuthberti*, and is the only life of that Saint which professes to give a narrative of his birth and early boyhood. We can but take what it has to give us, and accept or reject it as we choose, adopting with regard to it, it may be, the ground occupied by modern critics of the Scriptures, who aver that although all of the statements in them are not true, yet that truth is to be found in these statements! All other "Lives" of St Cuthbert, as is well-known, begin with the period of his youth. The most important of these are Bede's and the one written by the

* *Surtees Society*, 1838.

nameless monk of probably Lindisfarne or Melrose,* whom, perhaps, Bede has in view when he says, "What I have written concerning our most holy father, Bishop Cuthbert, either in this volume, or in my treatise on his life and actions, I partly took, and faithfully copied from what I found written of him by the brethren of the Church of Lindisfarne."† Both Bede and the anonymous monk were contemporaries of St Cuthbert. The latter connects him with our locality. He depicts him as a young shepherd watching over his master's flocks, along with other shepherds, near the river Leder, in the vicinity of the hills among which it takes its rise (*quando in montanis juxta fluvium, quoad dicitur Leder, cum aliis pastoribus pecos a domini sui pascebat*). "These mountains," says Dr W. F. Skene, "were the southern slope of the Lammermoors, which surround the upper part of the vale of the Leader, in Berwickshire,"‡ that is to say, the parish of Channelkirk. This fact of locality seems an irreducible one, and it is all-important to us in the present pursuit. It is supported by Green, Chalmers, and others.§ We seem, then, justified in standing firmly on this historical fact, firmly fixed in the seventh century, viz., that Cuthbert, the future apostle of the South of Scotland, herded his master's flocks when a young man, on the banks of the Leader Water, near the Lammermoor Hills. Green, indeed, has grasped this local connection of ours with St Cuthbert, so tenaciously, that he affirms he was born here! But this is a more palpable spectre than that of Chalmers. There is indirect testimony to Cuthbert's acquaintance with Channelkirk district in the account Bede gives of him after he became

* *Vita Anon. St Cuth. : Acta Sanctorum*, 20th March.

† *Ecclesiastical History*, pref. trans. by Giles.

‡ *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 201.

§ *Short History of the English People. Caledonia.*

Prior of Melrose Monastery. Cuthbert, he informs us, sallied out among the people of his neighbourhood, and preached to them, not returning for a week, or sometimes two or three, and sometimes a whole month, "continuing among the mountains to allure that rustic people by his preaching and example to heavenly employments."* As Melrose is near the mouth of the Leader, and as the "villages" which were "seated high up among craggy, uncouth mountains," and visited by him in his missionary journeys, are descriptive only of villages such as Channelkirk was in bygone days, it is reasonably certain that Bede had our district in his mind when penning his narrative. No other locality in the neighbourhood of Melrose Monastery will fit the description.

Having now, as we presume to think, established the presence of Cuthbert in or near Channelkirk in the seventh century, first as shepherd and then as preacher, we proceed to other essentials which are called for in creating a place-name, evoked, according to our as yet latent supposition, by ecclesiastical circumstances, and possibly, by the presence there of the saint himself. One of these appears to be the high renown which Cuthbert everywhere spread regarding his holy life. His miracles, his virtuous acts, his episcopal dignity, his apostolic example, his austerity, his eloquence as a preacher, his diligence in doing good, his humility, his devout prayers, his tears, and crucifixion of all pleasures, roused an enthusiasm for him that none but the greatest have called forth. All this rendered probable what we now place with much diffidence before the reader.

The MS. noticed above, "taken and translated from the Irish," † has the following passage:—*Hoc primum miraculum in terra ista de puero illo innotuit, quo Spiritus Sanctus*

* *Ecclesiastical History*, c. 27.

† Cap. 23.

ipsum sibi vas futurum gloriæ præsignavit. Locus ipse etiam adhuc incolis notissimus habetur, in quo nunc ob illius honorem ecclesia Domino consecratur; quique a puerorum colludentium agmine, usque in hodiernum diem Childeschirche vocatur præagnomine, illi dans honoris æterni testimonium qui in æternitate vivit in secula seculorum.

The passage refers to an incident in Cuthbert's boyhood. After saying that he had been brought from Ireland by his mother to his uncles, who were bishops in Lothian, and that they had placed him under the care of a pious man there, the *Life* relates a miracle which, unconsciously, the boy Cuthbert performed among his playmates. Then follows the above statement, which may be translated into these words: "This became known in that district as the first miracle of the remarkable boy, by which the Holy Spirit marked him beforehand as about to be a vessel of glory to Himself. The place itself is even still held by the inhabitants as of the greatest note, in which a church to his honour is now consecrated to God; and which even at this day, by bands of boys at play, is by preference called by the name Childeschirche, giving the testimony of eternal honour to him who lives in eternity, for ever and ever."

An old chronicler of the fifteenth century, who apparently rhymes on the lines of this narrative, says *:—

"This was the first meruayle ane,
Of him was knawen in louthiane
The whilk schewed takenying that he
Aftir haly man suld be,
That place is knawen in all scotland,
For nowe a kirk thar on stand,
Childe Kirk is called commonly,
Of men that er wonand thar by;

* *Surtees Society*, No. 38, edited by Dr Jas. Raine. Also *Surtees Society*, No. 87, 1889, p. 27; Canon Fowler.

Of cuthbert childe name it toke,
 In goddis wirschip, thus saies the boke,
 And in his name to rede and syng ;
 To him be wirschip and louyng."

Dr James Raine has a note against the name "Childe kirk," identifying it as the ancient Church of Channelkirk, and the identity appears to be admitted by all competent judges. The same authority says that the two anonymous compilations just quoted are those "in which genuine history and minute intimations of early customs and modes of living are mixed with fabulous details." He tells us that the *Irish Life*, however much it may be distrusted as reliable history, yet "as a regular piece of biography, written in a good style, and not deficient in incidental information upon subjects connected with the period in which it was written," "it comes within the plans of this Surtees Society," and these considerations have led to its publication." He also shows "that the monks of Durham had some belief in the Irish descent of Cuthbert, and in other circumstances in his history detailed in this piece of biography," and proves it by the account he quotes of windows in the Durham Cathedral having been glassed with scenes drawn from it, and which were destroyed by Dean Horn in the reign of Edward VI., "for he could never abide any ancient monuments that gave any light of or to godly religion." Canon Fowler points out that "the St Cuthbert window at York Minster still contains many subjects from this Life."*

It is, of course, always made a matter of surprise that Bede should never allude to Cuthbert's birth. We know from himself that on submitting his manuscript to the priests "who from having long dwelt with the man of God, were thoroughly acquainted with his life," they corrected or

* *Surtees Society*, No. 87, pref. vi.

expunged "what they judged *advisable*." And the suggestions constantly recurring from this class of circumstances inevitably bias us towards the suspicion that the history of his birth was not such as to recommend itself to those who knew the illustrious facts of his maturer years. If Cuthbert was illegitimate (as is asserted by Capgrave * and others, this *Irish Life* being among them), this may account for much that has been buried in silence by his religious contemporaries, and may also explain why the dribblets of information regarding his young days and birthplace, have percolated down to us through such dubious channels. The belief in the Old Testament flawlessness of God's priests was a power in those days, and this may lie at the root of the historical shame and concealment which swept the pages, to all appearance, of the venerable Monk of Jarrow. "The truth may possibly be," says Dr Skene, "that he was the son of an Irish Kinglet by an Anglic mother; and this would account for her coming to Britain with the boy, and his being placed under a master in the vale of the Leader."† Nothing is more astounding to us than that Bede should know so much concerning Cuthbert as that "from his VERY CHILDHOOD he had always been inflamed with the desire of a religious life,"‡ and yet have nothing more to say of that period of Cuthbert's existence, we may be sure that every incident in Cuthbert's life had been probed and discussed by the Monks of Bede's time. His childhood seems to have been as well known to them as his manhood, and its character as distinctly defined. Why do the *coævus monachus*, and Bede, then, hang a veil over that time, the latter not even venturing upon one fact to sustain his statement? The reason seems patent, though it need not be restated. They

* *Annals of the Four Masters*, edited by Dr Jo. O'Donovan, 1856.

† *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 206. ‡ *Ecclesiastical History*, chap. xxvii.

loved and revered Cuthbert ; his dust was holy to them ; an inviolable sanctity must not be dimmed or sullied by shadows of the past. And thus the waves of oblivion were permitted to lap within their bosom what the pen of the chronicler may have written, but which the hand of the churchman had no desire to rescue from forgetfulness. This accounts also, no doubt, for the blurred and almost wholly obliterated record which points to Cuthbert's connection with Channelkirk.

That the church at Channelkirk was originally founded in honour of the child, or youth, who afterwards became the Saint called Cuthbert, as asserted by the *Irish Life* and the fifteenth century chronicler whose lines have been quoted, receives certain indirect corroboration from other sources. The supposed dedication to the "Holy Innocents" withers before the testimony of the Dryburgh Charters which declare Channelkirk Church to have been dedicated to St Cuthbert. In Charter No. 185 (c. 1327) we have the following * :—

Universis Sancte Matris, etc. Thomas Clericus filius Willelmi de Collielaw Salutem in Domino. Noverit universitas vestra me divine caritatis intuitu et pro salute anime mee et pro salute animarum omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum dedisse concessisse et hac mea carta confirmasse Deo et ecclesie Sancti Cuthberti de Childenchirch et canonicis de Dryburgh octo acras terre. . .

By this instrument, Thomas, son of William of Collielaw, in this parish, devotes, like a loyal son of Holy Mother Church, eight acres of land to the *Church of St Cuthbert at Channelkirk*, a bounty which necessarily was received by the Dryburgh Canons, seeing that Channelkirk had been under their Abbey since the days of Hugh de Morville, Lord of Lauderdale.

* *Liber de Dryburgh.*

Charter No. 255, dated about 1161 A.D., contains likewise a papal confirmation of the *Church of St Cuthbert at Channelkirk* (ecclesiam Sancti Cuthberti de Childinchirch) to the Canons of Dryburgh Abbey.

It is interesting, too, though not perhaps evidentially, to note that Bishop de Bernham of St Andrews,* when in 1240-1249 he consecrated so many churches in his large diocese, comes straight from consecrating St Cuthbert's Church, Edinburgh, to fulfil the same function at Channelkirk. St Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, is consecrated on "XVII Kal. April 1241-2," and "Childenechirch" on "X Kal. April" of the same year, or on the 16th and 23rd of March respectively. We also observe that the day of consecration was as near St Cuthbert's day, the 20th of March, as the nature of the circumstances might reasonably be supposed to permit, considering the season of the year, and the formidable nature of the journey. The editor of De Bernham's *Pontifical* also points out as remarkable that not even one of the churches was dedicated on the festival of the saint whose name is commemorated in its title, and seventy of the one hundred and forty churches which the bishop then consecrated, have been identified.

Moreover, there is every indication that the church at Channelkirk existed before the time that rises above the horizon with historical writings. The year 1153 A.D. is, no doubt, the earliest possible date of Dryburgh Charters, in the first of which our church is specially dealt with. But it is there seen to be at that time a settled church with its own lands lying around it, and a regular priest, Godfrey, ministering at its altar. Its situation, also, is matter of general surprise, being perched 945 feet above sea level, in the remotest

* *Pontifical* (supra).

corner of Lauderdale, on heights so steep and inaccessible as to daunt the most zealous worshippers. Only some important event in by-past centuries could satisfy the interrogations which all these circumstances arouse, and, when it was, moreover, "the mother and parish church of the whole valley" * while a more wealthy and powerful church under the De Morville family existed in 1170 in the rich and populous centre of the dale, we are not surprised that the vision of St Cuthbert which led him to become a monk in Mailros should be localised on the spot where the church now stands, or that both tradition and chronicles should trace its existence and name to the life of that seventh century apostle.

From a consideration of all these facts and circumstances connected with it, we are disposed to believe that the Church of Channelkirk derives its designation from the youth Cuthbert, afterwards St Cuthbert, and probably came into existence between the seventh and ninth centuries. Regarding the investigation into the etymology of the name, etymologists alone have a right to speak. We wholly disclaim any ability in that sphere. We only venture to suggest in the interests of a satisfactory and reasonable solution to this inquiry that the form *Childeschirche*, as our fifteenth century rhymmer and the *Irish Life* assert, was the original one. Through forms which are now lost to us, among which *Childer-chirche* was probably to be reckoned, this became in the charters of the monks *Childenchirch*. This form, with variants of "i" and "e," "chirch" and "kirk," would persist in writings so long as ecclesiastical documents afforded a constant model to copy from. But as soon as Reformation troubles compelled the monks to fly, these documentary guides fled with them, and our Protestant friends were driven

* *Liber de Dryburgh.*

to adopt the phonetic spelling of the name which was constantly on the lips of the people of Lauderdale. There would be many local variants of it, as there are yet to this day. Our present name seems to have come directly from the change of *Childen* into *Cheindil*, which appears to have been simply the result of metathesis or the common transposition of consonants in articulation. But when *Childenchirch* had become by metathesis *Cheindilchirch*, or *Cheindilkirk*, the hatred of the tongue for the dental produced still further changes. *Cheindil* became *Cheinil*, as *handle* becomes *han'le*, *candle*, *cawn'le*, *kindle*, *kin'le*, and so on; after which *Chinel* and *Channel* are easy transitions. A corroborative example of the same process seems given us in the place-name *Annels-hope* in Selkirkshire. In 1455 it is *Aldanhop*; in 1644 it becomes by transposition *Andleshope*. The obnoxious "d" is then thrust out, and it is now *Annelshope*.

Before the year 1560, the year of the Reformation, such forms of the name as "Chingilkirk," "Schingilkirk," "Ginglekirk," etc., etc., are never found, and are purely the spawn of the provincial dialect.

CHAPTER II

THE CHARTERS

The first Charter in the *Liber de Dryburgh*—The De Morville Family—The Patron Saint of Channelkirk—Godfrey the Priest and Hugo de Morville—Extent of De Morville's Estate in Lauderdale—Kirk Lands near Pilmuir—Lauderdale in the Thirteenth Century—Its Devout Men and their Gifts to Channelkirk Church—Gifts "In Perpetuum"—An Era of Bequests to Holy Mother Church—Supposed Atonement for National Sin—Thomas of Collielaw—Ancient Agricultural Life—The Domus de Soltre and Channelkirk Church—Fulewithnes—Glengelt Chapel—The Veteriponts—Carfrae Chapel—The Sinclairs—Pembnstratensian Order—Dedication of Channelkirk Church, A.D. 1241—Then and Now.

VIEWING history through the agency of Charters gives one an impression similar to that experienced when contemplating Nature as set forth in a picture gallery. Facts and forms, truth and beauty, reveal themselves so far within the clear-cut spaces given them; but all around these margins are wood and wall, darkness and silence, and we pass from space to space with a weird sense of skimming over chasms, or graves, across which we slip some tentative speculation or guess, that seems to supply sufficiently the lack of actual historical sequence of time and occurrence. Vision is constantly under arrestment, and all the voices reach our ears through legal telephones. Men and motions appear to exist in an atmosphere of enamel, each attitude struck stiff and unchangeable as if by enchantment, leaving us often perplexed

to know what motive, what principle or passion, had called it into being. In the absence, however, of steady daylight and open landscapes, these charter-flashes through the darkness upon the facts and faces of the past are very acceptable, and we are grateful to the good monks for sending them forth over the dark centuries from their religious lighthouses.

The Register of Dryburgh Abbey, or *Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh*, opens with a charter dealing with the church of Channelkirk. Although marked "No. 6," it is the earliest one extant, as the preceding five have not been found. The title of the charter runs: "The Confirmation regarding the aforesaid donations of Hugo and Robert de Morville concerning the churches of Childinchirch and Saltone." The writ itself proceeds:—

"Malcolm, King of the Scots, to the bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justiciaries, sheriffs, bailies, servants, and all true men of all the land, whether cleric or laic, Franks or Angles, health. Be it known to the present and future generations that I have conceded, and by this, my charter, confirmed to God and the Church of St Mary at Dryburgh, and the canons serving God there, the bequests of Hugo de Morville and Robert de Morville, which they, in free and perpetual charity, gave to the same church, and confirmed by their charters, viz., the Church of Childenchirch, with the land adjacent, and all that justly pertains to it."

In this quotation, and in others to follow, we give only those items in the documents which bear upon Channelkirk. This one is from the hand of Malcolm IV., grandson to David I., and consequently must have been granted between 1153-1165 A.D., the period of his reign.

Hugh de Morville was the friend and favourite of King David I., and rose to the highest office in the State. Much is

dim and uncertain in his career, but he appears to have come originally from the north of England. He received, besides his possessions in England, extensive estates in Scotland. He held all Lauderdale down to near Earlston, where the Earl of Dunbar's land came between the northern portion and his other lands in Dryburgh, Merton, Bemersyde, and Newton. Between 1108-24,* he witnesses the gift of lands to Roger, the Archdeacon, and his heir; in 1116, the *Inquisition* of David, and in 1119-24, the charter of the foundation of Selkirk Abbey. He is called in *Chronica de Mailros*, the founder of the church of Dryburgh.† He was Constable of Scotland before 1140,‡ and died, according to the *Chronica de Mailros*, in 1162. If the latter statement is correct, it must have been another Hugh de Morville§ who was implicated in 1170 in the murder of Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, and was afterwards Justiciary of Northumberland.

In the *Calendar of Documents* we ascertain that he accounts, in 1194-95, for £100 of his fine, made with the king for holding the forestry of Carlisle. Probably, the "Hugh de Morville" found after 1162 was a younger man, related to the Hugh of Lauderdale, and less pious, perhaps, in his character.

The office of Constable of Scotland became hereditary in the De Morville family,* and after Hugo it was held successively by his son, Richard; William de Morville;

* Vol. i. *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*.

† See also *Liber de Dryburgh*, No. 14. ‡ Newbattle Charters.

§ Hoveden's *Chronicle*, vol. ii., p. 14.

|| See Froude's *Short Studies*, vol. iv.; also *The Itinerary of Henry II.*, by Rev. R. W. Eyton, who includes the years 1158-70 in Hugh de Morville's life.

¶ *Caledonia*, vol. i., p. 707.

Roland, Lord Galloway (d. 1200); Allan, his son (d. 1234); Roger de Quinsi; Alexander Cumyn, and John Cumyn, and others.

Before his death he gifted Channelkirk Church to Dryburgh Abbey, and himself donned the monk's habit at the same time.*

The name "Robert" de Morville in the charter just quoted, is, perhaps, intended for "Richard," who succeeded his father Hugo. Richard was a man of more warlike manner than his father, and was embroiled in many disputes with the religious houses. He commanded part of the Scottish army at the battle of Falaise in 1174,† and was one of the hostages given to the King of England. He was excommunicated by John Scott, Bishop of St Andrews, as a disturber of the peace between the king and himself.‡ He died in 1189.

The charter which next in chronological order makes reference to Channelkirk is No. 255, and is entitled "Concerning the Church of Childinchirch and the tenths of the Mills of Lauder and Salton, and two bovates of land in Smailholm." It is dated c. 1161, and is granted by Pope Alexander III., who occupied the papal chair, 1159-81. It bears that Roger, Abbot of Dryburgh, and his brethren, had petitioned the Pope to confirm Hugh de Morville's gift of Channelkirk Church to them, the consent of the ecclesiastical king being as necessary as that of the King of Scotland.

"Alexander, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved sons Roger, the Abbot, and the Brethren of the Church of St Mary at Dryburgh, health and Apostolic benediction. It is right that we give a ready assent to the just desires of your petitions, and your wishes, which are

* *Liber de Dryburgh*, No. 8. † *Hoveden's Chronicle*. ‡ *Ibid*.

agreeable to right reason are to be complied with in the following way. Wherefore, beloved sons in the Lord, complying with your just demands by a cordial consent, we confirm the Church of St Cuthbert at Channelkirk, the tenth of the mills of Lauder and Salton, and the two bovates of land in Smailholm, from the gift of David Olifard, for your devotion, and through you to your church by Apostolic authority."

This charter and Charter No. 185 are valuable in that they decide who was the patron saint of Channelkirk Church. Hew Scott in his *Fasti* says that "it was dedicated to the Holy Innocents." He gives no authority, and it may be that the name "Childermas" seemed to him to be connected with "Childinchirch," and so to have suggested the above. The mistake would have been rectified long ago, doubtless, if Professor Cosmo Innes's *Origines Parochiales* had embraced the Lauderdale district in its scope, a hint of which is given in his preface (p. xxiii), when he says, "Affectionate memorials of St Cuthbert are still found at Melrose, Channelkirk, and Maxton."

Malcolm the Maiden, died 1165, and was succeeded by his brother William, the Lyon King, who was crowned at Scone on Christmas eve of the same year. In such troublous times, when kings and kingdoms were so often placed in hazard, it seems to have been necessary, in order to preserve the clear right of possession, that each succeeding king should grant confirmation of Church bequests bestowed in former reigns. We find, therefore, that Malcolm, William, and Alexander, confirm in succession the church of Channelkirk to God and the Church of Saint Mary at Dryburgh. About the year 1165, when he ascended the throne, William the Lyon gives a general confirmatory charter to Dryburgh

Abbey, and one item "from the gift of Hugo de Morville" is the "Church of Childinchirch" (No. 241).

Richard de Morville of Lauderdale, succeeding his father Hugo in the office of Constable of Scotland in, it is said, 1165, and dying in 1189, gives, in some year between these dates, the following confirmatory charter (No. 8):—

"Richard de Morville, constable of the King of Scots, to all his adherents and true men, wishes health. Be it known to the present and future generations that I have given and by this my charter confirmed to God and the Church of the Blessed Mary at Dryburgh, and to the Brethren serving God in that place, in perpetual charity, the Church of Salton with full carucates of land, and all pertaining to the same church after the decease of Robert the Cleric.

"Besides, I concede, I confirm to the same church the gifts of my father which with himself he gave to the same Brethren, viz., the church of Childinchirch, with all pertaining to it with which Godfrid the priest held it in the day in which my father assumed the canonical dress."

This concession and confirmation contains interesting items. 1. The name of the priest who officiated in Channelkirk at the time Hugo de Morville bequeathed the church to Dryburgh Abbey. 2. The early system of tenure on which this Godfrid the priest held it. "Each church* as it was settled, was under the charge of its own priest or minister, and he was amenable only to the lord on whose domain he had been settled, and by whom, in most cases, he had been endowed. 3. The fact of H. de Morville having submitted to a monkish rule of life in Dryburgh Abbey, a statement we do not remember to have seen noticed in any work treating of his history. The priest's name, Godfrey, is Anglic, and

* *Church of Scotland*, vol. iv., p. 3.

points to his having come with the De Morvilles into Lauderdale, though, of course, this is merely conjectural.

The church of Channelkirk, being under Dryburgh Abbey, was thereby in the diocese of St Andrews. Malcolm II. in 1018 obtained a victory over Eadulf at the battle of Carham, and the province of Lothian was ceded to him. This large province was then added to the diocese of St Andrews, which previously did not extend south of the Forth, and consequently the Bishop of St Andrews included Channelkirk among his churches and possessions. Richard, the bishop, mentioned below, was chaplain (1163-1177) to Malcolm IV., and was Primate of Scotland.

Charter 235 (c. 1170), "Confirmation of the Bishop of St Andrews concerning churches, lands, and possessions. Richard, by the grace of God, the humble bishop of the Scots to all (children) of the Holy Mother (Church), eternal salvation in God . . . we confirm the Church of Childinchirch, with the land adjacent, and all pertaining to it."

Charter No. 249 concerns general privileges granted by the Pope in 1184 to Dryburgh Abbey. While it confirms to it the Church of Channelkirk in the usual formula, another matter is introduced which is not uninteresting. Chalmers, in *Caledonia* (i. 505, ii. 224), asserts that the De Morvilles "enjoyed some rich lands on the northern bank of the Tweed, including Bemersyde, Dryburgh, Mertoun," etc. Russell in his *Haigs of Bemersyde* rebuts this, and says with reference to this statement (p. 55), "What is here alleged cannot be substantiated" . . . "there is nothing in the Dryburgh Cartulary to support his statement." "There is not the slightest ground for believing that the De Morvilles ever possessed a foot of land in the Merse, their lands in Lauderdale only coming down to within a few miles of Earlston."

Yet in our charter above-noted, we find Pope Lucius III. confirming to the Abbot, Gerard, and brethren of Dryburgh "from the gift of Hugh de Morville, *the place itself which is called Dryburgh*," and again in Charter 251, "*the place itself in which the aforesaid monastery is situated*." There is some confusion of dates in this charter, 1283 being given in the text, and 1184 put within brackets. The latter is clearly the correct date. Pope Martin IV. occupied the papal throne from 1281-1285, and Pope Lucius III., who is mentioned in the text, from 1181-1185.

Pope Celestine III. in 1196 also confirms the Church of Channelkirk to Allan, the abbot, and brethren of Dryburgh (Charter 250).

The charter which seems to follow next in order of time is very interesting, as showing one of the sources of endowment which was enjoyed by Channelkirk. It is as follows: "(No. 176) Concerning a toft and croft and land and meadow in Samsonshiels. To all, etc., Henry, son of Samson of Logie, health. Be it known to you all that I, with the consent and assent of my wife and my heir, with the view of a charter, have given and granted; and by this my present charter confirmed to God and the Church of St Mary at Dryburgh, and to the canons who serve God there, and to my Mother Church at Channelkirk, a toft and croft in the village of Samsonshiels, namely, a toft of one rood in front of, and a croft with land contiguous to, the same croft of three full acres, close to my house from the west, and also that land, arable as well as meadow, which lies on the west side between the aforesaid croft at the top, and the boundary of the burn which is between my land and Pilmuir, that is to say, beginning on the south side at a certain stone cross set up on the edge of the same stream, and extending as far

as Derestrete in length northwards. To this, likewise, an acre which belonged to William, Robert's son, with the land which lies between the same acre and ditch between Samsonshiels and Pilmuir in breadth, and from the aforesaid stone cross as far as the way which leads to Wenneshead in length, and so by the same road on the east side continually to the ditch at Pilmuir as far as Bradestrutherburn, and thence going on towards the north exactly as that stream formerly ran to the Leader, in free and perpetual charity, etc."

About the same year (1220) it was deemed necessary to confirm this gift by a new charter (No. 177), probably owing to the existence then of new heirs and other collateral considerations. In this charter, the land is to be held in perpetuity without any custom or secular exaction, as fully and peaceably as it is possible to give or confirm any church, land, or charity. The reason is also very solemnly stated, and marks the depth of religious fervour in those days when a man's faith determined his works. Henry, son of Samson, gives his croft, and toft, and land, and meadow, "for the salvation of my lords (the De Morvilles), and for the salvation of my soul and the souls of my wife and children, and of all my ancestors and successors, but specially for the soul of my father Samson and the soul of my mother." There is a beautiful simplicity in this old-time piety. Its faith is deep. The family is in heaven and on earth; and death divides it not, nor can the grave cleave it asunder. Allan, son of Rolland of Galloway, who was now in possession of the extensive Lauderdale estates left by the extinct family of the De Morvilles, confirms these donations to Dryburgh Abbey and the Mother Church of Channelkirk, and notes that the above "Samson" had been a monk in Dryburgh. (Charter No. 180.) As a Charter of Kelso Abbey, c. 1206, mentions

"Samson's Marches," he had evidently been alive before this date. (See "Oxton.")

The places mentioned in these three charters which convey the gifts of Henry, are for most part now obliterated. Pilmuir is still flourishing as an arable farm, two miles to the north-west of Lauder, but Samsonshiels, Wenneshead, Witnesbusk, Derestrete, and the "certain stone cross" have all vanished, and left only conjecture to point out their locality. The "Bradestrotherburne" is still in existence and running towards the Leader as of yore, we believe, under the name of "Harry Burn." Who knows but the name of this ancient Henricus may have had some connection with the change. We may explain that a Toft meant a house-stance with, perhaps, a small vegetable garden; while a Croft was oftener on the outskirts of the village or "tun," and was the source of meal to the priest and grazing for his cow.

It is curious to note also, that, though in its locality, the gift is not given to Lauder Church, but to Channelkirk. The unpleasant state of matters noticed below perhaps accounted for this. The granter's father, having been a monk in Dryburgh, might bias the matter also, for the advantage was more certain to reach that Abbey by way of Channelkirk than through Lauder, seeing the latter was seeking to set up an independency of both.

Charters Nos. 185, 186, 191, have no dates assigned to them, but this in no wise lessens their interest for us, as the Church of Channelkirk gains by them not only new endowments but also a new ecclesiastical responsibility. Eight acres of land are settled upon her, and two new domestic chapels are erected in the parish. Collielaw, Glengelt, and Carfrae, are the places which are rendered illustrious by these proofs of piety and self-sacrifice. Perhaps we cannot go very wide

of the period, which saw these transactions, if we place them about the middle of the thirteenth century. No. 185 is about 1327 or a little earlier, as we know from other sources.* In these old records also, at this period, the outlines of Lauderdale, as they look to modern eyes, come more and more clearly into our field of vision. Pilmuir stands before us unmistakably: Glengelt at the extreme north of the valley, with Carfrae on the heights to the east, and Collielaw on the sloping middle ground to the west, rise upon our view, and like the same places to-day, lead the eye round the boundaries of the upper part of the dale, and generally define its length and breadth. Devout men then dwelt in the land. The proof they give us of the high esteem in which Channelkirk Church was held by them, are comparable to the smaller currents in that tide of charity and full-hearted benevolence which swept over all the country. The noblest believed themselves nobler in laying their precious gifts upon the altars of Holy Mother Church. It was an era when the passion of giving for pious uses was strong upon men, just as the passion for the martyr's crown defined in earlier days a devotional epoch in the history of the Church, and we should note that when they gave, they meant the Church to keep what was given, so long as respect anywhere existed for the dead, for legal instruments, and the testimony of witnesses. Their will is set forth with the utmost care, and nothing is omitted that in future might cause doubt to rise or suspicion to rest upon the right of the Church to hold their bequests in her patrimony. The strength of this is found in the absolute freedom of the gift from all burdens, and in its being bequeathed as a gift for all time. "In perpetuam" is their constant phrase. Of course, on the other hand, there is no reason to regard this

* Original Charters (i., 98), in Register House, Edinburgh.

as partaking of finality in Church affairs, as is sometimes done. The unalterable laws of the Medes and Persians have all been altered, and the gifts given "forever" have also undergone those mutations of possession which overtake all earthly things. Human contingencies spring from a deeper fountain than even human piety. Furthermore, it is impossible now, in these protestant days, to fulfil the conditions attached to their donations. The Roman Catholic priest alone can conscientiously claim to save the souls of masters, fathers, and mothers, predecessors and successors, in return for carucates and ploughgates of land, crofts and tofts, and wax candles. No minister without that pale can even legally, not to say conscientiously, demand these possessions, on the foundations of the original bequest, without first assuming the spiritual obligations which they include within them. This is sometimes overlooked. Nevertheless, it is also clear, that when once a gift is laid upon God's altar, and is afterwards found in the pockets of persons who can produce neither writ nor relationship to justify its presence there, it is impossible to deny the inference that morality, the worst, and sacrilege, the vilest, have been at work in the mysterious transference.

Surprise is sometimes expressed that wealthy and opulent men, and men not so wealthy, should, at that time, have been seized with such an unbounded desire to pour their dearest treasures into the coffers of the Church. So lavish were they, and so vast was their benevolence, that, to account for it, we naturally seek for some reason, which falls somewhat within the category of those motives which move men to generous impulses, apart from those more exalted principles of high sacrifice which can alone be illustrated by the heroic few. There seem to have been few men of consequence in those times who did not bestow gifts on the Church and its priest-

hood. What prompted them to such unusual benevolence? Love of salvation, and love of friends, and pious desires to escape eternal torment, no doubt lie upon the surface of it all, and are the reasons which obtain assertion and place in instruments. But perhaps a wider and more inexpressible feeling lay at its base. It is suggested by Dr Spence, Dean of Gloucester, in treating of the Conqueror's success and sin in his subjection of England.* "But in the hour of his success, men in whom he had the deepest confidence began to see the awful wrong of the great conquest. The Norman Prelates seem to have been specially struck with the terrible-ness of the Conqueror's work. Some few among his chosen followers refused to share at all in the spoil, and probably the enormous number of religious foundations in England during the years immediately following the conquest, point to the same conviction on the part of many of his Anglo-Norman nobles, that a great and fearful sin had been committed, and that some atonement must be made." We can scarcely imagine how stupendous was the calamity that crushed the English people then. It can perhaps only be matched by the disaster which the English themselves inflicted on the Britons when they first came to their island. At that invasion we are told:† "The barbarous conquerors plundered all the neighbouring cities and country, spread the conflagration from the eastern to the western sea without any opposition, and covered almost every part of the devoted island. Public as well as private structures were overturned; the priests were everywhere slain before the altars; the prelates and the people, without any respect of persons, were destroyed with fire and sword; nor was there any to bury those who had

* *Good Words*, July 1890.

† Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., c. xv.

been thus cruelly slaughtered. Some of the miserable remainder, being taken in the mountains, were butchered in heaps. Others, spent with hunger, came forth and submitted themselves to the enemy for food, being destined to undergo perpetual servitude, if they were not killed even upon the spot. Some with sorrowful hearts fled beyond the seas, others, continuing in their own country, led a miserable life among the woods, rocks, and mountains, with scarcely enough food to support life, and expecting every moment to be their last." That was in the fifth century. The great battle of Hastings in the eleventh deeply avenged it, but the avenging seems to have been done with a tenderer conscience lying behind it, and pity and contrition for national sin, in order to appease its pangs, hastened to erect churches and endow priesthoods, as much, perhaps, to bury up blood as to advance Christianity. The conspicuous examples of the great land-owners and noblemen, and especially in Scotland of King David I., would doubtless be widely emulated by their vassals, and thus to give to Holy Mother Church would become fashionable and honourable, as well as being good spiritual security both here and hereafter.

Charter No. 185 has the title "Concerning four acres of land and four of meadow conceded to the Church of Childinchirch. To all (the children) of Holy Mother (Church), Thomas the Cleric, son of William of Collielaw, wishes health in the Lord. Be it known to you all that I, by the prompting of divine charity, and for the salvation of my soul, and for the salvation of the souls of all my ancestors and successors, have given and conceded, and by this my charter confirmed to God and to the Church of Saint Cuthbert at Channelkirk, and the Canons of Dryburgh, eight acres of land, to wit, four acres of arable land and four of meadow, viz., the Haugh

under Langsyde, in the territory of Oxton, in free and perpetual charity, to be held and possessed by them, from me and my heirs for ever, as freely, quietly, fully, and honourably as any charity is held and possessed more freely, quietly, fully, and honourably, by any religious men in the whole kingdom of Scotland. Moreover, I and my forementioned heirs will guarantee the land to the foresaid canons against all men. And that this my donation, gift, and confirmation may obtain perpetual force, I have affixed my seal to the present document. In the presence of these witnesses, etc., etc." Thomas the Cleric, son of William of Collielaw, was alive about 1327, but the charter may have been granted earlier.

The names of the witnesses are unfortunately not given. The "Langsyde" mentioned in this charter seems to have sunk into complete oblivion, but there is reason to believe that the "Haugh" is Mountmill Haugh, and consequently "Langsyde" may have stood somewhere near the ruins of Butterdean on the Airhouse Road. Part of the glebe of the church was for long in Mountmill Haugh, and was excambed for the corresponding acreage which now lies on the north side of the manse, so late as November 1871.

The "territory of Oxton" is worthy of notice as pointing to a peculiarity of ancient agricultural life. It seems that under such lawless times men found it necessary to dwell in communities or *villas* rather than in farms. By this means they derived greater security and immunity from assault. Attached to these *villas* was a district or *territoria* which cottagers and husbandmen tilled in their several proportions. According to Professor Cosmo Innes the workers on the land were of three classes: * 1. The *natives*, serf, villein, bond, or

* Kelso Register, pref. xxxii.

carle, who was transferred like the land, and might be brought back if he attempted to escape like any stray ox or sheep. 2. The *Cottars*, who held in rent from one to nine acres; and, 3. The *Husbandmen*, who held land of such dimensions as would approach nearer to our modern conception of a farm. The lowest of these classes, viz. the *serf*, is believed to have been the class of natives and their descendants whom the Angles and Saxons found in Scotland, and whom they subdued into slavery. Is the "bondager" of to-day a faint survival of this ancient class of people?

The "territory" of Oxton seems to have been bounded on the south by Over Howden burn, and on the north by what is now Mountmill Haugh. The Leader on the east, and the Wide-open Common on the west, would naturally be the other retaining lines.

"William of Collielaw," mentioned in the above deed, is spoken of in a Kelso Charter (see "Oxton") as having crofts near Over Howden about 1206. He must therefore have been alive about that date.

The House of Soltre, which is referred to in the following charter, stood on Soutrahill immediately outside the northern boundary of Channelkirk parish. It is assumed to have been founded by Malcolm IV., grandson of David I., in 1164, as a hospital of the Trinity Friars. It was annexed to Trinity College by Mary of Gueldres in 1462. Only a small part now remains, commonly called "Soutra Isle," and which is observable from the highway on the west when crossing Soutra Hill by the Edinburgh road. It underwent some repairs in 1898.

Charter No. 187, c. 1220 A.D. (in Soltre Charters c. 1200) — "Concerning a pound of pepper and another of

cumin to be rendered to us annually by the master of Soltre for tithe of Fulewithnes, in the parish of Channelkirk.

"This is the agreement made between the Abbey and Convent of Dryburgh, on the one side, and the master of Soltre and his brethren on the other, viz., that the same Abbey and Convent, being charitably disposed, have given up and have freed the House of Soltre from all tithes and dues which the same ought, by ecclesiastical law, to pay to the Mother Church of Channelkirk from that carucate of land which he held in the parish of Channelkirk, which is called Fulewithnes, at Wedelford, viz., that in crop cultivated for their own use, at their own expense, as well as that in other movables in the same land, themselves giving to the house of Dryburgh annually, for recognition of the Mother Church of Channelkirk, one pound of pepper and another of cumin at the fair of Roxburgh. And it must be observed that this has been charitably given up to the same brethren as long as they hold the foresaid land for their own uses, under their own cultivation. But their servants on the same land, and also all men whom they may have had residing under them on the same land, shall fully and wholly, over all things, pay their tithes and all dues to the Mother Church of Channelkirk, both in life and in death, whether the land be cultivated by the House of Soltre or not.

"If, moreover, the foresaid brethren of the House of Soltre shall give to others the land already mentioned, or shall sell, or even let it on lease, all the donations and ecclesiastical rights of that whole land, both that in growing crop as well as that in all other things, shall fully and wholly be paid in all things to the Mother Church.

"Besides, it was so agreed between them, that if the often-mentioned brethren of the House of Soltre [blank], viz., from

the year of our Lord, one thousand two hundred and twenty, should receive any land or lease in the parish of Channelkirk, or [blank], if they should have obtained the foresaid land of any one, they shall pay the full tithes and ecclesiastical rights in full, in all things, and over all things, to the Mother Church of that land, and from all things in it likewise, and wherever they shall have had (possessed) anything in their parishes as well themselves as their servants, and the men holding from them.

"In evidence of which contract, the seals of both houses are appended on this side and on that to the writing of this convention. By these witnesses, etc."

As usual, the names of witnesses are here conspicuous by their absence. But a few are given in the Soltre Charter, among whom is William Alb of Hartside. (See "Hartside.")

In perusing these charters it is evident that the literary forms of law must have taken their rise first in the Church. "In those ancient times (tenth and eleventh centuries) we had already laws, but no lawyers. . . . The class of professional lawyers grew up along with the growth of a more complicated and technical jurisprudence."* The monks necessarily were the first lawyers. This, however, is not surprising when we remember that the great bulwark of our liberties, *Trial by Jury*, first originated in Church courts, according to the best authorities.† Hallam‡ notes, however, "that the clergy, by their exclusive knowledge of Latin, had it in their power to mould the language of public documents for their own purposes!"

* *Growth of English Constitution from the Earliest Times* (Freeman), p. 126.

† Cosmo Innes' *Legal Antiquities*, p. 213.

‡ *Europe during the Middle Ages*, chap. vii.

No trace is now found of the site of this carucate of land (104 acres), called "Fulewithnis at Wedelford,"* unless it be the place now called Threeburnford. The frequent expression "the Mother Church of Channelkirk" seems to point to her well-known ecclesiastical status in the valley. It may refer either to the fact asserted in another charter that she was "the mother and parish church of the whole valley," or to the two chapels of Carfrae and Glengelt, over which she was superior. The two charters which follow here deal with the latter matter.

"Charter 186 (no date). Concerning the indemnification of Channelkirk Church on account of the Chapel of Glengelt.

"To all this document, etc., Henry de Mundeville wishes eternal well-being in the Lord. To you all I make known that I will be bound, as well by the security furnished on oath as by the present document, to the chief Abbey and Convent of Dryburgh for myself and heirs forever; that I will never injure the Mother Church at Channelkirk on account of the chapel erected in my domain of Glengelt, but will securely confirm the obventions of every kind belonging to the said Church of Channelkirk, according to the tenor of the charter designed to me, by the Abbey and Convent of Dryburgh, concerning the celebration of divine ordinances in the said chapel. Moreover, I have given and granted to the same Abbey and Convent of Dryburgh, three acres in my territory of Glengelt, adjoining those seven acres of land, which, from the gift of Lord Ivon de Veteripont, my ancestor in the same territory, they hold and possess on the east side of the said Church of Channelkirk, to be possessed and held by them in pure and perpetual charity, according to the bounds and divisions named more fully in my charter written concerning

* See "Hartside" and "Threeburnford."

these three acres of land, of which I have executed a fuller sasine to the same. In witness whereof, forever, I have affixed my seal to the present writing."

This * Henry de Mundeville was invited by Edward I., on May 24, 1297, along with the Scotch nobility, to go an expedition with him into Flanders.

The Veteriponts (often called Vipont) come into notice during David the First's reign. Rev. Dr John Brown, minister of Langton, writing in 1834, has this observation regarding them. "During† the reign of David I., the Manor of Langton, with the advowson of the Church, belonged to Roger de Ow, a Northumbrian follower of Prince Henry. Roger de Ow granted to the monks of Kelso the Church of Langton, which was accordingly held by Henry the Parson. From him the estate passed to William de Veteriponte or Vipont, who continued to these monks the Church with its tithes and lands." "The first Vipont was succeeded by his eldest son by his first wife, Emma de St Hilary, and this family continued Lords of Langton till Sir William Vipont was killed at Bannockburn in 1314. Immediately after this the estate passed into the family of Cockburn by marriage with the heiress of Vipont." The family seems to have extended itself to a considerable degree, but never rose to any great eminence in Scotland. Scott‡ rather ridicules the Vipont character in *Ivanhoe*. The Ivon de Veteripont mentioned above must have lived before 1189, and seems to have been alive in 1230.§ (See also "Glengelt" below.)

In Charter No. 191 (no date) John de Sinclair promises in

* *Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland*. (Rev. Jos. Stevenson.) Vol. ii., p. 169.

† *New Statistical Account*, "Berwickshire," p. 237.

‡ *Ivanhoe*, chap. viii.

§ *Calendar of Documents*, vol. i., p. 203.

similar terms to those of Henry de Mundeville, that the Mother Churches of Channelkirk and Salton shall not suffer injury from the chapels which he holds in Carfrae and Herdmanston, and certain feast days of the church are specified when neither divine service is to be heard nor mass celebrated in these chapels. And in recognition of the right of both Mother Churches he confirms two acres of land to Dryburgh Abbey in his territory of Herdmanston.

The Sinclairs of Carfrae seem to have been actively engaged in the thirteenth century in the affairs of Upper Lauderdale. Concerning the origin of the family, it appears, that like so many others, the Sinclairs came over with the Conqueror. They branch out into distinct divisions during the twelfth century, viz., the Sinclairs of Roslin and the Sinclairs of Herdmanston.

William de St Clair obtained the manor of Roslin in Lothian, where he settled in David the First's reign. He seems to be the first of the Sinclairs to rise into historical notice. This branch gave the Sinclairs the Earls of Orkney; the Earl Sinclairs of Caithness; Sinclair, Lord Sinclair; Sinclair of Longformacus; and others.*

The second branch is the one which connects itself with Channelkirk.

Henry de Sinclair, Sheriff to Richard de Morville of Lauderdale, Constable of Scotland, seems to have been a son of the first William de Sinclair of Roslin. The Sinclairs of Herdmanston and Carfrae derive their less remote origin from him.

Henry de Sinclair was succeeded by his son Allan, who appears with his father in the Charters of the De Morvilles. It is this Allan who obtained from William de Morville, son

* Douglas's *Peerage*, p. 112.

of Richard de Morville, the lands of Carfrae in the parish of Channelkirk, in marriage with Matilda de Windefore, and this is confirmed by Roland the Constable, who died 1200 A.D.*

John de Sinclair, who in the above-mentioned charter grants an indemnity to the Mother Churches of Salton and Channelkirk, was successor to Allan de Sinclair in his estates. We find him in 1296, on 10th July, sending in his submission to King Edward I., when he invaded Scotland to quell Wallace's rebellion.†

Charter No. 237 (about 1200) is chiefly interesting here for its mention of Oxton, the mill of which seems to have been held, along with several others, in the hands of Bishop William Malvoisine, St Andrews (1202-38), and regarding which something more will be said below in narrating the history of the village of Oxton.

In 1221 (Charter 234), James, brother of the Lord Pope, Penitentiary and Chaplain of the Apostolic See, Legate to the beloved brethren in Christ, the Abbot and Canons of Dryburgh, grants confirmation concerning all their churches, lands, and possessions, and the church of Channelkirk appears in the list in the usual way.

Charter No. 251, dated 1228, contains a general confirmation of the Abbey's possessions, and mention is made of "the place itself on which the foresaid monastery stands." As already noticed, it is disputed whether Hugh de Morville had land to give for ecclesiastical purposes so far south as Dryburgh Abbey, and therefore if he had not, could not have been its founder. This charter does not mention the giver of the site. Channelkirk is catalogued as belonging to Dryburgh Abbey.

* *Dip. Scotiae*, pl. 81. † Palgrave's *Documents and Records*, p. 169.

Charters 257 and 262, with the above, are from Pope Gregory IX., and bear the same import. They also tell us that the brethren of Dryburgh Abbey were of the Premonstratensian Order. This Order was founded in the first half of the twelfth century by Norbert, and derived its name from Prémontré, where its first monastery was founded in 1121. It spread through all countries, and wielded great influence. The rules were those of Augustine; religious practices were very severe; fasts were frequent, and scourgings common. Flesh was altogether forbidden. Their life at Dryburgh Abbey was therefore no path of roses. They were usually called white canons from the colour of their dress. To call up to fancy what they looked like as they went in and out on their various duties, we have to imagine a person in a white cassock with a rocket and cape over it, a long white cloak, and a square hat or bonnet of white felt. They wore breeches and shoes, but no shirt. The abbot wore red shoes, and a short cloak, and carried a pastoral staff like a shepherd's crook. They were poor at first and lived by their labour, but their piety soon gained them benefactors. Their privileges were many, and in those days, invaluable. They paid no tithes, they could not be summoned before any secular tribunal, and neither were they under the Bishop's jurisdiction. Their work meant religious exercises, copying books, and reading, attending to the household offices, and working in the fields. They held devotions seven times a day.

In 1230 A.D., Alexander II. confirms the Church of Channelkirk to Dryburgh Abbey (Charter No. 242), and we leave the Register of Dryburgh for a little to include an important event which transpired in the history of this church in A.D. 1241. This was its dedication by David de

Bernham, Bishop of St Andrews.* A notable event. Between 1239 and 1253, Bishop de Bernham consecrated no less than 140 churches in his large diocese, and the reason of his activity, apart from his own laudable zeal, is found in the interest which Cardinal Otho had taken in the question. We cull the following notes from the *Pontificale* as quoted. "In the year 1239 Cardinal Otho held a Legislative Council in Edinburgh. Unfortunately the records of this Synod are lost, but it seems highly probable that the Cardinal should have issued among others a constitution, relating to the neglect of consecration of churches. We know that this was a subject which had been in Otho's mind, and that only a year or two before he had promulgated an order dealing with that subject at the head of his constitutions for England in 1237. The following extract from Johnson's *English Canons*† will give an idea of the nature of the document: 'Now, because we have ourselves seen and heard by many that so wholesome a mystery is despised, at least neglected by some (for we have found many churches and some cathedrals not consecrated with holy oil though built of wood), we, therefore, being desirous to obviate so great a neglect, do ordain and give in charge that all cathedral, conventual and parochial churches which are ready built, and their walls perfected, be consecrated by the diocesan bishops to whom they belong, or others authorised by them within two years.'"

On 3rd June 1239 David de Bernham was elected Bishop of St Andrews. On the 22nd day of January

* De Bernham's *Pontificale*, etc. Edinburgh Pitsligo Press, 1885. Introduction by Chr. Wordsworth, Rector of Glaston. Rev. Dr Jas. Gammack's "Itinerary of De Bernham," in *The Scottish Guardian*, Feb. 1883.

† *Anglo-Catholic Library*, Part II., p. 151.

in 1240, he himself was consecrated by the bishops of Glasgow, Caithness, and Brechin. Like a true shepherd, he at once zealously set about visiting his large diocese, which extended along the east coast of all Scotland from the Tweed to the Dec. The service book which he used was fortunately preserved in Paris, and it contains the roll of his church dedications up till 1253. The dates and places are only recorded, the titles of the churches, that is, the names of the saints to whom dedicated, being omitted. These have to be sought in other records. Early in the spring, on the 14th day of March 1241, he is at Mid-Calder; on the 16th he dedicates St Cuthbert's Church, Edinburgh. He then passes up the valley between the Pentlands and the Lammermoors, and descends into Berwickshire by Soutra and Lauderdale. If the March of that year was as tempestuous as that month usually is now, his journey would truly be a bitter one, and his sense of duty must have been strong to brave it. It is then, notwithstanding, that on the 23rd of March he arrives at Channelkirk and dedicates that church, passing on to Gordon on the 28th and Stitchill on the 30th. Lauder is not mentioned in the list of dedications, for a reason which becomes apparent in the chapter following.

With regard to the year, it is as well to note that the ecclesiastical year in Europe generally commenced on 25th March. Strictly speaking, the year of our dedication would thus be 23rd March 1242 according to our reckoning. But we retain De Bernham's mode of dating.

In stating "facts and figures" in this way we naturally lose something of the solemnity with which the lapse of time should impress us. When Bishop de Bernham stood on the hillside intent on consecrating Channelkirk Church, and when the ancient inhabitants of the parish wended their

toilsome path upwards to take part in the religious mysteries of that day of March 1241, we scarcely pause to remember that the world was very much smaller to them than it is now to us, and that hardly any of the well-known landmarks to which we are accustomed in history were then visible. America was unknown. No one had heard of Australia. India was a hearsay. A few had heard of China. Sir William Wallace and King Robert the Bruce were not born. The Parliament as we have it now, in its two great branches, did not exist. John Knox and the Reformation did not dawn on Scotland till 319 years afterwards, and if the people of Channelkirk had been gifted then with a glimpse into the future, they would have required to look almost as far forward to the memorable days of Queen Mary and Knox as we now need to look backward. About the time when Channelkirk was dedicated, candles came into vogue, linen was introduced, a licence to dig coal was first granted to Newcastle, and gold coinage took its rise some time later. Roger Bacon was busy with his chemicals and magnifying glasses, and, as some think, inventing gunpowder, while the compass began to be first known. But if physical developments were then but in an embryonic condition, the growth of spiritual power was immense. It was the noontime of papal glory. Never before or since has Roman Catholicism gained such an ascendancy over the entire world. No nation was exempt from her rule, and kings and peoples alike bowed before her imperious authority. The slightest whisper of the Pope made a kingdom shake. His deliverance was law, and whether it ran along the shores of the Mediterranean, the Thames, or the sequestered stream of the Leader, his power was equally invincible, and submission to it inevitable. An illustrative case of this occurs in our dale about seven or eight

years after Channelkirk dedication, and must have been pending as an ecclesiastical dispute when De Bernham passed through it, as is shown in next chapter.

From De Bernham's *Pontifical* we can partly call up to our imagination the scene that was enacted at the consecration of the church. In such a remote place, the ceremony might not be so elaborate or complete as it is given there, but the essentials were never omitted in any case. The articles required in the service were crosses, candelabra and wax candles, vases for water, keys, holy oil, chrisma, hyssop, sand or ashes, wine, salt, incense, bread. After robing and psalm-chanting, the Bishop and procession came singing to the church door, "Zaccheus, make haste," etc. Twelve wax lights were lit and placed outside in a circuit around the Church and the same number within. The procession then went round the Church carrying the relicts of the saint and singing the litany. A deacon then entered the Church and shut the door to ask the question, "Who is the King of Glory?" in reply to the Bishop's knock, "Lift up your heads," etc., after he had walked round the Church three times. The door being opened, the Bishop and procession entered bearing the cross, while the chest with the saint's relics was held before the door by priests. A sign of the cross the length and breadth of the floor was then made, and the cross of the Bishop fixed in the centre of the Church, and formulas, prayers, genuflections, chants, litany, etc., followed. After this the Greek alphabet was written across the floor from the left corner in the east to the right corner in the west, and a cross made with this by the Latin alphabet written from the east right corner to the west left. Then followed the consecration of salt, the ashes, holy water, the wine, and the altar. Then beginning in the east

left-hand corner, as with the Greek alphabet, the Bishop went once round the church sprinkling the walls. This was done other twice, each time a higher sprinkling being given, till the wall-tops were reached. He enacted the same ceremony outside, chanting and defying, in the language of Scripture, the winds and waters to move the walls, till finally he sprinkled the very ridge, singing: "Jacob saw a ladder which touched the highest heavens, and angels descended upon it." The consecration of the churchyard (when required; Channelkirk churchyard would be consecrated long before this) seems then to have come next in order, with candles set in the four corners, and much ceremony and singing. After this was done, the Bishop again entered the church. Holy water was sprinkled over the floor, the altar was consecrated with water, oil, and the chrisma, the crosses to be used blessed, and the incense. Here followed, perhaps, the most important part of the whole service, viz., the exposing of the relics. They were brought out from the altar, a veil being put up between the priests and the people (this being the first time that the people are noticed in the service), a place was dug and anointed at its four corners with the chrisma, and incense burned, and then the Bishop received into his own hands the sacred relics, and deposited them, singing meanwhile an antiphonal, "The saints shall exalt in glory, in their graves they shall rejoice." A table having been placed over the relics, it was daubed with lime as the Bishop sang: "The bodies of the saints sleep in peace, and their names shall live thro' eternity." The actual dedication closed with the demand for a gift to the Church. No church could be dedicated without it, and it was usually given by the lord who owned the land. He himself placed it on the altar with a small knife or baton, the clergy following the act, by singing: "Confirm this which has

been done, O God, through us to Thy holy temple which is in Jerusalem. Hallelujah." The Bishop then raised his right hand and blessed the church with the usual formal benediction. The gospels were then read to the people, and the Bishop preached. He explained the meaning of the dedication, exhorted them to come and go to church in peace, an injunction which was not altogether unnecessary, as in Berwick Church, about this time, there had been bloodshed. He enjoined them to observe the anniversary of the dedication as a holy day, and to give legitimate gifts to the church. Mass was then celebrated: the singers sang "How terrible is this place: this is none other than the House of God, the very gate of heaven." A lesson was read from Revelation, the Bishop blessed the people, and the whole service terminated.

Channelkirk witnessed this in the wild March month of 1241. Inexpressibly beautiful and impressive must have been the sight. Looking out on the church to-day in this last year of a dying century, one experiences a wistful sense of something awanting. Whether it is that distance lends enchantment, or that the wings of Time, stretched over those far-away days, cast a more mystic shadow over them than we can see over our own, certain it is that a majesty and beauty have faded from our religious services which one would not wholly despise if they were to be restored. But, perhaps, for them, as for these old days themselves, there is now no returning.

CHAPTER III

THE PARISH KIRK OF LAUDERDALE

Ecclesiastical Disputes in the Thirteenth Century—The Lauder Case—Struggle for Teinds—Lord Andrew Moray—Eymeric, Lauder Priest—Judicial Proceedings—The Pope's Sentence and Suspension of Eymeric—Resistance of Eymeric—Final Settlement Concerning the Chapel of Lauder—Channelkirk Church, the Mother and Parish Church of the Whole Valley—Triumph of Dryburgh Abbey—The "Parish" of the Twelfth Century—First Mention of Lauder Church—Its Patrons—Channelkirk Priests and Lauder—Lauder Church or Chapel—Its Status before the Reformation.

AT Jedburgh, in the year 1230, King Alexander II. grants a general confirmation to Dryburgh Abbey * of all her churches and other possessions, among which, as a matter of course, is duly mentioned the Church of Childinchurch. This Charter (No. 242) does not afford us any more information concerning ourselves, but in a deliverance of the delegates of the Pope regarding the dispute about Lauder Church (No. 279), Channelkirk comes into rather interesting prominence. As is not uncommon, the light which enables us to discern Lauder and Channelkirk Churches so clearly at that dim distance, shines from the fires of an ecclesiastical quarrel. The thirteenth century, indeed, is somewhat notorious for its ecclesiastical recriminations. In 1220, just when Lauder dispute was in a state of incubation, the Bishop of Glasgow and the Canons of Jedburgh were settling an embroilment

* *Liber de Dryburgh.*

before arbitrators in the Chapel of Nesbit. The Pope, in 1228, comes in between Roger, rector of Ellesden, and Kelso Abbey, lest trouble should increase; and in 1203, Lord William de Veteriponte and the monks of Kelso have warm debates over certain shealings in Lammermoor. Earlier, in 1180,* the Melrose monks have a first-class combat with Richard de Morville of Lauderdale, concerning rights of pasture and forest lying between Gala Water and Leader. Neither did this quarrel soon die. As late as 1268, the Abbot of Melrose and a great part of his Convent were excommunicated by a Provincial Council held at Perth,† for violating the venerable sanctuary of Stow in Wedale, by breaking into the house of the Bishop of St Andrews, and slaying a clerk, and wounding many others. Friction between the nobles and the religious houses seems to have been very great about this period; but the rapacity which characterised the former in the later days of the Reformation, found a firmer resistance from the papist than was possible to the Protestant. Arbitration, it may be noted, seems to have been generally recommended and followed in these contentions as the best method of establishing peace. As a rule, the system seems to have worked well, but in the Lauder case, which is our immediate interest here, it utterly failed. The antagonism was too deep-rooted.

The parties and religious houses concerned were widely scattered, and included Lauder priest, who was called Eymeric; the Abbeys of Kilwinning and Dryburgh; the Bishop of St Andrews; the Priory of May; Lord Andrew de Moravia, bishop; and the great De Morville family. The cause of war was the teinds of Lauder Church. Who should uplift and possess them?

* *Liber de Melrose, Chronica de Mailros.*

† *Concilia Scoticana*, p. lxiv.

In 1220, Kilwinning Abbey, founded in 1140 by Hugh de Morville, opens a triangular fight between Dryburgh Abbey and certain others in Glasgow and of the diocese of St Andrews, concerning the tithes of Lauder Church. A convention is then made between Kilwinning and Dryburgh, and the affair is harmonised for the time. When ten years roll past, the smouldering embers burst forth in fiercer flame, and give light strong enough to define the situation more clearly. In 1230 the Bishop of St Andrews, William Malvoisine, who was also, previous to A.D. 1200, Bishop of Glasgow, grants to Dryburgh Abbey a charter confirming the right of teinds which the canons of that house held in Lauder parish. By it all are given to understand, "that we (Bishop William, viz.), under the influence of divine piety, have granted, and by episcopal authority have confirmed, to our beloved sons of the Abbey and Convent of Dryburgh the whole half share which Lord Andrew de Moravia held in the Parish Church of Lauder, to be held quietly in perpetual possession, with reservation of the tenure of Symon of Nusiach, who holds it at present by gift of the said canons, for the rest of his life. But in the case of his yielding it up, or dying, we grant the said half share to the foresaid canons, and confirm it for their own free use, and with the full completion of their Title, that it be directed and held by them without opposition, as it is contained in the declaration of the judges, in the instrument of the delegates which they have beside them, namely: the half of every kind of teinds from Treburne, from Pilmuir, from the land of Walter Hostarius (*i.e.*, the Doorward), from the land of Martin, viz., Withlaw and Langelt (Whitelaw and Langalt), and from the land of Utdred of Langelt and from Ailinispeith, and from the land of Samson, viz., Todlaw, Aldinstoun, Welplaw, Lyalstoun, and Burncastell, and if

anything new should arise within the bounds of these villages, the other revenues of the Church of Lauder are to be reserved. Moreover, we decree that he who for the time may hold office in the said Church of Lauder shall in no way in anything give any trouble or annoyance to the same canons concerning the portion belonging to them." This charter of confirmation receives "perpetual validity" by the affixment of the seal of the Bishop.

There is no doubt here as to the strained state of matters. The canons of Dryburgh claim a "whole half share" of the teinds derived from the above lands which seem to have belonged formerly to Lord Andrew Moray. But the Lauder priest gives trouble and annoyance to them in uplifting them, and the canons bring pressure to bear upon Bishop William of St Andrews, whose diocese stretches over Lauderdale, to make it clear to Eymeric that his protest against their action is hopeless, and that he is utterly in the wrong. The case had, doubtless, been contested at an earlier date, as a reference to "the instrument of the delegates" in the hands of the judges seems to warrant us in assuming.

The "Lord Andrew de Moravia" mentioned is the well-known Bishop Andrew Moray, founder of Elgin Cathedral, Dean of Moray, 1221-1242, and the seventh bishop in that diocese. He was very wealthy and munificent in his gifts to the Church, helped doubtless by his close connection with the house of Duffus. His possessions, as we see, embraced a considerable part of Lauder parish, mentioned by the names of the separate farms, all or nearly all of which still preserve the same nomenclature with but little alteration.* It is

* "Walter de Moray, in 1278, exempted the Dryburgh canons from multure for their corn grown on the above land (the land—a ploughgate—and pasture for 300 sheep given by David Oliford in Smalham), and on their ground at Smalham Miln."—*Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, p. 305.

accepted that Hugh de Morville possessed all Lauderdale during his lifetime, but between the date of his death in 1162 and the year 1230, the date of this charter, when the De Morville name had sunk into that of the Earl of Galway, the area of Lauderdale valley seems to have been, through marriage, broken up into several estates, owned by proprietors who, in a few cases, achieved a more lustrous historical name than even that of the high official and friend of King David I. This was partly due to the generosity of the De Morvilles themselves, and partly, no doubt, to the necessity of the times. We know that Carfrae, for example, was in the hands of the Sinclairs before the end of the twelfth century, and Hartside, Collielaw, Glengelt, and Howden—to instance those with which we are most acquainted—all seem to have been under separate owners about 1206. Bishop Andrew Moray may have become proprietor of the farms, from which the teinds were said to be drawn about the end of the same century that closed the record of the De Morvilles, and the original endowment of Lauder Church having become complicated in the changes of landowners, may easily have created great perplexity to all concerned, both churchmen and laymen. With every division of ownership, the new question of proportion of teinds lawfully due from each separate estate would arise, and this of itself would be enough to engender friction and bitterness between the mildest-minded of men. But the monks were by no means lacking in their devotion to their secular patrimony, however tenacious and grasping the nobles also of their day may have been of the burdens laid upon the land under their sway. The priest of Lauder, at least, seems to have had a special gift of pugnacity, and the teinds which the canons of Dryburgh were determined to uplift from Bishop Moray's lands, he was as

determined should never be fingered by them. They protested: he snapped his fingers at them, for the men on the land, who had the first handling of the sheaves, were evidently his friends. In every case he held the teinds, as we shall see. The canons complained to the dignitaries above both, and the judges sat, as it appears, and decided in their favour. What cared Eymeric? Alas, however, for priestly courage, if a Pope's favour has no gracious smile for it. If priests will not bow, then, in such dire circumstances, they must break, and poor Eymeric, not bowing obsequiously upon this stone of power, ultimately falls under it, and straightway is ground to powder.

For Eymeric will not yield the teinds from Bishop Moray's lands to the canons of Dryburgh, and eighteen bitter and sullen years pass by from the date of Bishop William's caution, and the year 1248 dawns on the same disagreeable state of matters. But the Pope has now come upon the scene. The eighteen years seem to have had their share of discussion, trial, adjudication, and continued defiance on the part of Eymeric. The patience of Dryburgh canons, of the St Andrews' authorities, and last of all, of the Pope, is exhausted (Bishop William, good and patient with this refractory Lauder priest, no doubt, is in his grave ten years ago), and the bolt falls upon pugnacious Eymeric, and he is extinguished for ever. The canons of Dryburgh demanded Eymeric's removal, and the whole case was referred to His Holiness Pope Innocent IV. He appointed judges in the case, which went to trial. Eymeric stubbornly refused to appear although summoned, and bore himself aloof haughtily. The "sentence" given below shows how thoroughly the ancient monks revered law, and how majestic is its mien through all forms and processes

when moving under the dictates of the ecclesiastical judgment.*

“Sentence of the delegates appointed as judges in the case of Lauder Church.

“In the year of grace, 1248, on the first day of Jove after the discovery of the Holy Cross in the Parish Church of St Andrew, we, John and John, priors of St Andrew and of May, and Adam, Archdeacon of St Andrew, agents, appointed judges by the Pope in the case which is pending between the Abbey and Convent of Dryburgh, of the Premonstratensian Order, on the one side, and Master Eymeric, the accused, rector of the Church of Lauder, on the other.

“We have caused the Apostolic Letters addressed to us to be read in our presence, the tenor whereof is as follows :—

“Innocent, Bishop, Servant of the servants of God, to our beloved sons of St Andrew, health and apostolic benediction. On the part of our beloved sons of the Abbey and Convent of Dryburgh of the Premonstratensian Order, a complaint has been laid before us, that, on account of Eymeric, of the Church of Lauder, in the diocese of St Andrew, which justly belongs to their monastery, they are injured in these same matters. And therefore we entrust to your discretion by apostolic writing, that, having called the parties, to hear the case, and the appeal being removed, to close the matter finally, causing their decision to be strictly observed on pain of ecclesiastical censure. Moreover, to compel the witnesses who may have been named, if through favour, hatred, or fear, they shall withdraw, by the same censure, to adhibit their names to the truth, and if you shall not all have been able to be present at the carrying out of these matters, nevertheless,

* Dryburgh Charter, No. 280.

that two of you can accomplish them. Given on the tenth of the Kalends of April, at Lyons, in the third year of our pontificate."

The third year of the pontificate of Innocent IV. was 1243, five years before this deliverance of the delegates. The deliverance proceeds: "The petition of the said Abbey and Convent of Dryburgh against the said Eymeric having been heard concerning the Church of Lauder, which church the said Abbey and Convent of Dryburgh maintained justly belonged to their monastery. With the Apostolic Authority committed to us, we have lawfully summoned parties into our presence, after a day had been given to those on trial before the delegates, by law constituted for carefully trying the case before witnesses, because he (Eymeric) contumaciously absented himself. We, the divine presence making up for the absent one, caused witnesses, whom the said Abbey and Convent of Dryburgh brought forward on their behalf to prove their own contention, to be examined by men worthy of credit, and the depositions of the same on trial to be published, appointing a day for the parties to discuss their attestations.

"When it appeared quite obvious to us that the contention of the said Abbey and Convent of Dryburgh had been clearly proved, both by documents and witnesses without any exception, the more learned having carefully examined the merits of the case with the solemnity and order of the law in all things, and instructed through all things by a council of lawyers sitting beside us, we, having God before our eyes, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, adjudge the Church of Lauder, with all that belongs to it, to the Monastery, the Abbey and Convent of Dryburgh, and to the canons of the same Monastery, and we withdraw the same

Church from the said Master Eymeric, and decree that he be removed from the same, imposing perpetual silence on him. Concerning the said Church and the said Master Eymeric, we fine to the extent of 100 merks of silver, and make accountable to the foresaid Abbey and Convent of Dryburgh, for expenses incurred in the lawsuit on oath by the same Abbey for itself and Convent, by its procurator legally appointed, and for security made by us. The witnesses and sitting magistrates being Master Vigellus, Canon of Dunkeld, Master William of Cunynham, Master Alexander of Edinburgh, with many others."

One should naturally suppose that Lauder priest would wither from off the earth before such a blast from Pope and prior. On the contrary, there are signs that he was not greatly disconcerted, though ultimately compelled to yield. Who knows but his decease alone settled the question? There is some uncertainty as to what really occurred, but we are assured, on the authority of later charters, that the noise of the dispute still reverberated between St Andrews and Dryburgh four years after this deliverance of the delegates, that is, in 1252. All is silent once more till we reach the year 1268, when Lauder Church is discovered without a priest, and arrangements made whereby the priest of Channelkirk fulfils the double duties of both.

From the above deliverance we learn the important fact that Dryburgh Abbey claimed the teinds of Lauder Church, because she claimed the church itself. The claim upon the church of Lauder as belonging to her is therefore the crux of the whole contention. The Lauder priest stoutly renounces this assumption. He is under no superior. He stands for himself, and will not accept supervision. In the charter of 1252 this receives a keener edge in the narrative of debate

set forth there. It is a long document, and we give as much of it only as seems to be essential to the elucidation of the final issue. The chief interest, however, which we have in it is the light which is thrown upon Channelkirk Church with reference to its age, as compared with Lauder Church, and the ecclesiastical position which it occupied at that date in Lauderdale. The charter is entitled :—

“The Final Settlement concerning the Chapel of Lauder.”

After the usual pious salutations and courtesies are set forth, Eymeric is mentioned, with a sneer, as “calling himself rector of Lauder Church, which he unjustly occupies and forcibly keeps possession of (*contra justiciam occupat et detinet*), to the no small injury and detriment of the said Abbey and Convent” (of Dryburgh). A view of the lawsuit is then given. Bernard of Cardella is appointed procurator for Dryburgh Abbey, to act against Eymeric, who has on his side Theobald of Senon, procurator’s clerk, who is substituted for the late procurator, acting on behalf of Lauder priest.

The procurator, Bernard, in name of Dryburgh canons, “demands that the said Eymeric be removed from the said church (of Lauder), and that it be assigned to himself, and, in order to its restitution, with the revenues derived from thence, valued at 200 merks, and that Eymeric be sentenced to a fine. He also demands expenses.”

Theobald, procurator for Eymeric, replies by taking the evidence of witnesses. “I deny,” said he, “the things narrated to be true, as they are narrated, and I maintain that the demands ought not to be granted.” He loudly declares against Dryburgh Abbey and its procurator, “that since all the teinds situated in the parish of the said Church of Lauder by common law belong to Eymeric, in the name of the said Church, the foresaid Abbey and Convent, contrary to justice,

gather the half of all the teinds, greater or less, in certain villages situated in the said parish of Lauder, namely, from Pilmuir, from Treburn, from Wittelaw, from the land which belonged to William of Blendi, from Langald (Langat), from Tolchus (Tollis), from Welpelawe, from Aldeniston, and from Burncastel, to the great injury and detriment of the said rector, although they have no right in the same. Wherefore, the said rector demands that the said teinds be, in the name of the said Church, returned and restored to him, or their worth, which he values at 200 merks. He also demands that the said pious persons be prevented in future from gathering up the tithes mentioned, as they ought not, and that perpetual silence be imposed on the same persons regarding the foresaid tithes. He demands also the foresaid things with the expenses incurred or to be incurred, which in his own time he will declare, and by the aid of the law, keep safe for himself in all respects."

Bernard, the Dryburgh procurator, rebuts these demands. Then the narrative proceeds: "The person accountable said, 'I give on oath the award of the law.' Petitions having been made, and the replies to the same, witnesses having been brought forward on this side and on that, we have carefully listened to all that the parties wished to bring forward, and we have carefully reported these to the Pope, who entrusted to us, as the organ of his own voice, the declaration of the sentence.

"We, then, by the special Apostolic Authority which we exercise in this place, deliberately adjudge the Church of Lauder to Master William of Lothian (who had deputed the case to Bernard of Langardale at a later stage of procedure), present procurator to the Abbey and Convent (of Dryburgh) in name of the same, and to the Abbey and Convent itself,

on the ground that, as the Church at Channelkirk which, with perfect right, looked to the same (Abbey) as though to her Mother Church, and on this account had been subject to the same (Abbey) and to the Convent, the same (Channelkirk Church) giving us (Dryburgh) freedom as regards the teinds for which the other party (Lauder) sued, when to us it was clear that the foresaid Church of Channelkirk had been the Mother and Parish Church of the whole foresaid valley before the Church of Lauder was founded in that place."

The case is then finally closed: Dryburgh Abbey enters into full and undisturbed possession of the teinds of all Lauderdale; Eymeric is cut adrift by law; and in 1268, as has been said, Lauder Church is served by the Channelkirk priest.

The case has every symptom of having been a desperate one. From words and altercations, process of law had been called in; and when Pope and prior were defied by Eymeric, and Dryburgh Abbey's fulminations rendered nugatory, force had been attempted, and counter-force employed to resist it. But the key to the problem seems to be found in the short sentence about *Channelkirk Church having been "the mother and parish church of the whole valley of Lauderdale,"* contained in the final sentence of the judge or judges, as quoted above. In order to have a clear view of the reasons upon which each side founded its claim to Lauder teinds, it is necessary to view the circumstances from a broader platform. The case seems to have taken form in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Parishes were then fairly well defined. There is abundant documentary evidence that there were parochial divisions in the preceding century, but during this inchoative stage, the boundaries of parishes coincided, as a rule, with the boundaries of estates.

In the twelfth century the estate of Hugh de Morville embraced almost the whole of Lauderdale, as he is said to grant the site of Dryburgh Abbey, and the Lammermoors were not his furthest boundary on the north. This state of matters seems to have continued during his lifetime. It is in his son Richard's day that we read of divisions of land in Lauderdale. Consequently, in Hugh de Morville's time, that is, before A.D. 1162, the reputed year of his death,* there would be but one estate in Lauderdale, and this estate would naturally be, as was usual, the bounding limits of the parish.

Perhaps, also, we should remember that a "parish" at that time did not mean what we understand by a "parochia," or parish, now. It had more reference to an ecclesiastical jurisdiction over certain territory. It was, to all appearance, a district over which an ecclesiastic was expected to exercise spiritual supervision. But as the priest of a church which existed within an estate drew his emoluments from the general reservoir of its wealth, he naturally came to extend his supervision over the whole estate, that is, his parish. And in the case of Channelkirk Church, it is almost certain that no other church existed within the area of Hugh de Morville's Lauderdale estate when he entered upon its possession, nor, indeed, during his entire lifetime. Channelkirk Church was, therefore, the acknowledged parish church over the whole valley, that is, over all De Morville's estate. Our reasons for believing this rest upon the historical facts that when Dryburgh Abbey was founded in 1150 by David I., or by Hugh de Morville, or, probably, conjointly by both, the king grants to it only two chapels in Lauderdale, viz., St Leonard's and Caddesley, but

* *Chronica de Mailros.*

no church. Again, when Hugh de Morville wearies of the world and seeks to clothe himself in the monk's habit ; when he retires, in short, to the Abbey of Dryburgh to end his days in the odour of sanctity, on the same day in which he enters, he presents Channelkirk Church, with its land and pertinents, to the abbot and monks of that monastery. There is no mention of Lauder Church being in existence in Hugh de Morville's time, and if there had been such a church in existence, the natural inference would be that he or King David would have rather given it to the monastery, than the more parsimonious gifts of chapels and a church of less worth. We are aware that Chalmers, in his *Caledonia*, has said (vol. ii., p. 221), "From him (King David I.), Hugh Moreville obtained Lauder, with its territory, on the Leader water. Like the other great settlers, Hugh Moreville, having obtained a district, built a castle, a church, a miln, and a brewhouse, for the convenience of his followers." * This would make Hugh de Morville the founder of Lauder Church, and its date as a consequence would fall between *cir.* 1130 and 1162. But Chalmers gives no authority, and, so far as we know, there is no mention of a church being in Lauder earlier than *cir.* 1170 or 1180 A.D. This occurs in a charter given by Richard de Morville, son and successor of Hugh, "to the brethren of the hospital of Lauder." Richard died in 1189. "William de Morville, my son : Avicia, my wife : Herbert : Dr Thomas : Clement, my chaplain : Alan de Thirlestane : Henry de Sinclair (Carfrae) : Peter de Haig (Bemersyde) : Thomas, the writer, and others," are witnesses to this charter, although there is no seal. Russell, in his *Haigs of Bemersyde*, gives the

* M'Gibbon and Ross, in their *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland*, have relied on Chalmers' words, in their short notice of Lauder in the third volume of that work.

date of this charter as *cir.* 1180, which would place the first mention of Lauder Church ten years later.

Therefore, when Hugh de Morville died, it can be easily understood that the Dryburgh monks, having received from him the Church of Channelkirk, would also claim all the tithes within its spiritual jurisdiction. His having founded Kilwinning Abbey seems to have raised some hopes there also of obtaining a share of his wealth, and St Andrews, as metropolis of the diocese which included Lauderdale and Dryburgh Abbey within its pale, had equally with others an interest in the tithes from the De Morville lands. The Dryburgh claim is clearly based on the fact that Channelkirk Church, having been the mother and parish church of the whole valley before Lauder Church was founded there, and the same church having been gifted to them, they had *ipso facto* the prior claim to all it carried with it. "The grant of "a church" was often very valuable. It carried with it all the parochial rights, all the tithes of the parish, all the dues paid at the altar and at the cemetery, the manse and the glebe, and all lands belonging to the particular church." * The Church of Lauder had, doubtless, been founded by Richard de Morville, perhaps in consideration of the pious memory of his great father. And, according to the usual custom, he had endowed it with the lands which later on came into the possession of Andrew de Moray, and which, with exception of Pilmuir, Trabroon, and Whitelaw, all lie along the eastern slopes of Upper Lauderdale, having centrality somewhere about Longcroft. As long as the De Morvilles remained in the valley, the priest of Lauder Church would have little trouble in uplifting his tithes from these lands. Richard seems to have had strong blood in him, and doubtless would

* *The Church of Scotland*, vol. iv., p. 43, 1890.

rule his gifts as he wished, independent of Pope or abbot. He had no warm affection, either, for the Bishop of St Andrews' domination, which he would meet constantly in respect of Lauder Church being under that diocese. Prior John of that see excommunicated him, no less, as a disturber of the peace between himself and the king, and it may, indeed, have been this very matter of Lauder tithes which was the chief bone of contention between them. The monks of Melrose also had pulled him through a judicial controversy on account of the woods and lands between Gala and Leader, and the proud heart of the turbulent baron, who had led the Scots in many a battle, and had been hostage for the captured King William at Falaise in 1174, would doubtless have little love for monks in general, and rather delight maybe in resenting and resisting their interference in a dale where he was paramount in all other concerns. But 1189 ended all his contentions, and his son, William, the last of the De Morvilles in Lauderdale, passed away not long afterwards in 1196, and with other proprietors who lived far from the banks of the Leader, and with many masters to question his rights, where before he had had but one whose hand was ready to befriend him, the Lauder priest would find his position more and more isolated, the complaint of Dryburgh monks louder and more pressing, until, as we have seen, his stipend had to be uplifted by force and retained by the same ungentle method. His brave resistance is amply attested. Eymeric (or Imrie, as we perhaps should style him nowadays), was a good guarantee that the Protestant Reformation was possible! And so far as they went, and as he read the law, and perhaps as we should judge now, his rights to his tithes were undoubtedly good. He was somewhat in advance of the then ecclesiastical practice, and would not admit that

Hugh de Morville's gift of Channelkirk Church carried with it also that superiority over the teinds which in area was contemporaneous in De Morville's day with its spiritual jurisdiction or "parish," including thereby all Lauderdale. But it is just as certain that the monks of Dryburgh had good legal foundation and sanction for the same reason in not only claiming Lauder tithes but also Lauder Church, as being within their bounds, and the Pope and his subordinates stood upon this ground, and enforced respect for it. It was a case where the new and the old conflicted, the new necessity rearing its head against the old prerogative. A church was set up and endowed within the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and fed out of the endowments of another church, and the new church independently disregarded and defied the rights of the old. So Lauder burgh seems to have sprung up in the midst of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Channelkirk—at that time given over to Dryburgh Abbey—in much the same way that Edinburgh rose within that of St Cuthbert's parish, and Aberdeen within that of Old Machar. There were many such cases, and corresponding disputes usually accompanied the change regarding tithes, fees, and privileges. Perhaps the fixing of the parish boundaries, with less reference than formerly to the boundaries of an estate, had something to do with the misunderstanding. In Eymeric's day, Lauder parish seems to have had generally the same conformation that it has to-day. The places mentioned as yielding the disputed teinds, viz., Trabroon, Pilmuir, Whitelaw, Tollis, Langat, Whelplaw, Addinston, Burncastle, give a very intelligible outline, on its north side at least, of the present parish of Lauder. If the parish was so fixed at that time, it follows that the parish of Channelkirk was correspondingly limited, and on this ground Eymeric may have felt himself

justified in uplifting the teinds from his own parish, although, on the other hand, the Dryburgh monks did not seem to be able to regard the new changes with sufficient esteem, so as to relinquish the interest which Hugh de Morville's gift of Channelkirk Church had given them in all the ancient parochial rights and dues which its accepted priority of age and pious connection with St Cuthbert had given it in all Lauderdale. That great and sweeping changes were being effected at this time there can be no doubt. All property was placed on a new basis by the new rulers from England and Normandy, and church government was entirely revolutionised, war and suppression being the order of the day, the old Celtic church illustrating once more the words of the ancient bard, "His race came forth in their years; they came forth to war, but they always fell." But, without hesitation, we lay the heaviest burden of the fifty years' strife on the shoulders of Sir Richard de Morville. All the circumstances point to him as the original instigator. Proud, imperious, and quarrelsome, a favourite with the king, and occupying the highest office in the kingdom, he would ill brook the sinister influence of priests in his affairs. On every side he was at daggers drawn with them, though in his closing days he was glad to find grace and a home in Melrose monastery like his father before him.* Dryburgh and Melrose on the south, Glasgow and Kilwinning in the west, and, fiercest of all, St Andrews on the north. The chaplains or priests of Lauder Church would, in these circumstances be cradled and nursed in the spirit and habits of mutiny. They could scarcely resist the contaminating atmosphere of insurrection created by him. And when, in defiance of all authority, Eymeric held his church and

* *Mon. Annals*, p. 263.

teinds by force, he was only emulating the irascible lord who seems never to have permitted considerations of a safe neck to baulk the regal instincts of his will. Moreover, the lords of Galloway who followed the De Morvilles, and were, doubtless, contemporaries of Eymeric, were not likely to be less despotic.

Thus, with the powerful help of Rome and St Andrews, the canons of Dryburgh vindicated their rights to the advowson of Lauder Church. John de Balliol had asserted at one stage of the law case, that he had been appointed patron to Lauder Church,* but, of course, after the final sentence which removed Eymeric, any such pretension on his part, either to interpose in his behalf, or prefer another priest in his room, was useless. Nevertheless, we find him, in 1268, gracefully resigning what could no longer be retained, and in this way the legal features of the case compose themselves quite becomingly to the inevitable trend of the circumstances.† “The whole right and claim which we (viz., John de Balliol, for ourselves, our spouse Devorgilla, and our heirs) have, or can have in the right of the patronage of the same Church” (of Lauder), “is given into the hands of the Venerable in Christ, Lord Gameline, Bishop of St Andrews,” although a suggestive clause is added after the resignation of “the whole right and claims,” viz., “*as far as they belonged to us.*” This resignation is carefully noted and carried forward with much dignity through Charters 9, 10, 11, in the year 1268; and in *cir.* 1269, Charter 12 tells us that Lauder Church is quit-claimed “for six chaplains.” In that year Balliol dies, and in *cir.* 1270 (Charter 13), Lady Balliol, “in her widowhood,” confirms her late husband’s deeds of resignation. She herself dies in 1290.

* Charter 279.

† Charters 9, 10, 11.

It is in the same year, 1268, that we learn that provision had been made whereby Channelkirk priest should "make obedience" for Lauder Church as well as for his own (Charters 40, 41). "But the vicar who shall serve in the Church of Childinchirch, otherwise Childenkirk, and who, moreover, shall officiate in the Church of Childenkirk as well as in the Chapel of Lauder, shall receive from the forenamed Abbey and Convent ten pounds sterling yearly, at the two forenamed terms of the year (Pentecost and Martinmas), and the said Abbey and Convent shall endeavour that the said Chapel be carefully attended to by two honourable chaplains. And it is to be known that the said Abbey and Convent will bear all burdens, ordinary and extraordinary, belonging to the said churches from which the said vicars will be free," etc. These arrangements exist onwards into the year 1318, with the difference that in the charter of that date (No. 293), the Abbey and Convent promise that "the said Chapel (of Lauder) shall be carefully attended to by *one* honourable chaplain" instead of two.

Perhaps a few words on this relationship which existed for so many years between Channelkirk and Lauder may not be out of place here, seeing that it has been the cause of some little disagreement between two of Lauder ministers, and is variously interpreted by the people of the two parishes. Dr James Ford, minister at Lauder, when writing the record of his parish for the *Old Statistical Account* in 1791, makes the following remark: "The Church of Lauder was originally a chapel of ease to Channelkirk or Childer's kirk, being dedicated to the Holy Innocents. At the Reformation Lauder was made a parochial charge." This evokes a sharp rejoinder from the Rev. Peter Cosens, who in 1833 writes the notice of Lauder Church and parish for the *New Statistical*

Account. He retorts: "There is no reason whatever to suppose that the Church of Lauder was originally a chapel of ease attached to Channelkirk, and that it was not raised to the dignity of a church till the era of the Reformation; for, in the oldest records it is represented as a separate church. In the ancient taxation it was valued at 90 merks and that of Channelkirk only at 40." Neither minister gives his authorities, except a general reference to "old records," and in such brief space as the *Statistical Accounts* could afford, we should, perhaps, hardly expect any other. There are evidently two points involved here, viz., Was Lauder Church originally a "chapel of ease" (*capella*) to Channelkirk? and, Was Lauder Church in possession of the dignity of a church (*ecclesia*) before the Reformation? Perhaps if we consider the latter question first, the former may be of easier solution.

Referring to Mr Cosen's statement that "in the oldest records it is represented as a separate church," if we are permitted to strike out the word "separate," the assertion must be admitted to be correct. In the charter which is given by Richard de Morville to the brethren of the hospital of Lauder about the years 1170 or 1180, the "ecclesie de Louueder" is distinctly mentioned. But the charter itself does not emanate from ecclesiastical authorities: authorities, that is, sufficiently competent to give any weight to such a canonical status. It comes from Richard de Morville, who himself was excommunicated, and was at feud with all the religious houses around him. Besides, among the witnesses to this charter is "Clement, my *chaplain*." Now, before this same time we have in connection with Legerwood, "John, *the priest*," and, likewise, "Godfrey, *the priest*," in connection with Channelkirk. But in the case of the Lauder official, it is a *chaplaincy* which always gives its title to that personage.

True, this may merely point to the family chapel of the De Morvilles. If so, then no mention is made of a priest being in Lauder Church till the name of *Chapel* is also attached to it. When Lauder Church comes to be denominated by proper ecclesiastical authorities, it is sometimes defined as an *ecclesia* (church), or *capella* (chapel). One charter, for example, will define it by both terms. This is in the first half of the thirteenth century, during a length of seventy years after Richard de Morville's charter. Again, fully sixty years after this doubtful state of matters, we have the same sinister expression, *capella de Lawder*. In the year 1318, when Channelkirk and Lauder are last seen in the charters side by side under one minister, the use and wont phrase is repeated, "the vicar of Channelkirk shall make obedience as well for the Church of Childenkirk as for the Chapel of Lauder" (*pro ecclesia de Childenkirk quam pro capella de Lawder*). The said chapel (*dicte capelle*) is also to be served by "one honourable chaplain" (*per unum honestum capellanum*). The minister of Lauder (Mr Cosens) is therefore somewhat justified in saying, in 1833, that "in the oldest records it is represented as a separate Church," but he has not, it seems to us, weighed sufficiently the circumstances in which the oldest records, *i.e.*, the charter of Richard de Morville, was given, and also the uncanonical status of those who in that charter call the then place of worship in Lauder a "Church." That it was "separate" as a church was, of course, the matter in dispute between Eymeric and Dryburgh monks. Eymeric maintained its *patronate* constitution with the right to call himself rector and uplift the whole teinds with only regard for his patron, whereas the monks of Dryburgh disavowed the *patronate* and maintained the *patrimonial* constitution of Lauder Church, whereby the whole teinds belonged

to the bishop, and the Abbey of Dryburgh within his diocese, as well as the right to appoint any one to serve the cure at his discretion. In discussing this question, moreover, it is proper that we should bear in mind the distinction which is made between the Protestant and Roman Catholic status of a "Church." No place of worship can have the status of a church under the Roman Catholic hierarchy, unless it has been dedicated, or consecrated, by a bishop. And there is nothing to show that the Church of Lauder was ever so consecrated. When Bishop de Bernham of St Andrews consecrates Channelkirk, Stow, Earlston, Legerwood, and Gordon, he passes by Lauder. Between 1240 and 1250 he wanders over all Scotland dedicating churches, but he never touches at Lauder. If it had been a "Church" of undoubted canonical status before this period the charters would not have ventured afterwards to characterise it as a "Chapel." So far, therefore, as the weight of ecclesiastical authority is concerned (and regarding the status of a church, we do not think any other authority is admissible by comparison), the truth of facts thus far supports the view of Dr Ford rather than that of Mr Cosens.

Our first question, which we now treat secondly, viz., Was Lauder Church originally a chapel of ease to Channelkirk? seems easier to answer. Perhaps the term "chapel of ease" in this connection is not quite applicable. We have seen that the place of worship at Lauder in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, conforms more in its canonical status to a "Chapel" than to a "Church." It appears to be evident, also, that it was subordinate to the Church of Channelkirk for more reasons than one. There is no evidence that Lauder Church underwent any degradation on account of its priest's conduct. The status he sought to claim for it

was simply never allowed. He claimed to be under a patron, viz., the successors of Richard de Morville, who, until his suspension, must have been William de Morville, Roland of Galloway, Allan, his son, and John de Balliol. This claim was not sustained for the reasons that by priority of age and on account of the parochial jurisdiction over the whole valley possessed by Channelkirk Church previous to Hugh de Morville's time, and sustained by him until his gift of it and all its pertinents to Dryburgh Abbey, the "Church" or "Chapel" of Lauder had no right to teinds in the valley unless it had first received them from Channelkirk Church. If, indeed, Lauder Church had possessed teinds of its own, and these not *forcibly* possessed, it must have been an *ecclesia* or church, for no mere chapel possessed teinds. But its right of teinds was disallowed by the highest authorities, or to put it in the words of a distinguished Professor of Church History, "If Channelkirk was the original church of the valley, and Lauder is found at a later date entitled to teinds, these must have been gifted to it by Channelkirk, or derived from lands not previously teinded." Channelkirk was undoubtedly the original church of the valley of Lauderdale, and Lauder is not found later or earlier entitled to teinds of any kind, except those which Eymeric held by force, but which Dryburgh claimed. And Dryburgh Abbey claimed these teinds because, having received from Hugh de Morville the Church of Channelkirk with all its lands, rights, and pertinents, which it possessed "before the Church of Lauder was founded in that place"; and Channelkirk Church having made the Abbey "free as regards the teinds which Lauder sued for (*absolventes eosdem super decimis quas pars altera petebat*); therefore, all the teinds and rights whatsoever which Lauder might claim to possess,

together with that "Church" or "Chapel" itself, belonged legally to the Abbot of the Abbey. That dignitary was thus able to make good his position in all the courts in virtue of Channelkirk Church having satisfied the following necessary conditions: 1. Priority of foundation; 2. primary possession of the parochial jurisdiction of the whole valley; 3. personally and permanently bequeathed to Dryburgh Abbey by the person who alone could confer it; 4. final consent of the Church itself. We must further state the fact that this arrangement was maintained as far as we have historical accounts to assure us, viz., till the year 1318, and there is no evidence to show that it was altered till the period of the Reformation. Dryburgh Abbey, the Bishop of St Andrews, and the Popes of Rome, on these ecclesiastical grounds, wrenched Lauder "Church" or "Chapel" out of the hands of Lauder landowners and Lauder priest, together with all it held, and they kept it. Two hundred and forty-two years elapse between 1318 and 1560, and it is quite possible that other arrangements may have been made for Lauder Church. But we can only conjecture. There is no record, and we cannot place much stress upon the mention of *ecclesia* in connection with Lauder Church during the years between 1318 and the Reformation, as the language of courtesy as well as of use and wont may have confirmed that designation. It is not to be supposed that there would be any formal erection of Lauder into a parish at that time, as its outgrowth of Channelkirk long before in population, wealth, and influence, would accomplish that result independently. The start which Lauder made in history as a burgh, and the progress it showed, seems to have been far more fortunate in results than anything its church has to record, prior to Protestant times.

CHAPTER IV

THE MINISTERS AND THEIR TIMES

Before the Reformation.

Godfrey, the Priest—Cuthbert and the Holy Water Cleuch—The First Minister in Channelkirk and Lauderdale—The First Church—Cuthbert's Fame—Five Hundred Years of Historical Darkness—Channelkirk Priest in the Twelfth Century—Papal Taxation—King Edward I. in Lauderdale—The Priests Serving Channelkirk and Lauder—Troublous Times—Lauder Brig—Moorhousland and Lauderdale—Social Life in the Fifteenth Century—Corruption of Church and Clergy—Reformation.

IN attempting to give some account of the ministers who through so many centuries, and under various religious forms, have professed to raise the minds of the people of Channelkirk towards eternal things, it is, perhaps, needless to say that the greater number of these must remain unnamed and unknown, and of the few whose names have come down to us, only the most meagre sketch can be given. It does not appear that any of the number, with perhaps one or two exceptions, ever rose to such prominence, either in ecclesiastical or secular affairs, as to earn high historical distinction. Few, indeed, are the occasions in the parish's history which are so stirring, or so fiery as to light up the twilight gloom that veils from our sight the actors who from generation to generation moved across its boundaries. Before the

Protestant era the name of one person and one only who can be officially called a presbyter or priest in Channelkirk Church has filtered down to us through the hard stratum of the charters. And even he seems to be mentioned by a kind of accident. Richard de Morville (1165-89), in confirming to Dryburgh Abbey his gifts of Berwick fishings and the tithes of Lauder and Salton mills,* casually mentions that Channelkirk in his father's time was held by Godfrey the priest.

But before the time of this "Godefridus presbyter," there must have been several priests in Channelkirk. There seems to be no doubt that a church existed there long before the time of Hugo de Moreville. We have seen that the author of *Caledonia* deems it not improbable that a place of worship may have been in existence there during the Celtic period, or before the sixth century. With Bede's account before us, and that of the *Coævus Monachus*, both of whom relate Cuthbert's religious awakening by the banks of the Leader, and his subsequent missionary journeys among the Lammermoor hills, we confidently claim Cuthbert as a minister to the Channelkirk people as early at least as the middle of the seventh century. Whether or not some rude form of a place of worship might then exist on the spot where now a church has stood for so long it were rash to assert, but there are certain indications that some particular place, specially marked as consecrated to religious rites, was then a local possession. It is well known, for instance, that, even in pagan times, fountains and wells were closely associated with the worship of the people. This form of veneration lost nothing by the introduction of Christianity. On the contrary, if the sainted propagators of the gospel faith found them

* Dryburgh Charter, No. 8.

convenient for baptismal purposes, and, not infrequently, they did so find them, then, as a consequence, the pious feelings of the inhabitants of such a district were deepened with an increased intensity.* Everywhere pagan "means of grace" were utilised by Christians, and set into their more enlightened ceremonials. Says a distinguished Scottish historian†: "It may be gathered from other sources that a considerable portion of that pagan magic influence, which it was desirable to supersede, resided in fountains; but at the same time, the first ceremony of conversion being the rite of baptism, is sufficient in itself to account for the extensive consecration of fountains." We believe we have such a consecrated fountain in the "Holy Water Cleuch." This place, so styled yet by the inhabitants of the district, lies but a few hundred yards directly west from the Church, and its cooling waters still flow fresh and pleasant, and are gratefully prized by both man and beast. The first mention of it which we have been able to discover is, indeed, long subsequent to the days of St Cuthbert. It is given in 1588 as the western boundary of the "Sucken" of the Kirklands of Channelkirk, in a charter granted by King James VI. to James Cranstoun, son to Robert Cranstoun of "Faluod-scheill" (Fowlshiels, Selkirk). If it was so well known in the year 1588, and so well established as to serve as a boundary to legal rights and privileges, we may draw the reasonable inference that its origin must have been even then deeply buried in the traditions of the parish. Nor does it seem that any religious or ecclesiastical event, occurring between that period and the days of St Cuthbert's ministrations, can be legitimately regarded as prominent or important enough to

* *Origines Parochiales*, vol. i., pref. xxii.

† Hill Burton—*History of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 220.

warrant us in supposing that the creation and consecration of the name of the fountain, and its preservation by the people, have later or weaker associations than those which gather round the Church itself. The tradition current among the people is, perhaps, the correct one, viz., that Cuthbert baptized his converts there when he was wont to visit the dwellers "in the mountains, calling back to heavenly concerns these rustic people, by the word of his preaching as well as by his example of virtue."* This was a common practice in his times. Bede, for example, tells us that further south, over the Cheviots, among the Northumbrians, about the time when Cuthbert would be born, Bishop Paulinus "from morning till night did nothing else but instruct the people resorting from all villages and places in Christ's saving word; and, when instructed, he washed them with the water of absolution in the River Glen (River Bowent), which is close by."†

But was Cuthbert the first minister of the gospel in Channelkirk? Was there not an earlier than he? We are led to ask these questions by the following considerations. Cuthbert is said to have been "always inflamed with the desire of a religious life *from his very childhood*."‡ This disposition may have been one of the causes that led his guardians to commit him, when a boy, to the care of *a certain religious man*§ in Lothian (*cuidam Lodonico religioso committunt viro*); and as we are told that the place in Lothian was afterwards called Childeschirche in honour of Cuthbert, we infer that this "pious man" lived at the village or hamlet

* Bede's *Vita S. Cud.*, chap. ix.

† *Ecclesiastical History*, Book II., chap. xiv.

‡ Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Book IV., chap. xxvii.

§ *Libellus de Ortū Sancti Cuthberti*, chap. xxiii.

which was subsequently called Childeschirche, on account of the Church dedicated to his youthful illustrious *protégé*. This pious guardian of the boy Cuthbert must surely have had a religious fame strong enough to point him out as a proper instructor for such a boy, and it is permissible to suppose that his name for sanctity was not gained by his private devotions alone. With the bold zeal which seems to have characterised pilgrims and preachers of that age, this "religious man in Lothian" would, doubtless, in some public way, seek to gain his fellowmen to the new faith, and either his success, or perhaps proximity to the camp or fort, or the nearness of the well or fountain (which may have had reverence paid it before Cuthbert's time), may have led him to make the original village of Channelkirk his centre of operations, and home. If these probabilities be allowed to add any weight to the little we know concerning him, then the first minister of Channelkirk, for all historical purposes, would be this "religious man in Lothian," and his time would naturally fall about A.D. 625.

But at such a distance of time all is necessarily dim and shadowy to the view. We have, at most, vague outlines of even national movements, and the condition and kind of life which such a pious teacher of the people would lead in the retired district of Upper Lauderdale must, of course, remain totally obscure. Certain historical facts are nevertheless somewhat luminous to us in a general way. The people of the valley were a mixture of Picts and Angles, the conquered and the conquerors, and generally, Christians and pagans. The Angles would be in a minority though the most powerful, but the mass of the population would be Celts and slaves. In the time of this "pious man of Lothian," the southern boundaries of Lothian stretched

to the Cheviots, and the Province of the Bernicians* included Haddingtonshire and Berwickshire within its pale. Christianity made its way then chiefly by the conversion of kings whose faith all who were under their dominion were expected to adopt, and, consequently, it had a vacillating fortune which rose and fell with the political powers which for the time being held the ascendant. Under King Æduin and Bishop Paulinus, *e.g.*, the Christian faith from 627 seemed to flourish and grow vigorously, but this enlightened period was suddenly darkened again by a pagan revolution under the Anglic King Penda and the apostate Welsh King Ceadwalla. Again the sun shone forth in the reign of King Oswald, who established the Columban Church in Northumbria in 635; and the permanent conversion to Christianity of the Angles of the eastern districts between the Tweed and Forth, that is, Berwickshire and East Lothian, is due to him. But if permanency in the work was due to King Oswald, there are indications that shortly before him there were pioneers in the same field. Skene says,† “Tradition seems to indicate that the Cumbrian Church did play a part in the conversion of their Anglic neighbours; and the Angles occupying the district between the Tweed and Forth, being more immediately within their reach and coming directly in contact with them, *may have owed their conversion to one who was of the same race as Kentigern.*” Channelkirk lies almost midway between these bounding waters, and Skene’s suggestion gives us liberty to believe that more than King Oswald’s missionaries were at work about this time evangelising the south of Scotland, and that the “religious man in Lothian” who took charge of

* *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 198.

† *Ibid.*, p. 199.

the boy Cuthbert at Childeschirche may have played a not unworthy part in disseminating divine truth among at least the denizens of the Lammermoors. Inferior names naturally fall into the shade before the more brilliant light of those who are superior, and, indeed, are sometimes only preserved to sight by the latter, yet while it must be admitted that this is the case as regards Cuthbert and his guardian, the latter, both by character and the confidence reposed in him by Cuthbert's relatives, proves his right to deserve respect as one of the heralds of a permanent Christian religion in Lothian. Whatever view be held, it seems to remain certain at least that as far as Channelkirk is concerned, the person of this "religious man," who appears to have resided there about the second decade of the seventh century, connects in the earliest historical way the existence of the Christian religion with the valley of the Leader. It is also possible that his work and influence there, supplemented and overshadowed as it afterwards was by his more saintly and illustrious pupil, may have laid the foundation of the claim which was subsequently sustained by the monks of Dryburgh Abbey about 1248, that Childinchirch was originally "the mother and parish church of the whole valley."

Regarding St Cuthbert, who may be considered justly as the second person in the historical succession of Channelkirk ministers, it is unnecessary to narrate here once more the story of his illustrious life, seeing that it has been told again and again by the ablest pens from the days of the Venerable Bede downwards. Some account of him is to be found in every history which touches the early development of the Christian Church in Scotland. When we have perused the *Vita*, which Bede wrote specially

concerning him, together with his more disconnected yet sympathetic narrative of Cuthbert in his *Ecclesiastic History*, and Dr Wm. F. Skene's notice in his *Celtic Scotland*,* we have exhausted nearly all that is to be known of the great Apostle of southern Scotland, and both comprehensively and in detail, with the largest faith and the justest criticism, have seen all that is worthy of perusal and respect in his life set forth with the highest literary ability. All that connects him with Channelkirk has been already quoted in other parts of these pages, and both from the fact that when Bede links him to any locality whatever, "he was keeping watch over the flocks committed to his charge on some remote mountains," which historians, such as Skene, Green, and Chalmers, have no difficulty in identifying as the Lammermoors, and also the traditions which have come down to us in prose, poetry, and oral forms, we believe that his place among the ministers of Channelkirk parish to be reasonably sustained, and we need hardly assert further that in all ways he is also the greatest of them. It may, indeed, be a unique instance in Scotland that a Church should be dedicated to a boy saint, but this seems only to give added strength to the chronicles which persistently associate Cuthbert's boyhood with us as the principal fact of his relation to this parish. Of course "Childe" may equally well refer to his youth, and point to his shepherding time.

At what date after the death of St Cuthbert a church was founded at Channelkirk in his honour it must now remain a matter of conjecture. That event occurred on the 20th day of March 687, and throughout the country his memory was preserved with the utmost fervour of devotion.

* *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii., pp. 201-225, *et passim*.

His marvellous asceticism impressed the popular mind to a powerful extent, and as in his life he was famed for his zeal and eloquence, so after his death his bones were considered holy, his flesh incorruptible, and "the very garments which had been on his body were not exempt from the virtue of performing cures."* As he had been instrumental in diffusing the knowledge of the Gospel throughout both Scottish and English territory, when his death took place enthusiasm rose high; many churches were dedicated to him; and probably one district at least, Kirkcudbright, named after him. Nothing could prove more conclusively how widely his memory was venerated. It was also a time of deep religious conviction. Bede, casting a comprehensive glance over his time (731), says: "Such being the peaceable and calm disposition of the times, many of the Northumbrians, as well of nobility as private persons, laying aside their weapons, rather incline to dedicate both themselves and their children to the tonsure and monastic vows, than to study martial discipline."† In such a time of pious stirring, it is not likely that Cuthbert's memory would be forgotten in Upper Lauderdale, although it is quite impossible to venture the least surmise as to the precise date when the inhabitants of that district resolved to found a church and call it the Child's Church, or Childeschirche. One may naturally suppose that it would be done when the enthusiasm for his name was running high shortly after his decease, but nothing definite can be asserted. All is left in profound darkness, and the gloom does not merely rest over the ecclesiastical affairs of Channelkirk, but extends over the whole country. For the period between the seventh and twelfth centuries

* Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Book IV., chap. xxxi.

† *Ibid.*, Book V., chap. xxiii., Giles' Translation.

there is but a scintillation of light. "If it be somewhat astounding," says Hill Burton,* "to reflect on so enormous a blank in the annals of a nation's religion, it is perhaps reassuring—it is certainly a matter of great interest in itself—that during that long period of obscurity Christianity lived on. Not only the faith itself lived—though, as we shall see, not always in great purity—but it managed to engraft itself with substantial temporal institutions, which gave it solidity. In fact, when the church comes to light again, it is with a hierarchy and organisation of its own, the origin and formation of which, as all grew quietly in the dark, have put at defiance the learning and acuteness of our best antiquaries to account for." When Channelkirk Church (*ecclesia*) first emerges into historical light in the pages of the charters, about 1150, it is not as one newly founded, but with an air of long settlement. Its own lands lie around it, and there is a regular priest serving the incumbency who has a competent maintenance assured to him from its endowments. It possesses, in fact, that "solidity" which was acquired from its being "engrafted with substantial temporal institutions," and is clearly under the "hierarchy and organisation" of the Roman Catholic Church. It would appear also that at this time no other place of worship with the status of an *ecclesia* existed in Lauderdale as far as historical documents seem to guide us. It is also the "solidity" of its settlement which leads us to believe that its origin must date from a period long anterior to the time when it becomes visible in the charters, and perhaps if we place it between the seventh and ninth centuries, a time when, it is deemed, many churches sprang into existence, we shall not be accused of rashly outraging the probabilities which lie latent in the

* *History of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 390. Second Edition, 1873.

facts of its history. Knowing, as we do, the popular enthusiasm that burned around the memory of St Cuthbert wherever his voice had been heard or his footsteps had wandered, knowing also that in these dark centuries the tribal community held all the land in common, a remnant of which system still retains its hold in our valley, it is not too much to suppose that a common devotion would gladly make a common sacrifice of labour and land sufficient to rear a church in his honour, and maintain a qualified preacher of the Word. It was in 1107 that Earl David, afterwards David I., came into possession of Lauderdale, and disposed it to the Norman Baron Hugo de Morville, who thereby came into possession of the advowson of Channelkirk Church probably about 1130. In the charters which define the gifts of Hugo to Dryburgh Abbey and Convent, Channelkirk Church is often mentioned as his gift to it, but there is no trace whatever of his having gifted land to Channelkirk Church either in support of its priest or for any other purpose. Nor is it said that any of the family of the De Morvilles ever gave land to Channelkirk Church at any time. But there are distinct statements made of the church possessing land in the time of the first of the De Morvilles, and we naturally conclude that the church had been endowed with land before the De Morvilles received it from David I., and that they had found the church settled and endowed on their coming into Lauderdale. The fact also, it may be pointed out in passing, that the church was fully equipped and endowed at such a time when the affairs of the country were in such transition, and also considering that such a church existed in such a hilly and inaccessible situation, and not on the more open and convenient ground further down the valley, is to us further evidence that more than ordinary

causes must have co-operated to fix the church in that spot, and give it such consolidation so early. Following the view of Professor Innes, we are perhaps safe in assuming for Channelkirk what he asserts with regard to the possessions of the See of Glasgow,* viz., that its endowments must have been made in very early times, seeing that during the dark periods of confusion and anarchy which immediately preceded the reign of David I. it is not probable that the church received any accession of property.

It is nearly a century and a half after these political and ecclesiastical changes have passed over the country that we meet with the name of the first minister of Channelkirk, who is officially designated "presbyter" or priest. It occurs in Charter 8 of the *Registrum de Dryburgh*. It must have been a short time after the year 1162 when Hugh de Morville died. Richard, his son, is confirming his father's gift of Channelkirk to that Abbey, and, as we have noted above, after handing over the fishings of Berwick and the tithes of Lauder and Salton Mills to the brethren there, he says: "Besides, I concede, I confirm to the same church my father's donations, which, with himself, he gave to the same brethren, namely, the Church of Childenchirch with all those pertinents with which Godfrey, the priest, held it on the day in which my father assumed the canonical habit."

It is curious to reflect on the miscellaneous racial composition of a parish's foundations upon which the modern superstructure rests. Here the Danish-descended Godfrey fills the office of spiritual guide to a composite population of Celts and Angles, while the proud Norman lords it over the territory and gives gifts from it at his will. This charter also gives outline to a fact which does not seem to be

* *Origines Parochiales*, pref. xxiv.

generally known, viz., that Hugo de Morville, after leading a chequered career in royal courts and battlefields, quietly laid aside his soldier's armour and entered Dryburgh Abbey to die in the odour of sanctity. On the day when he dons the dress of the monks, it is interesting to note that he bears in his hand the gift of Channelkirk with all its land and pertinents. This, of course, was not an unusual occurrence. There is an evident reference to another charter which is now lost concerning the gift of Channelkirk Church. In the first charter with which *Dryburgh Register* opens, viz., No. 6, the title runs, "A Confirmation concerning the *fore-mentioned* donations," etc. It is more than probable that a further glimpse into the earlier history of the church would have been given us had the lost charters been preserved. But from what we possess, it is abundantly clear that the church was well settled with its land and officiating priest when Hugh de Morville gifted it to Dryburgh Abbey. We are told, moreover, in this first given charter, which is from King Malcolm IV., and must date 1153-1165, that the Kirk Land lay *adjacent* to it. Presbyter Godfrey would in all likelihood have his residence upon it, though he would not be married, owing to David's reforms, and there are reasons for assuming that the west part of the present glebe may have been known to Godfrey as part of the endowments of the church, and it is not unlikely that it stretched as far as to include the "Holy Water Cleuch."

It must have been about this time, indeed, and certainly before 1189, that the Lord of Glengelt gave seven acres to the church, and these are said to lie to the east of it. The fact also that the "Sucken" of the Kirk Lands in 1588 is bounded on the south by the Haugh and "Kirk Watter" or Mountmill Burn, and the "Halywattercleuch" on the west,

points to the early possession of land in that direction. The church must have been early entirely surrounded by its own lands, and from its name, the farm of Kirktonhill or Kirklandhill itself may have been situated on them.

It is nearly a hundred years later, viz., about 1248, that any further glimpse of Channelkirk ministers is discernible, and while very much in the foreground, they are unfortunately mere nameless forms. They are seen doing their duty faithfully, and receiving extra compensation for extra services, but the designations by which they are known in the body are sunk in oblivion. The reason why they are visible in the charters at all is the suspension *sine die* of Lauder priest by the Pope, and the necessity for supplying the vacant charge. Charters Nos. 40 and 41 are of the year 1268. The vicar who serves in Channelkirk Church is appointed to officiate as well in the "Chapel of Lauder," and for his extra work he is to receive from Dryburgh Abbey and Convent ten pounds annually at the two terms, Pentecost and Martinmas. No doubt this Channelkirk vicar did his duty loyally, both to his own and to the Lauder flock committed to his care. How much we should like at this distant date to know but his name, and how he relished the six miles' journey to and fro in the winter storms, and what his private opinion was about the obstinate and pugnacious Eymeric, the practically deposed priest. He must also have heard of the stirring doings in Stow in 1268. All of him is spectral enough now, and our interrogations wander vainly across six hundred years.

Gameline, "by divine compassion the humble servant of Saint Andrew's Church," and who writes Charter 40, does not seem to have been familiar with his name, for the double duties are imposed, generally, on him "who shall minister at

Channelkirk." Prior John follows with Charter 41 on the same dim lines, but the general terms were perhaps written with a purpose, for their instructions were to last, not for one vicar's lifetime, but for many years after this one's duties were done. The Pope's curse withered the priests out of Lauder from 1248 onwards.

Later in the century two events transpired above the historical horizon which must have affected Channelkirk Church to a certain degree, and stirred her priests with various emotions. The first was the inauguration of those encroachments of the Pope upon Scotch clerics by way of extracting money out of them, a process which was bitterly resented for nearly three hundred years, that is, from 1275 till 1560. "In 1254 Innocent IV. gave Henry III. of England one-twentieth of the ecclesiastical revenues of Scotland for three years to help in crusade.* But Henry's gain was even more slender than the Pope's right to give. In 1268 Clement IV. increased this airy gift to one-tenth in favour of Henry's son. This time the Scots saved their cash and evaded both England and Rome by offering payment in soldiers. In 1275 a legate came to Scotland to collect in person this one-tenth. His name was Benemundus or Boiamund de Vicci, but he is best known as Bagimond, possibly as a joke on his bagging or begging mission. The device tried on him was a dispute and appeal whether the one-tenth was to be on the old or the present valuation. The poor legate had to trudge back to Rome for the Pope's decision, which was in favour of the latter. The roll so made out is still extant, and is the best authority for old church wealth. Between 1275 and 1560 many a sore exaction was made on Scotch clerics according to this

* *The Church of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 283, 1890.

fleeing tariff, especially when the chief benefices fell vacant. In Dr James Raine's *Priory of Coldingham*,* under "Papal Taxation of Churches and Monasteries in Scotland," we have under "Dryburge" Childenechirche valued at XXX' (£30), and Lauder at 68' 14' (£68, 14s.). Channelkirk is said to be a "Vicaria" in the *Decanatus de Merske*, verus valor = X', decima = XX. This is very early in the reign of Edward I., who ascended the throne in 1272. The *Ancient Taxatio* is preserved in the Registers of St Andrew's Priory, Arbroath, and Dunfermline, and in these we find Channelkirk valued at 40 marks, Stow at 70, Lauder at 80, 7s. 10d., Legerwood at 40, Smailholm at 45, and Gordon at 30. The "mark" seems to have rated in Scotland at 13s. 4d. "In 1284 Scottish money was permitted to be current in England at its full value.† Channelkirk tax money went, of course, to Dryburgh Abbey, thence to Coldingham, thence to Rome, according to the following‡: "Taxation of the Abbey of Dryburgh by the Abbot of Coldingham, as collector under the grant made by the Pope to Henry III. and Edward I. of England, of the tithes of Scotch benefices in aid of the Holy Land" (c. 1290). "Childenechirche" is set down for "XXX."

The other event was of a more exciting kind, and must have aroused in Lauderdale an immense commotion. This was no less an incident than the invasion of Scotland by Edward I. in 1296, in order to put down the rebellious Sir William Wallace. It was summer, in the leafy month of June, when the valley smiles its sweetest, that the angry tramp of warriors everywhere resounded in Berwickshire. Edward subdued Dunbar Castle on 28th April, on Wednes-

* *Surtees Society*, 1841.

† Cochran-Patrick's *Coinage of Scotland*. Introduction, cix.

‡ *Dryburgh Register*, p. 329.

day, 2nd May, he was at Haddington, and on the 6th at Lauder, having crossed the Lammermoors; thence to Roxburgh next day. But on 5th June he was at Lauder once more, and crossed Soutra to Newbattle, thence to Edinburgh. History tells his story afterwards. In the year of 1298, he came into Scotland again, still bent on its subjugation, and we seem to see his royal progress with clearer eyes in the account left of it.* Mr Gough† has traced the king's progress up through Lauderdale. "On the 3rd, 5th, and 6th July, King Edward was at Roxburgh. Here he found himself at the head of a powerful army, which is stated to have consisted of 8000 horse and 80,000 foot, chiefly Irish and Welsh. From Roxburgh he marched towards the Forth." It is not to be supposed that the king with his entire army confined themselves to Lauderdale. A portion of the host must have gone round by Dunbar. On the 7th July Edward was at Redpath, a village south from Earlstoun two miles. On the 9th day he reached Lauder, and at this place he makes the following sad memorandum:—

"Adam de Monte Alto vallettus Regis, qui, etc., in partibus Scocie Moratur, etc.—

Teste Rege apud Loweder, ix die Julii."

"Adam de Montalt (Mowat), valet of the king, who died in parts of Scotland. The king witnesseth, at Lauder, 9th day of July."

King Edward passes up through the dale by the road which then, as later, was the main highway between Scotland and the South, and it is probable that King William the

* *Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland* (Rev. Jos. Stevenson).

† *Scotiana in 1298*. By Henry Gough, Barrister. A. Gardner, Paisley, 1888.

Conqueror, two centuries earlier, trod the same way when he marched through Lothian into Scotia. So near to this highway was the manse of Channelkirk built in later times, that when necessity urged a new wing being added, in 1863, to its north side, the road had to be diverted to allow it to be done, and the dining-room now stands upon the highway over which, doubtless, the king toilsomely pursued his hill journey across the Lammermoors. Fala and Dalhousie were next overtaken, and on the 11th he reached Braid, in the immediate south-west vicinity of Edinburgh. "His progress was interrupted by no hostile forces, but scarcity and sickness rendered the position of his army extremely critical."

One can scarcely imagine the consternation into which Channelkirk population would be thrown, and its priest among the rest, at the march past of such an embattled host, with a warrior so redoubtable as Edward at its head. Knowing how bitterly the English and Scotch hated each other, it is a reasonable surmise that the defenceless people fled to the hills and glens around them, and hid in safety till the ravaging Irish and Welsh soldiers had vanished over Soutra. It is probable that his men were no more merciful than those of Cromwell in 1650, and would plunder all in their track, not sparing even the "poors' box." Every patriotic Scotsman must lament that the battle of Falkirk which followed did not support the policy of fire and starvation by which Wallace sought to free his countrymen from English despotism. This was not to be accomplished till the new century brought a new hero to the rescue of Scottish liberty, and 1314 saw Bruce and Bannockburn redeem the disaster of Falkirk, and the barbarous butchery of the Knight of Elderslie.

In the year 1318, four after Bannockburn, and the same that saw the siege of Berwick go fiercely forward, the Dryburgh charters permit us to see once more a kind of adumbration or silhouette of Channelkirk priest. It is "Willelmus de Lamberton" who speaks, the bishop of St Andrews, and well-known as "Wallace's Bishop." The clergy have always been warmer patriots than the aristocracy. His own cathedral of St Andrews was consecrated this year, but he was interested also in the remoter churches of his great diocese, and as already noticed, he continued the provisional arrangement by which "the priest who shall minister in the church at Childenkirk shall also make obedience for the church at Childenkirk as well as for the chapel at Lauder," and for which he is to receive the stipulated remuneration of ten pounds yearly. Dryburgh Abbey is to see that Lauder Chapel is served by "one honourable chaplain."

How long this condition of things lasted, and Channelkirk priest faced the heat of summer and the storms of winter between Lauder and his own hill-dwelling in performing his spiritual duties, we cannot venture to say. Our view of the case, such as it is, has been stated in a preceding chapter, and all the poor light which we have been able to shed there on the melancholy case cannot be said to do more than make the darkness visible. From 1318 till 1560 we calculate 242 years. A terribly wide space of impersonal history, assuredly! Not a whisper comes to us through all these years of a priest being in Channelkirk, though, without the slightest demur, we may freely assume that prayer and praise arose, as of old, upon the steep hillside to Him who has been the dwelling-place of men in all generations, and that the voice of the priest ceased not, through these unrecorded times, to counsel the living and comfort the dying.

Nor would he himself fail to "allure to better worlds and lead the way." Only the general features of the parish emerge now and then through the heavy mist that envelops its history. The Oxton Mill, for example, is seen still steadily grinding out meal to the healthy inhabitants in 1380, and one fondly hopes there was corn for it to grind eight years later, when such a dreadful famine fell upon the country. In the following century, Kirktonhill is seen in the hands of the Moubrays; Glengelt, Bowerhouse, and Collielaw in the possession of the Borthwicks, first ennobled in 1433;* Crookston, first known to them in 1446. In the fifteenth century the Setons are in Hartside and Clints; Headshaw is clear in 1494; in 1539, John Tennant, favourite of the king, owns the Howdens, Over and Nether; while it is certain Carfrae, Bowerhouse, Collielaw, and Over Howden were building peels for their defence about 1535, though one or two of these places may have had such "strengths" before that period. But while the chief places in the parish are all very well defined, the church and its priest, as we have said, are invisible. In the year 1535, the year of "bigging" of peels, the "Kyrk of Chyndylkyrk" floats upward into light of day through the power and buoyancy of the teinds. The monks of Dryburgh note in their "Rentals," "The kyrkis that payis syluer" to them; and so the "Item be Cudbart Cranstone and Maister Robert Formane," viz., £66, 13s. 4d., comes into their hands onward from the above date till 1580, the same fact being noted also in the years 1540, 1545, 1555, and 1560-70.

While the parish and its church are thus seen in dim eclipse during two and a half centuries, the events of the nation's history nevertheless shed a twilight reflection upon

* Douglas's *Peerage*.

it, which is not unwelcome. All Lauderdale was raided and ravaged by the English in 1406-7, for example, and Channelkirk, with the rest of its population, would be called upon to defend both life and property. These were the days when Scotland had but one object before her in all her policies, laws, and pleasures, viz., "Our enemy of England," and when England as heartily considered "our adversary of Scotland," and the Borderland glowed with lurid auroras from blazing fields and burning villages; spectacles which, though fiery enough, yet only feebly embodied the fierce passions which flamed in the hearts of men. Raidings and ravishings were common, and retaliation and revenge the spur of all actions, public or private. And as the Douglas went forth from his Castle of Dalkeith to wind up his adventure in the battle of Otterburn, 1388, it is hard to doubt that he led his men by any other road than over Soutra and down Lauderdale; enlisting, perhaps, some of Channelkirk warriors on his way! But strife and bloodshed were not only common between Englishmen and Scotsmen — Scotland was rent by the tumult of rival houses and factions, and was in the throes of incipient civil war. The great house of Douglas almost overtopped that of royalty itself, and the king's very crown stood in hazard. Powerful nobles were seditious and discontented. Rebellion was constantly present in every man's thoughts.

This state of matters received ample illustration in 1482, in the affair of Lauder Brig, and no small commotion and consternation must have prevailed in the dale at this time on account of this daring massacre. King James the Third was indolent and feeble, and too readily shifted the cares of government on to other shoulders than his own. If he had always chosen worthy men for this purpose little harm might

have followed, but his favourites appear to have been frivolous, unworthy, and incapable. The hearts of his slighted nobles boiled with indignation at such low prostitution of the royal prerogative, and they nourished revenge against low-born men who, they considered, could have few principles or instincts in common with the king, and whose training and inclinations scarcely fitted them to be counsellors to the ruler of a kingdom which contained much inflammable material. The mutinous nobles had an army at Lauder, where the king was staying with his doomed and despised pets. The suggestion of death needed little breath to formulate it. The nobles discussed the project in private, and Lord Gray pawkily told the story of the mice and the cat, with the tacit proposition underlying it, of course, as to which of the discontented noble "mice" should venture to put the bell round the king's neck. Archibald Douglas, Lord of Angus, gained the name by which he was ever afterwards known, by promptly volunteering to Bell the Cat. The royal pets were seized, summarily tried, and swiftly hurried to Lauder Bridge, which then spanned the Leader somewhat further up the river than it does now, and nearer to the Castle, and were there ignominiously hanged like unwelcome puppies over its side. But this was, perhaps, the more trifling part of the conspiracy. They next proceeded to seize the king, and as he was led from Lauder Fort a humbled captive onwards and up through the dale, destined for Edinburgh prison, we can but faintly realise how deeply Channelkirk would be moved at the tidings and the spectacle. It was the crisis in a tragedy which only closed in the king's murder at Sauchieburn, and with all the results before us of that bitter outburst of angry and neglected nobles, the enforced royal progress through Channelkirk, past the church,

and across the bleak Soutra, itself emblematic of the king's fortunes, we cannot but mingle deep sympathy for the hapless James with our interest in the wretched pageant. Our people are more clearly seen fifty years later in the Earl of Northumberland's account to Bluff King Hal of an inroad of the Scots on the 21st of November 1532.* Deep must have been the hatred of the foe to send men at such a time of year to the raid and foray. The brunt of the scrimmage was about the Ale Water and beneath the Cheviots. Three thousand men were on the Scottish side, "and thair captains," says the Earl, "was the lard of Sesford, warden of the middle marche, the lard of Buckleugh, John Carre, sone and heyr to Dand Ker of Farnyhirst, with all the hedesmen of the forrist, with all Teviotdaill on horsbake and foot; cccc tryed men from the west parte of the marche, and all th' inhabitants of the forrest of Gedworth; and *all the best tryed men of Moorhowsland and Lauderdaill, under the Lord Buckleughc.*" "Moorhowsland" is a designation of Lammermoor, and one part of the district, at least, was known later as the "lands of Kirktonhill in Channelkirk,"† through which, on the old road, Buccleuch would march going south. They were too many for the English, and "most contemptuously had into Scotland diverse persons, with great number of horse, nolte, and sheipe."

It may gratify the curious to take a glimpse at the manner of life to which our Channelkirk people were accustomed about 1450. Turbulence and mutiny among the higher classes of a nation seldom mean less than oppression and straitened means of living among the lower. In the winter of 1435, Æneas Silvius Piccolomini, afterwards Pope

* *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, p. 33, note.

† *Sasines*, May 19, 1707.

in Rome, undertook a journey to Scotland to procure the favour of the king for a certain prelate.* The English would grant him no passport, and he had to find his way by the Netherlands to Edinburgh. The storms on his voyage extorted a vow from him to pay a pilgrimage to the shrine of Our Lady at Whitekirk in East Lothian. The general view of social comfort and discomfort which he saw in the Lothians cannot differ very widely from what obtained in Lauderdale. He was amazed to see coal first on his way to Edinburgh, most likely in the Dalkeith district. The "stones" were joyfully received as alms by half-naked beggars who stood shivering at the church doors. He says Scotland is a cold, bleak, wild country, producing little corn, yielding coal, but for the most part without wood. Cities had no walls; the houses were built mostly without lime, with no roofs except turf in towns, and an oxhide doing duty as door. The common people were poor and rude, ate plenty of flesh and fish, but wheaten bread was only to be had as a luxury. Scottish people at this time, it seems, were taunted by Englishmen with eating oatcakes, a preference which asserts itself in the "Land o' Cakes" yet. The men were small in stature, he says, but bold: the women of fair complexion, good-looking, and amorous; kissing in Scotland going for less than handshaking in Italy. It seems that his comparison might have included Spain, France, Denmark, and the Low Countries. Scotch people had no wine except what was imported. Their horse possessions were nags, mostly geldings, uncurried, uncombed, and used without bridles. Nothing, he remarks, delights the Scots more than abuse of the English! Evidently it was a rough, bellicose time, when both life and property were not highly esteemed. It

* *Concilia Scotiæ*, pref., p. xci.

does not improve either with a hundred years, and a similar condition to that which we now quote may have actually existed in the days of Piccolomini's visit. In 1570, Lauderdale men are called upon to unite against Queen Mary's party, from the age of 16 to 60.* "The quhilk day, my Lord Regent's grace and Lords of Secreit Counsell understanding how the peaceable and guid subjects, inhabitants of the cuntries of Merse, Lammermure, Lowtheane, Lawderdaill, etc., ar hevilie oppressit throw the daylie and continwale stowthes, reiffis, heirschippis, birningis, slawchteris, and depredationes off the theves and tratouris of the surnames of Elliot, Armestrang, Nicksoune, Croser, etc., etc., sa that the peaceabill and guid subjects ar maid unhabill for the Kingis service, and gryt pairties of the incuntrie appeirand to be laid waist," and, in short, seeing the promise these thieves made (the business is of long standing evidently) of peaceableness has not been honoured, and they "cease not to commit maist crewell and odious crymes," they are to be pursued by fire and sword, and, what is more, now is the time to be up and at them, seeing that "thair is sufficient horse meit to be haid on the feildis" (it is the month of October or November), "and the cornis and hay of the saidis thevis standing in stakis and riggis." They are then proclaimed as thevis, traitorous, and peace brekkers, etc., and all worthy gentlemen, Erles, Lordes, Barons, etc., between the Borders and Aberdeen are to prepare themselves in the maist weirlyk maner, and are to be ready with twenty days' provisions, "and with palzeonis and careage to ly on the fieldis" in order to put down the spoiling vagabonds.

There is small doubt that much of the disorder pre-

* Privy Council.

vailing in Lauderdale and elsewhere at this time and for a hundred years previous was due to the relaxed conditions of moral and spiritual example which obtained in the churches throughout the land. The shepherds were idle, asleep, or worse, and the sheep strayed afar. If our information regarding this were drawn only from Protestant sources, we might be inclined to set it down to partisan malignity. But the blackest record is from Romish councils of that remarkable age. In 1549* a General Convention and Provincial Council was held at Edinburgh on 27th November, when the business was preceded by decided and astonishing confessions that the root and cause of the troubles and heresies in the Church were the corruption, profane lewdness, and the gross ignorance of churchmen of almost all ranks. The clergy in the canons or rules drawn out then, were enjoined "to put away concubines under pain of deprivation of benefices, to dismiss from their houses children born to them in concubinage, not to promote such children to benefices, nor to enrich them, the daughters with dowries, the sons with baronies, from the patrimony of the Church. Prelates were not to keep in their houses manifest drunkards, gamblers, whoremongers, brawlers, nightwalkers, buffoons, blasphemers, swearers; were to amend their manners and lives, dress modestly and gravely, keep their faces shaven, and heads tonsured, live soberly and frugally, so as to have more to spare for the poor, and to abstain from secular pursuits, especially trading." The "heresies" that were abroad were inveighed against at the same council. These were: speaking against Church rites, especially mass, baptism, confirmation, extreme unction, penance, contempt of Church censures, scorn of saint-worship, purgatory, images, fasts and

* *Concilia Scotiæ*, pref., p. cxlix.

festivals, and general council's authority. Heretical books were to be burned, especially poems and ballads against Church or Clergy. Burns was not the first, it seems, to scourge with satire and merciless laughter the poor failings of the Holy Willies.

So did this Edinburgh Provincial Council in 1549 enjoin and ordain. They might have saved their zeal. The profligate clergy and people went on their accustomed ways. In 1552, three years afterwards, the General Provincial Council meets once more in Edinburgh, bent on the same reforming work. The vices and villainous manners of the times are still further dwelt upon, and catalogued with closer attention to particulars. It is owned that the rules laid down at the last council have been of no effect. Provision is then made to enforce statutes for preaching to the people, teaching theology and canon law in cathedrals and monasteries, examining curates and vicars, securing the faithful administration of deceased persons' goods, and for visiting hospitals. Other provisions are made to prohibit clandestine marriages, careful trial of divorce cases, greater publicity to excommunications, and for preventing the alienation of manse and glebes. One of the rules set forth that *even in the most populous parishes very few of the parishioners came to mass or sermon*; that jesting and irreverence in time of service went on within the church, and sports and secular business in the porch and churchyard. It is, therefore, enacted that the name of every person wilfully absenting himself from his parish church shall be taken down by the curate and reported to the rural dean, and that all traffic in church porches, in churchyards, or in their immediate neighbourhood, be forbidden on Sundays and other holidays during divine worship. This council also established parish

registers of baptisms and marriages. The curate was to enter every proclamation of banns, the name of the infant baptized, the names of the parents, godfathers, godmothers, and two witnesses to the baptism. The baptisms do not seem to have been celebrated then any more than in the present day, "in the face of the congregation." Registrations of deaths appear to have been provided for by other ordinances, one as early as the fourteenth century. (See Synodal Statute of Diocese of St Andrews, Sir J. Balfour's *Practicks*.)

This deplorable lapse into semi-paganism over all Scotland somewhat reconciles us to our lack of further knowledge regarding Channelkirk Church and its priest before the Reformation. We cannot presume that he and it kept their heads higher than the rest above the muddy floods of immorality and profligacy which prevailed above even the mountain tops of the national Zion. Not unlikely, the only information that could have come down to us would have been of such a nature as to raise a deeper blush for the successors of St Cuthbert and the place founded in his honour, and it may be easier for us in our present ignorance to give them a higher niche of sanctity and esteem than if we had all their history told us in all its ghastly veracity, and could have traced with sadness "each step from splendour to disgrace."

With the advent of the Reformation we step from the tumbling flos of treacherous conjectures and surmises on to the firm soil of historical record, and hail with delight the face of another minister of Channelkirk. Ecclesiastical fortune had indeed turned her wheel. Whereas we left Channelkirk priests, in 1318, doing double duty for Channelkirk and Lauder; when 1567 arrives, and seven years of Protestantism

have passed over the nation, we find Lauder minister supplying Channelkirk, as well as his own church at Lauder. Population, wealth, and the new energies at last asserted themselves, and the ghostly power of Rome withered in the dust.

CHAPTER V

THE MINISTERS AND THEIR TIMES

After the Reformation

Seven Years after the Reformation—Ninian Borthuik—John Gibsoun, Reader—Alexander Lauder—King James VI. and I., and Episcopacy—Famine—Allan Lundie—Francis Collace—Henry Cockburn—Report on Church and Parish in 1627—The Teinds—Knox's Indictment against the Scottish Nobility—Lord Erskine—Suspension and Deposition of Cockburn—Suffers "great miserie"—Preaches at Earlstoun—His Lawsuit—His Restoration to Channelkirk—His Death.

NINIAN BORTHUIK

IN the "Register of Ministers, Exhorters, and Readers, with their Stipends," of date 1567, there is this statement under "Lauderdail":—

Lauder	Mr Ninian Borthuik, Minister, xl lib. with the thryd
Chynkilkirk	of his prebendrye extending to xj lib. 2s. 2d. 10b.

It is seven years after the Reformation, and the desolation of the churches is still evident. When the priests were cut adrift, many churches were left without any person of sufficient status and ordination to conduct divine services for the people. The consequence was, that one minister had often charge of two and three parish churches. Here Mr Ninian Borthuik not only officiates in his own parish of Lauder, but has also Channelkirk under his care. It does

not appear that any further light can be shed upon his identity, and ecclesiastical arrangements remained in this condition till 1574, when we are informed that Borthuik was translated from Lauder to Bassendean, near Westruther, where he had also Legerwood and Earlstoun under his superintendence.

JOHN GIBSOUN

In 1576, two years afterwards, John Gibsoun is Reader in the church of Channelkirk, and, it would appear, continued so till perhaps 1584, when Mr Alexander Lauder, M.A., fourth minister at Lauder after the Reformation, "was presented to the Vicarage of Schingilkirk by James VI., on 15th April 1586, and continued till 20th July 1613."

This looks as if Mr Lauder had been ordained minister of Channelkirk, though it was not so, and was merely the result of the sinister circumstances of the age. In 1572, the year of Knox's death, Episcopacy took shape at Leith Concordat as a likely national form of Scottish religion, and perhaps, if Andrew Melville had been silenced, and fairer treatment given to parish ministers, it might have blossomed into strength and favour, and continued to be the established form of Scottish religion till this day. But at that time deep-rooted bitterness was engendered by the way in which noblemen used Episcopacy to snap up the Church's patrimony more easily, and with greater show of legal right, and also by the nefarious and fraudulent treatment of the clergy by Regent Morton, who would appear to have favoured Episcopacy. Ministers who fondly thought themselves secured in a competence were sometimes rudely deceived in realising that no stipend was to be forthcoming. The stipends, in short, were grossly mismanaged. They were to

be drawn from the "Thirds" as it was termed. These were collected by the superintendents, and distributed to ministers and readers. Regent Morton undertook to collect these himself, with the result that stipends were often refused to ministers, and themselves put to sore straits. The Regent, where he found cases like Lauder and Channelkirk, with a minister in one and a reader in the other, put both parishes into one to save a reader's stipend, and pocketed the reader's salary. When Lauder minister is "presented" with Schingilkirk vicarage, he was not thereby minister of Channelkirk. The king, at this date, was a mere boyish tool in the hands of his nobles. For, in the year 1573, it is said,* "as concerning the appointing of sundrie kirks to ane minister. . . That howbeit sundrie kirks be appointit to ane man; yet sall the minister make his residence at ane kirk, quhilk sall be properlie appointit to his charge, and he sall be callit principally the minister of that kirk; and as concerning the rest of the kirks to the quhिल्s he is nominat, he sall have the oversight thereof and help them in sick sort as the Bishop, Superintendent, and Commissioner, sall think expedient, and as occasion sall serve from his awin principall charge, the quhilk he in no wayes may neglect."

ALEXANDER LAUDER

Mr Lauder's "presentation," therefore, to the "vicarage of Schingilkirk," was merely to its "oversight," and to "help" it as his superiors deemed best. As we now say, he "supplied" Channelkirk, but was minister of Lauder only.†

It was in 1611 that Channelkirk first received a minister to be exclusively the ordained ecclesiastical official in the

* *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, p. 296.

† See *Church of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 459.

parish. From 1560 to 1611 counts fifty-one years ; so slowly did the spiritual machinery of the nation fall into working order. Looking to the actual dislocation of almost every institution in the country, this state of affairs might have been regarded as calamitous if the ultimate benefits had not far outweighed the political, social, and religious disadvantages. From 1560 till 1610, all the elements of good and bad in the nation had declared themselves, and were, indeed, in full contention for mastery. And as every rock and skerry in the most inland creek feels finally the force of the tidal wave that courses round the world, so remote Channelkirk, in intermittent "supplies," and in deprivation of a minister through that half century, had also its share of the miseries of the national changes.

Regarding the *reader*, it is perhaps necessary to explain that he "was an interim substitute for a fully-trained clergyman, so long as the clergy were scarce. He did not baptize, or marry, or celebrate the communion, but in certain cases he conducted the ordinary service of the Church—a matter then more easy, inasmuch as a printed prayer-book was in regular use. In dealing with Scripture, the reader was allowed to add a few words explanatory or hortative ; but he was cautioned not to be too long, nor to attempt preaching, properly so called. A trace of this early office still meets us in the popular name of *lectern* or *lettern* applied to the precentor's desk. The office itself still survives in the Swiss Church, and partly in the Church of England, where the lessons are often read by laymen. A large proportion of our country churches, for some time after the Reformation, had readers only, who were also the first schoolmasters." *

During the years that Alex. Lauder bravely faced the

* *Church of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 438.

long, monotonous road from Lauder to conduct divine services at Channelkirk, the bodily wants of the people seem to have been as clamant as the spiritual. A great dearth, for example, fell over Scotland in 1596, similar to the one in 1563,* and many perished for want.

"For if God," says a contemporary,† "hald nocht extraordinarie prouydit for Scotland victualles (coming in sic store and abundance out of all uther countries, as never was sein in this land before, sa that, be the aestimatioun of the customers and men of best judgment, for euerie mouthe that was in Scotland ther cam in at least a boll of victuall), thowsandes haid died for hounger : for nochtwithstanding of the infinite number of bolls of victuall that cam ham from uther partes all the hervesst quarter that yeir the meall gaue aught, nyne, and ten pound the boll, and the malt alleavin and twoll, and in the southe and wast partes manie died."

ALLAN LUNDIE

In the same year that Alexander Lauder was "presented" to Channelkirk, and eight months after that event, Allan Lundie, who was to follow him in that charge, received from St Andrews University the degree of Master of Arts. He had studied at St Salvator's College there, afterwards in 1747 joined with St Leonard's, and ten years subsequent to being laureated, viz., in 1596, received from King James VI. the vicarage of Lesudden, now St Boswells. It was the year of the famine noted above, and the cold winds of adversity were blowing as bleakly through the kirk as through the cottage. He appears, however, to have taken his lot with charming unconcern, and extracted as much pleasure out of it as perhaps was possible. He had been barely twelve

* Knox's *Works*, ii., p. 369. † Melville's *Diary*, 1556-1601, p. 243.

years in his charge when the Presbytery felt compelled to call him to account. They charge him, on the 20th September 1608, "with negligence in his calling, and not ministering the communion." He had gone his way with lofty ease, doubtless, and deemed it superfluous either to preach or pray! The Presbytery thought him, moreover, "overstrait in exacting the vicarage," too worldly-minded, and wishing to pay his way, scornful of the pious maxim that "a puir minister is a pure minister." But they also blame him for playing "at cairdis," an evil which most ministers, not to speak of Presbyteries, wink at nowadays. It was one of the reproaches hurled against priests that they kept gamblers in their houses, and permitted sports even in the church porches and churchyards. Lundie was also too fond of "companie," and, worst of all, was "impatient of reproof and admonition!" We, the Presbytery, are galled to see such proud indifference to our pious rebukes and exhortations! He was a very scandalous Presbyterian evidently, if not a wicked Episcopalian at heart. For two years more pass, and Lundie stands once again before the Presbytery. It is the 3rd day of April 1610, and we are surprised they missed the first day. They advise him to "attend his ministrie and increase in diligence, to be earnest for repairing his kirk" (the usual groan of Scotch Kirk "ruination") "to teach in the afternoon, and to abstain from his carding." An easy, indolent, ecclesiastical Tom Jones evidently. But all this admonishing "he took verie weel." That is, it went in at one ear and out at the other. Perhaps it was the most suitable route for it. All official advice, like official charity, is somewhat heartless, and creates more demons in a man than it casts forth. Under a rational system, a man might listen reverentially enough to an individual's private reproof,

even though he were called bishop, but no one expects advice to benefit a delinquent, when it is tantamount to a deputy-damn from a chair, with a crowded room listening, opened, in a certain mood of mind.

Mr Lundie, in 1610, this year of his reproof, has two churches placed at his acceptance. Will he accept Hassendean or Chinilkirk? He resolutely answers that he prefers Hassendean. "Being burdened for his full answer," he refers himself to the Presbytery for more advice, and they kindly advised him to accept Channelkirk. He seems, however, to have been translated first to Hassendean, and then in 1611 to Channelkirk, where he stayed till 1614, when he was again translated to the parish of Hutton, then called Hutton and Fishwick.

FRANCIS COLLACE

Francis Collace comes in his room, having been "presented to the vicarage" by James VI. on the 10th day of December 1614. He was admitted on the 17th September of 1615. When he received his degree in Edinburgh University in the year 1610, Episcopacy was triumphantly lifting up its head on high once more. King James VI. and I. came to the English throne in 1603, and with his fixed ideas about the divine right of kings, and the divine right of churches, had made up his mind that his mind was the divine mind, and therefore must rule the people, and especially the people of Scotland, not only from the river unto the ends of the earth, but also from the cradle to the grave in things spiritual and ecclesiastical. By a series of acts he, through several years, marched steadily towards that object, reasoning with the refractory clergy, spurring the impossible and powerful, such as Andrew Melville, into prison and exile,

muzzling others, intimidating, violating, and wheedling more until, on 24th June 1610, the Parliament in Edinburgh complied with his views. An Assembly held in Glasgow the same month saw Archbishop Spottiswoode representing the Church, and Earl Dunbar the State, and lo! the king had crowned his scheme with glory, for Scotland was Episcopal. There was one sour, gnarled, dogged Presbyterian young soul who despised these proceedings, and it was that of Francis Collace. Nor did three years' residence among the Lammermoor hills alter his reflections. We find him in Edinburgh in the summer of 1617 protesting with many others to the Scottish Parliament "for the liberties of the Kirk." * For it was only in the May preceding that King James had proposed "that whatsoever his majesty should determine touching the external government of the Church . . . should have the strength of a law." Was not the king's mind the divine mind, and therefore had right to rule? Would not he make "that stubborn kirk stoop more to the English pattern?" Was not the bishop to rule the ministers, and the king to rule both? Dr Rankin,† in summing up King James's character, royally declares that he was a "royal oddity"; absent-mindedly misspelling a word, it seems, for Macaulay notes it as "drivelling idiot,"‡ but a man whose notions of royalty equalled his views of divinity had no other course to pursue, if he were to be true to himself. But Calderwood of Crailing, and his coadjutors and followers, were of a different opinion, and would have none of his majesty's prelacy. Collace was not alone either in Lauderdale in his protestations. All the ministers in the valley, it seems, were united in rebellion. The close of autumn

* *Original Letters relating to Ecclesiastical Affairs*, vol. ii., p. 501.

† *Church of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 490. ‡ *Essays*, Lord Bacon.

1618 saw Scotland in great trouble over an attempt to foist upon the Church the Five Articles of Perth. Ministers openly anathematised them, and King James was as determined to depose the ministers if they did not conform. Among * the conspicuous instances of that time is the fact of the general revolt against these by the Lauderdale ministers, for James Deas of Earlstoun, James Burnet of Lauder, and Francis Collace of Channelkirk were in rebellion. They were brought up with several others before the Court of High Commission, March 2, 1620, as clerical non-conforming culprits. Deposition was the wholesale method recommended by the king for all such, but Archbishop Spottiswoode was exceptionally lenient, and dismissed them with a lecture and an earnest remonstrance. The Court met in the archbishop's house in Edinburgh. His temper was tried, it seems, at the sight of so many recalcitrants, and of Calderwood especially. Having urged them to conform, and having received a collective refusal, he broke out: "I will divide you in three ranks. Some of you have been ministers before I was bishop: ye look for favour; but lean not too much to it, lest ye be deceived. Some of you I have admitted, and ye subscribed to things already concludit and to be concludit. Some of you, at your transportation from one kirk to another have made me the like promise. I will continue you all till Easter; and in the meantime, see ye give not the Communion." It is not recorded how Collace took this word from the heights, nor how he carried himself in Channelkirk afterwards. But the year that saw James VI. no more, viz., 1625, also took Collace from Channelkirk to be minister at Gordon. We may add that he was married to Marion Muirheid and had a daughter, Agnes.

* *Privy Council*, 1619-22, Introduction, lxiii.

HENRY COCKBURN

One of the early acts of the new king, Charles I., was to present the new minister, Henry Cockburn, to Channelkirk, an event which took place on the 4th day of July 1625. He received the degree of Master of Arts from St Andrews University, 26th July 1613. From a description he has left in a report, "made to His Majesty's Commissioners for Plantation of Kirks, etc., 12th April 1627," we get a very vivid view of the parish and church, and the miserable circumstances into which the minister was allowed to sink by the heritors of that time. The document is so graphic and telling that we insert it entire. It is printed in "Reports on the State of Certain Parishes in Scotland."

"For the Churche of Chingilkirk quhilk holdis of Drybrughe,

1. The stipend is fyve hundreth merk,* to be payit be the Right Hon. Johne, Earle of Marr, to Lord Drybrughe, etc.

2. Alexander Cranstoune of Morestoune is proprietar of the juste half of the teindis of the whole parochine, excepting butter, cheise, hay, etc., callet the small viccarage, for the quhilk the parochiners payes twa hundreth merkis to my Lord Drybrughe.

3. Thair hes nott beine as yett a manse for a minister by reasone of the none residence of my predecessors, so that I am very ewill usit.

4. As for my glebe, it is little worth, for my predecessors sett it for ten lib.† be yeir.

5. I have no sowmes grasse, mosse, nor muir to cast elding (fuel) and diffott into, to my great hurt and skaith, notwithstanding thair is muche Kirkland in my parochine as Over Howden, Nether Howden, twa husband landis in Huxtoune, and my Lady Ormeistounes Kirklandis beside the kirk, and the Hillhouse quhilk pertienes to the Laird of Herdmeistoune.

6. The wholle teindis of Chingilkirk parishe ar worthe fyve-and-twenty hundreth merk‡ *communibus annis*.

* £27, 15s. 6½d. sterling.

† 16s. 8d. sterling.

‡ Taking the merk equal to 13s. 4d. (*Coinage of Scotland*, by Cochran-Patrick), this sum was equal to £1666, 13s. 4d. Scots = £138, 17s. 9½d. sterling.

7. It is shame to sie the queir (choir) so long without ane rooffe, neither can the parochiners get halfe rowme in the kirk.

8. It wald be very fitt to joyne Quhelplay (Whelplaw), and all on this syde of Adinstone Water to Chingilkirk, because they ar but twa mylles from it, quhairas they ar fyve mylles from Lawther if they cannot commodiously have ane kirk of their awin.

Lastly, I shalbe ready upon adverteisment to attend upon my Lordis Commissioneris for their mor particular informatioun in every thing that concernis my church so far as I knaw.

MR HENRY COCKBURNE,
Minister of Chingilkirke."

The "mor' particular informatioun" had evidently been requested by "my Lordis Commissioneris," for we find that a fuller account is given below the above report, and in all likelihood belongs to a later date. It is as follows:—

"Anent Chingilkirk quhilk is nott ane laik patronage but ane of the kirkis off the Abacie of Dryburghe,

1. Thair ar above fowr hundreth communicantis in the parishe.

2. The remotest rowme in the parishe is two mylles distant from the kirk and some of Lawther parishe ar neirer quha ar my daylie auditouris, being fyve myllis from their awin parishe kirk, viz., Whelplay, and all above Whelplay Water.

3. The quir is without ane rooffe, to the great scandall off the gospell and prejudice of the parishiners that cannot get rowme in the kirk, the quir being doune.

4. The stipend is fyve hundreth merkis, to be payit be the Right Honble. Johne, Earle of Marre, without any manse, the glebe worth ten merkis yeirlie, for sowmes grasse I have nane, nor any uther casuality quhatsoever, so that I cannot hold house in such ane barren pairt of the countrie, being eight myllis from ane merkat, and having ten personis every day to susteine, quhairas I wald be harberous as the apostle commandis, Timoth. 3 cap., 2 verse.

As for the worth and rent of every rowme of the parishe in stok and teind.

1. Bowrhouses may pay in rent being plenishit 300 merkis personage ane 100 merkis viccarage xl lib.

2. Coklaw in stok 500 merkes personage ane 100 merkis viccarage fowrscoir merkis.

3. Over Hawdan holding of the Abacie of Kelso is in stok 600 merkis personage ane 100 lib. viccarage ane 100 merkis.
4. Airhouse is in stok eightscore merkis personage 20 lib. viccarage 20 lib.
5. Thrieburnefuird is in stok 8 score lib. personage 20 lib. viccarage 20 lib.
6. Neather Hairtsyde is in stok 600 merkis personage fowrscore merkis viccarage 100 merkis.
7. Clints is in stok 500 merkis personage 20 lib. viccarage ane 100 merkis.
8. Over Hairtsyde in stok 300 merkis personage 20 merkes viccarage xl merkis.
9. Greingelt is in stok 1000 merkis personage 6 score lib. viccarage ane 100 merkis.
10. Haitshaw and the Haughe in stok 400 merkis personage ane 100 merkis viccarage xl lib.
11. Midle is in stok ane 100 merkis personage 20 merkis viccarage 20 lib.
12. Fairmielies in stok 200 merkis personage 20 lib. viccarage xl merkis.
13. Kelfap in stok 300 merkis personage 20 lib. viccarage xl lib.
14. Frierneise holding of Eccles in stok fowrscore lib. personage 6 lib. viccarage ten merkis.
15. Hisildene in stok 200 merkis personage 20 merkis viccarage 40 merks.
16. Hairniecleughe in stok fowrscore lib. personage 10 lib. viccarage 20 merkis.
17. Hillhouse ane chaplanrie of Hermeistoun in stok 400 merkis personage 50 merkis viccarage 50 merkis.
18. Carfree Maines may pay in stok 500 merkis personage ane 100 lib. viccarage fowrscore lib.
19. Carfree Milne in stok 300 merkis personage xl merkis viccarage 20 merkis.
20. Neather Hawdan holding of the Abacie of Kelso in stok 600 merkis personage ane 100 lib. viccarage 20 lib.
21. Waisill Milne in stok ane 100 merkis personage 10 merkis viccarage 4 lib.
22. Huxstoun 13 landis with two landis of Kirkland in stok 900 merkis personage ane 100 lib. viccarage xl lib.
23. My Lord Cranstoun's 2 landis in Huxstoun in stok 4 score lib. personage 50 merkis (viccarage) 10 merkis.
24. Kirktounhill 200 merkis in stok personage fowrscore merkis viccarage 50 merkis. This is fewd land holding of Drybrughe.

25. The Kirkland of Kirkhaugh may pay xl lib. in stock and teind.

It is not fewd land, but being viccar's land of old, and now withholden from ministry at that kirk, hinders thair satling, and maid all my predecessouris non residentis, neither can I get grasse to two kye, to my great greiffe and skaith quhilk I hope shall now be gratuslie amendit to the perpetuall satling of a ministry at that kirk.

If it shall please the Lord to withhold His judgments from the land, so that thir forenamitt rowmes be weill plenishit, they may yeild the forsaid stok and teind, and quhen the ground is punishit the heritour and teinder must nott be frie.

Thus have I (*bona fide*) usit all diligence to informe myself anent the premisses, neither might I opinlie tak the help of my parishiners, because being maillmen and in wsse to pay for the teindis they wald have sett all things at naught, quhilk I could not suffer, and thairfor hes taken the wholle burtheine on myself, and yit hes neither prejudgit maister nor tennand.

In the meane tyme, but (only) keeping ane puire conscience hes in-deverrit to give all possible satisfactioun to all pairties that hes any interest in this bussines and that indifferently without any partiall deilling.

Mr HENRY COKBURNE,

Minister of the Evangell off our Lord att Chingilkirke.

This is the just Informatioun delyverit to me from the minister of Chinghillkirk.

M. JA. DAES, *Moderator.*"

The reason for the above report or reports is, that in 1627 Charles I. appointed Commissioners of Surrenders and Teinds, with a view, among other things, to provide churches with ministers, and ministers with competent stipends. Help was sought from the ministers themselves in giving just information with reference to their several parishes and particular teinds. There seems to have been what was called a sub-commission, dealing with the same business, but principally, although not always, composed of the ministers, and to all intents and purposes, the presbytery. The second report given in by Cockburn appears to have been laid before this sub-commission, and this accounts for the signature of "James Daes, Moderator," who was minister of Earlston.

This ministerial or Presbyterial valuation of the teinds does not seem to have been accepted as sufficiently authoritative.* The sub-commission for this district sat at Lauder, 7th January 1631, and was "holden within the Tolbuth" there. There is extant "a copy of valuation of the lands of Glen-gelt" laid before this meeting, when Thomas Markell in Headshaw, and James Richardson in Kirktonhill give their testimony on oath, that these lands, with pertinents in constant rent, *communibus annibus*, "may pay, and will be worth" 500 merks (£27, 15s. 6½d. sterling).

What a lamentable state of ecclesiastical affairs these reports reveal! No manse; the church half in ruins; hardly any glebe, though the church of Channelkirk had abounded in possession of acres; not even a bit of the wide wild moor of Soutra to cast peats in, or lift a divot out of, and the stipend £27, 15s. 6½d., on which to support ten people. No wonder that the minister could not entertain any one. No wonder that all the previous ministers had found it impossible to reside there. The surprise is, indeed, that the church survived at all. "The heritor and teinder" had not only taken the hide, but cleaned the bones also, and left "the church of St Cuthbert at Channelkirk" the gift of wintry winds, clean teeth, the cry of the peesweep, and the prospect of death by starvation. But valiant Cockburn seems to have swallowed his tears and his "ewill usit" as deep down as he was capable, and bent his back to bear the burden which he found impossible to lighten. Not for the first time, doubtless, and certainly not for the last, did he find that while he remained in Channelkirk he must nourish his righteous soul on very thin soup. Scotland's clergy, like their Master, having often resorted to their gardens, have not found there the

* *Decreet of Locality*, p. 282.

spices and the pomegranates, but much prayerful agony, and a prowling pack of traitors and thieves.

Perhaps, if Cockburn had been placed in any other parish in Scotland, his "report" would not have differed in essentials from the one he sent from this place. The spirit of revenge and avarice swept the land, and what should have fallen on the heads of the priests, bruised the hearts of their Protestant successors. The Scottish nobles can never wash the smutch of this period out of their pedigree. Unpatriotic, unchristian, inhuman. We all know the reason; but Knox's account of the case is enough. The *First Book of Discipline* had been drawn up, and "presented to the nobilitie,* who did peruse it many dayis. Some approved it, and willed the samyn have bene sett furth be a law. Otheris, perceaving thair carnall libertie and worldlie commoditie somewhat to be impaired thairby, grudged, insomuche that the name of the Book of Discipline became odious unto thame. Everie thing that repugned to thair corrupt affectionis was termed in thair mockage 'devote imaginationis.' The caus we have befor declared: some war licentious; some had greedilie gripped to the possessionis of the kirk; and otheris thought that thei wald nott lack thair parte of Christis coat; yea, and that befor that ever he was hanged, as by the preachearis thei war oft rebuked." The Roman soldiers parted the coat after He was dead; the Roman Catholic priests did not seek the uppermost claith till breath was out of the body, but here is the poor reforming Scotch minister plundered of his bodily comforts, while he is very much alive! Thus also Knox transfixes one of the fleecers in whom Channelkirk should have an interest. "The cheaf great man that had professed Christ Jesus, and refuissed to subscribe the Book of Discipline,

* Knox's *Works*, vol. ii., p. 128.

was the Lord Erskine; and no wonder, for besydis that he has a verray Jesabell to his wyffe, yf the poore, the schooles, and the ministerie of the kirk had thair awin, his keching (kitchen) wald lack two parttis and more, of that whiche he injustlie now possesses. Assuredlye some of us have woundered how men that professe godlynes could of so long continewance hear the threatnyngis of God against theavis and against thair housses, and knowing thame selfis guyltie in suche thingis, as war openlie rebucked, and that thei never had remorse of conscience, neather yitt intended to restore any thingis of that, whiche long thei had stollen and rest. Thair was none within the realme more unmercyfull to the poore ministeris then war thei whiche had greatest rentis of the churches."

This is Knox's indictment against the Scottish nobles. The particular name which he singles out, viz., Lord Erskine, has a special interest for us, as it was into his hands, as Earl Mar, that the Abbey of Dryburgh fell, and, consequently, the Channelkirk lands belonging to its church. He had "professed" Christ Jesus, but the *Book of Discipline* was his aversion; nevertheless, his kitchen was stuffed with the inheritance of "the poore, the schooles, and the ministerie."

Dryburgh, with other religious houses, was annexed to the Crown after the Reformation. A liferent was, however, reserved for David Erskine, the commendator. "The king,* on the resignation or death of any abbot or prior, appointed lay 'commendators' for life to the vacant benefice," and David was closely involved in the stormy events of his time. He became one of the young Earl of Mar's assistants in the governorship of James VI. during his minority, and he was more or less implicated in Mar's subsequent escapades. He

* *Church of Scotland*, vol. iv., p. 51.

lost his position as commendator in Dryburgh when the Erskine estates were confiscated in 1584, but when they were restored in 1585, David Erskine again resumed his old post and privileges. In 1604, the first year after the king ascended the throne of Great Britain, he included Dryburgh Abbacy in the Temporal Lordship and Barony of Cardross in favour of John, Earl of Mar, reserving, however, to David, the commendator, the rents, profits, and emoluments of the lands and others. He enjoyed the benefice from first to last through nearly fifty years, the abbacy being found vacant on 31st May 1608, and in his majesty's hands as patron. David had demitted office that it might be provided to his kinsman, Henry Erskine, a legitimate second son of the Earl of Mar. This Henry Erskine dies evidently in 1637, a few years after the reports are sent in by Rev. Henry Cockburne, for we find the following: "March 17, 1637. David Erskine, heir male of Henry Erskine de Cardross (patris), in the lands and barony and others, underwritten, which formerly pertained to the Abbey of Dryburgh, viz., Dryburgh Abbey, etc. etc. . . . Kirkland of Lauder, lands of Over and Nether Shielfield, lands of Ugstoun, Kirklands of Chingilkirk," etc., etc.*

It was, therefore, through the influence of John, Lord Erskine, whose hypocrisy and avarice, and "verray Jesabell his wyffe," Knox lamented so much, that Channelkirk Kirk lands were "stollen and reft" from the ancient patrimony of that church, by means of the youthful "royal oddity" and the connivance of his kinsman, David Erskine, the "commendator." The fault of the ruined church, the absence of a manse, the miserable competence on which Cockburn had to serve the cure and feed ten people daily, lay directly at the door of this Henry Erskine, the Earl of Mar's second son.

* *Retours.*

Four hundred communicants were weekly ("daylie") gathering in a church with half its roof off, on the storm-swept steeples of Soutra Hill, and the minister stewing with his "ten persons" in a "but and ben," for want of a manse; while the illustrious descendant of "a verray Jesabell," "a sweatt morsale for the devillis mouth," wallowed in the unprincipled gains of sacrilege.

The conspicuous ability of Henry Cockburn is more than hinted at in the following recommendation which we quote from the Proceedings of Commission of the General Assembly, 1647. "The Commission recommends Mr Henry Cokburne to the Lord Advocat to assist him before the Commissioners for planting of kirks." He was a member of the Assembly in Glasgow, 21st November 1638, and doubtless he was present at that great historical scene earlier in the same year, on 1st March, when in Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh, the Scottish nation, in its representatives, swore with uplifted hands, and subscribed to the National Covenant. He was essentially a man of strong individuality and pronounced convictions, and unflinchingly asserted his principles in open defiance of all consequences. Such men are usually broken when they have no capacity for bowing down, and the General Assembly, which met in July 1648, found it necessary in his case to adopt this process. He was suspended on that occasion, and referred by that court to the next Assembly in July 1649, and finally deposed from his charge at Channelkirk in 1650. His offence was the monstrous one of praying in public for the Army in England under the Duke of Hamilton. As the duke's army was in England in 1648, Cockburn's process of deposition had taken two years to accomplish. No better proof could be given of the mad, fanatical, and furious spirit which then smote the four corners

of the Scottish Zion. "Scotland is in a hopeful way," says Carlyle, writing of this time in his cynical vein.* "The extreme party of Malignants in the North is not yet quite extinct; and here is another extreme party of Remonstrants in the West—to whom all the conscientious rash men of Scotland, in Kirkcaldy and elsewhere, seem as if they would join themselves! Nothing but remonstrating, protesting, treatyng, and mistreatyng from sea to sea." War was added to this state of matters, for Cromwell and his soldiers were busy. Scotland was in the dangerous predicament of the Church ruling the State, and when the Covenanters claimed the same powers which the Pope now claims in vain from us. The ecclesiastical world was broken up mainly into two parties of Engagers and Remonstrants, later Resolutioners and Protesters, and it appears Henry Cockburn must have been an Engager, for it was one of the tenets of the Protesters that they dared not pray for the success of the Scottish army in England, not having any warrant from God, as they said, to do so. The valley of the Leader, to all appearance, held by the royal cause, as the Duke of Lauderdale himself was taken prisoner and lodged in the Tower of London for fighting to attain the same purpose for which Cockburn, somewhat earlier, prayed, and was deposed. But the Protesters ultimately came to be the dominant party in Scotland, and, as a consequence, intolerably treated the party opposed to them. They deprived them of their livings, and Cockburn lost Channelkirk. He might also have lost his life in the passionate wrangle, for the two parties visited upon each other the heaviest censures, but Cromwell's army kept the peace, and suppressed any attempts at martyr-making. It is before the month

* *Cromwell's Life and Letters*, vol. iii., p. 85.

of May of 1650, that he begins his term of "great miserie," for his successor, David Liddell, is admitted and ordained on the 30th May of that year. Just thirteen days before this latter event we find the following statement in Assembly Reports: "The Commission of Assembly,* their advyce being desired by two of the brethren of the Presbyterie of Ersil-toune, in name of the whole Presbyterie, in the particular concerning Mr Harie Cockburn, which was fully represented by the said brethren, the Act of Synod and Presbyterie thereanent being produced, did think fitt to give the advyce following, to witt: That according to the transaction betwixt the said Mr Harie and the Commissioners of the said Presbyterie to the last General Assembly, and according to the Recommendation of the said General Assembly for that effect, and according to the Act of the Presbyterie following upon both, that thrie hundreth merks should be payed yeirly by the next intrant, out of the stipend of Ginglekirk, to the said Mr Harie Cockburne, as long as he lives, and the Commission advyses to take securitie of the intrant for that effect before his admission."

It is clear that by this date he is out of Channelkirk. But negotiations had been set afoot to provide a competence for him. His brethren of the Presbytery of Earlstoun had taken counsel together, and through their Commissioners to the Assembly had laid his case on the Assembly table for consideration and advice. An "Act of Presbytery" had been formulated, and then the Commission of Assembly "advyses" in its cautious way that 300 merks (£16, 13s. 4d. sterling) be given him out of Channelkirk stipend, and that the new ministers should be taken bound for that purpose. As Cockburn tells us himself that he "suffered great miserie"

* *Commission of General Assembly*, 17th May 1650.

during the period of his deposition, it is not likely that this 300-merk "advyse" had the slightest effect upon his fortunes. He was turned adrift to sink or swim, illustrating once more the tender mercies of the ecclesiastical divinity which has always presided over the creation and regulation of Christians in Scotland. He had ten persons to provide for, too! Such, however, were the awful penalties of prayer. One speculates here as to how the knowledge of it reached the Assembly from such a remote and incommunicable parish. There must have been pious and zealous sneaks in Channelkirk Church at that time, who did God service in this way.

Cockburn lived, nevertheless, to see a new day arise with less sorrow in it for him. After nine years had passed "he had his mouth opened." He was restored to the ministry, but not yet to Channelkirk. Still, he was allowed to address his perishing fellow-creatures on the solemn concerns of eternity. A great privilege, surely; and, meanwhile, James Deas, minister of Earlston, having been suspended from his charge, Cockburn becomes *locum tenens* there for fifteen months, beginning apparently about the close of 1659, the year of his restoration to the ministry. Mr James Deas, however, believed that although he did not preach to Earlston people he should keep the purse-strings of Earlston stipend. He refused to give Cockburn any stipend, notwithstanding that the Synod had ordained a part to be paid to him, and the difficulty becoming a deadlock, the case went to law. Consequently here is this "Report by the Lords Commissioners of Bills anent Mr James Dais, Minister at Ersle-toune.

"There being ane persuit depending before us at the instance of Mr Henry Cockburn, sometime minister at Ginglekirk, against Mr James

Dais, minister at Ersletoune, whereby the persewer craved thrie chader and ane half of victuall halfe oats and thrid pairt beer and sixscore of pounds Scotts money payable furth of the teinds of Mellerstanes and Ffaunes be the lairds of Gradone, Torsonce, and Grinknow, which is ane part of the said defendis his stipend and ordained be Act of Synod to be payed to the persewer for his service in preaching at the said Kirk of Ersletoune be the space of fifteen months, during which tyme the said defender was suspended.

"In the which persewit baith parties compearing, and they being both hard, wee have of consent of both parties condescended that the said Mr James Daes, defender, should have right to the same stipend in swa far as is not already uplifted be him, and that the said Mr Henry Cockburn, persewer, should have the sowme of four hundredth merkis out of the first and readiest of the samyne stipend. And in regard severall of the gentlemen wha are lyable in payment of the said stipend also compeared and declared they were willing to pay to any of the said parties who should be found to have best right.

"It is therefor our humble opinion that your G. & Lo. interpose your decret and authority to the condescence above written."

"22 March" [1661].

On 2nd July following, we have it that "Parliament passed Acts in favour of Mr John Veitch and Mr Henry Cockburne." Mr John Veitch was the well-known minister of Westruther, and Cockburn would thus return to Channelkirk with his 400 merks in his pocket (nearly £21), and to the church of his first love. This "Act in his favour" was evidently one removing all obstacles out of the way of his return to Channelkirk Church once more, and may be regarded as part of the arrangement by which Rev. David Liddell, the officiating minister there since Cockburn's deposition, received from Parliament £100 sterling. For the "Act" for Cockburn is dated 2nd July, and that for Liddell, 4th July, both 1661. In 1662, David Liddell was called from Channelkirk, and Henry Cockburn once more stood in his old pulpit there. Twelve years of bitter experiences on account of patriotically and piously praying for success to his soldier countrymen

fighting in England! The religion of Scotland has been truly hammered out on hard anvils.

The last entry in the oldest record we possess, in the handwriting of David Liddell, is dated 25th September 1662. Part of it runs: "Five pounds of this sum delivered to James Somerville to be given to Mr Harry Cockburne for that part of the bursar money due to him by an Act of the Presbytery of Erslingtounne for the year of God 1662." The "bursar" was the divinity student who was maintained at college by Presbytery help. The General Assembly in 1641 enacted that Presbyteries maintain a bursar of divinity. If twelve presbyters in number, they were to maintain him alone, but if fewer than twelve, two presbyteries were to combine. In 1645, it was provided that every bursar of theology have yearly £100 Scots. And it seems that Earlston Presbytery had by their act diverted part of this bursary of £100 to Cockburn in respect of certain considerations.

It sometimes happens that a brave ship which has battled victoriously through stormy seas will go down to a watery tomb in calm weather, within sight of shore, and of those who have gathered on the harbourhead to welcome her home. Henry Cockburn returned to Channelkirk in full ministerial status and honour, only to lay down his work where he first took it up, and render up his life to his Master. It must have been late in the year of 1662 when he came back, yet in November 1663 another minister is ordained in his place. Let us trust that though his day had been full of storm and darkness, and, as he puts it, of "great miserie," there was light and calm for him at eventide. From the few scraps of his life and work which we have been able to glean, we are constantly impressed with the pious earnestness and

manliness of the one, and the sustained and respected worth of the other. His struggle against poverty was life-long, but his spirit was never daunted, and he spoke his mind before both God and man, freely and courageously, in days when harassment and death stood at the foot of the pulpit stairs to throttle the minister who ventured to use such a freedom. His ability was known and claimed far beyond the locality of the parish he served, and he seems to have been esteemed and respected as much in the higher courts of the Church as among his brethren of the Presbytery. He stood loyal to the throne and to the sober-minded party in the Church, at a time when conspiracy against authority and blind fanaticism in religion raged wildly throughout the three kingdoms. This augurs strongly for his sterling common sense and sound healthy piety. His fervour did not, like that of too many of his contemporaries, rush into ferocity, nor does he appear to have left the safe path of moderation and wise judgment to reach reforms by the methods of passionate bigotry.

It only remains to add that his wife was named Isobell Hutoun, and that he had a son called Harrie. The name of Cockburn is territorially connected with Channelkirk about thirty years after our minister's time, for William Cockburn, son of Henry Cockburn, Provost of Haddington, becomes interested in Glengelt and Over Howden in the year 1695. But whether or not these Haddington Cockburns were related to the minister of Channelkirk, it seems beyond us now to ascertain.

CHAPTER VI

THE MINISTERS AND THEIR TIMES

After the Reformation

Professor DAVID LIDDELL—Cromwell's Soldiers at Channelkirk—At Lauder and Bemersyde—First Glimpse of Channelkirk People—The Kirk Records—Divine Right of Kings, Prelacy, and Presbyterianism—Terror and Desolation—Divot Renovation of Kirks—Collections and Old Customs—The Lord's Supper—Liddell's "Laus Deo" and Promotion—WALTER KEITH—Earlston Presbytery and Prelatic Presbyterianism—Kirkton on Keith—WILLIAM ARROT—Received into Presbyterian Communion from Prelacy—His High Character—Called to Montrose.

DAVID LIDDELL—1650-1662

IF Henry Cockburn has a strong claim to be considered our martyr, his successor, David Liddell, has an undoubted title to be called our scholar. The proof is found in the professional eminence to which he afterwards attained in Glasgow University.

After careful inquiry we regret that we are unable to indicate either his parentage or his birthplace. Aberdeen authorities suggest that he was most probably related to the family of Liddells who were benefactors of and professors in Marischal College in the seventeenth century. In all likelihood he was born in Aberdeen, and as a boy would receive his education there. In the list of students entered in the

year 1634, under "preceptor Robert Ogilvie," the name of David Liddell occurs in the tenth place.* In the year 1638, the year of "sturm und drang" in the Church of Scotland, he obtained there, on the 31st July, the degree of Master of Arts. He is set down ninth on the list of graduates.†

His first appearance at Channelkirk is in the memorable year of 1650, the year which saw, among many other notable events, the Psalms first put into metrical form by Francis Rous, and the Marquis of Montrose executed in Edinburgh. Dr Hew Scott, in his well-known *Fasti*, asserts that Liddell came to Channelkirk in 1654. This is a mistake, and one that proves that Scott cannot have consulted our Kirk Records for his statement. Liddell has himself written it down as 1650. It is the first historical sentence inserted there. "Collections and penalties (gathered) (and) taken up by William Wight, elder and deacon of the session of Chinghilkirk, and depursements efter the admission and ordination of Mr David Liddell, the 30th day of May 1650."‡

The year and time call for some attention on our part. It was the year of war and rumours of war. Cromwell and his soldiers were then the terror of Berwickshire and the south of Scotland. The fountains of the great national deeps had broken up, and over the three kingdoms the masses of the people, the throne, the nobles, and the professions were

* *Records of the University and King's College*, p. 462. † *Ibid.*, p. 511.

‡ The Kirk Records of Channelkirk begin with the year 1650, and those of Earlston Presbytery, in which Channelkirk is included, with the year 1691. In order to preserve their historical connection, and give more vitality to the narrative, it is proposed, instead of giving detached selections, to incorporate what of them appears necessary and appropriate in the several notices of the persons and times associated and contemporaneous with them. It is hoped the unity of interest may, on this account, be better maintained.

a wide sea of religious, civil, political, and social commotion. Carlyle has expressed his conviction that Cromwell was the only true ark of safety floating on these troubled waters. It may be so, and it may be also that there have been rats in every ark, not excepting Noah's, and the Cromwellian one was certainly not innocent of them. Here is evidence. Among the first things of parochial moment which the Rev. David Liddell has to note in the Kirk Record is the following :—

“The rest of the poor's money in the box and in the keeping of Robert Wight and Adam Somervell, the one keeping the box, the other the key, by appointment of the Session, was taken away by force be the English souldiers as they declared befor the Sessione.”

Rats and ravagement indeed are here, and not disdaining either to nibble away the crust of the poor. Later, when they got the length of Dunfermline, we have a similar story, for on the 12th of August 1651, the session records there tell how the English soldiers broke the “kirk boxe” and “plunderit” it.

After the Army of the Engagement of 1648 had been scattered by Cromwell, almost every county in Scotland was put under military surveillance and cessment. In Lauderdale the evidences of this seem to have been too manifest. The Lord of Thirlestane had left his castle by the banks of the Leader to fight Cromwell in England, only to be taken prisoner and sent to the Tower after the battle of Worcester, 3rd September 1651. The English soldiers had taken up their quarters in his palatial residence, about July 1649, and kept the country for miles around in chronic panic. The raid upon the poor's box at Channelkirk, six miles from the base of their roystering escapades, points to depredations throughout the whole of Upper Lauderdale, of which no

chronicle is now left to us. If these were unattended by bloodshed and loss of life, it is more than can be said for their plunderings in other parts of the district, notably at Bemersyde, where murder was foully done, though, in justice be it said, as promptly avenged at Lauder by those of Cromwell's own army, who directed their judgments by the lofty if stern ideals of their master.*

How David Liddell carried himself in presence of these zealot invaders, and how he and his peasant congregation viewed the sacrilegious spoliation of the Sunday offerings must be matter of conjecture only. He obtrudes his own personality and conduct only in the leanest scraps of the Kirk Record which he has left us. There is a hand merely, and a presence moving among the transactions tabulated, but he himself is as spectral as if he were already disembodied. It is a matter of gratification, however, to find ourselves actually in the area of interest and action of the Channelkirk people. Hitherto our humble history has been, for most part, a concern of names and land, proprietors and acres, and the necessary correlatives of these which flood the charters of the religious houses. The people themselves are never seen and never heard. We know that they must be there, toiling and suffering, endeavouring and enduring as best they may, but for the purposes of history, their lot as connected with the Church or local existence is sadly reflected in the words :—

“They have no share in all that's done
Beneath the circuit of the sun.”

It is the privilege of David Liddell, through his record, to introduce us to the inhabitants of Channelkirk parish.

* *Memorials of the Haliburtons*, p. 41.

But blurred and torn church records, helpful as they are, can never be more than a kind of broken mirror of days and generations long gone past. Yet for what they lack in spatial outline and detail, they usually make up in depth of character and intensity. The names we meet are no longer affixed to statues, as it were, but breathe in human shapes, and there is soul in all that is said. The legal bars and doors of the charters, with their castle-like pomposity, yield here to home touches, and the play of thought and feeling. We no longer walk upon macadamised paths and streets of asphalt, but upon fresh grass, and with nature all around us. The actions of the people are visibly reflected in more than shadowy outlines. Their likes and dislikes, intentions and preferences, are embodied in the men who play the chief parts and carry their judgments into execution. The principal solemnities of existence, their births, marriages, and deaths, are here set out in all their glowing light or livid gloom. Everything is sharply cut. The swift glimpse of the trembling hand of some weary traveller, not yet called a "tramp," or poverty-stricken parishioner, held out to receive the kirk session's help, is followed, it may be, with the abrupt rebuke and ecclesiastical castigation of some fornicating or Sabbath-breaking wight. Broad glades of humour also open up now and then through the prosaic jungle of "collections and depursements," and routine "sederunts" of session. A dark fringe of sickness and sorrow is always, of course, found flowing from the web woven on "the roaring Loom of Time"; brief chronicles, like sudden shrieks, declaring to us the strenuous struggle of life and death which is going on behind them. Little sputters of dislike and grudging also break out at intervals, and expressions of bile which cannot venture beyond hints and mangled words. Passing events of local

significance are often exact silhouettes of the more massive and national ones contemporaneously being developed ; just as one might, by aid of lenses, throw down on a small table the aspect of a distant street or city. The widest interests are frequently commingled,—a bridge over the nearest burn dividing the "collections" with one over the Dee, the aid given to teaching "poor scholars" of the neighbourhood being drawn from the same pockets that assist a church in Königsberg or North America, or help the Bible to declare itself in Gaelic. Struggles at the elections of ministers and elders are, of course, frequent, and not always of a heroic character. The ecclesiastical cockpit never wants combatants. But the Day of Communion is the event which perhaps is most heavily underscored in importance. Ministers, elders, teachers, precentors, beadles, joiners, tents, ropes, and collections, bulk high in their several places, and attain annually an increased greatness and profusion of record. It is the religious tidal wave which yearly elevates every common and ecclesiastical function of the church and parish, and which, having passed, permits all to sink down to common levels of routine once more. Conspicuous over all, watchful, fierce, and despotic, towers the kirk session. None escapes its vigilance, as few are able to elude its ban. Peer or peasant, farmer or hind, rich or poor, all must bow to its dictates and listen to its commands. It is an almonry, it is true, for the needy, but it is also an arsenal for the refractory. And it is not only in the Church where its power is felt. Not a pailful of water can be carried home from the well, but cognisance is taken whether it be done on Sabbath or Saturday. So with carrying food, or yoking a cart. Not a fiddle may twangle at marriage or merrymaking beyond the hours and bounds fixed by this small body. Fathers of families are roundly told

in what ways they should bear themselves at home or afield. The weakest and most weather-winnowed creature in the parish, it may be, when once seated in the chair of the elder, does not hesitate to fulminate his judgments with a "Thus saith the Lord."

These are features of Scottish life, which, of course, were perfectly general over the country. The minister lived and moved and had his being in an atmosphere as terrible as that which enveloped Horeb. None disputed his authority; all except the most profane and hardened meekly yielded place to him. "The minister of God's Evangel" he called himself, but he approached nearer to a personification of law, and he would shake the sleeve of the king as fearlessly as he would the rheum-crustud fustian of the peasant. There was a reason for all this. His power lay in his conviction that he walked with God, or rather, as in some cases, that God walked with him, and that all the "degrees of God's wrath" were at his disposal whensoever he should be moved by the spirit, to draw upon them either to advance the cause of righteousness or to crush a blasphemous enemy. The parish was practically his regality, short of the power of life and death, and no king or kinglet ever swayed a sceptre so supremely over his subjects as did the Scotch minister over the people "within the bounds." He did not hesitate to set aside laws and injunctions coming "from above," if they were unsuitable to his "views," or ran counter to those passed within his own sessional parliament. He had God's word to back him: all else he defied. And the conviction of the minister was the belief of the people. With few exceptions the parish upheld him in his decisions. Docilely they followed him, as sheep, whithersoever he, as shepherd, might lead them. And if there had been no opposing belief to his

in the Scotland of 1650, when our records open, parish life and parish character would have developed and flourished after their genus, and have passed away peacefully according to the course of nature.

The centre of this ecclesiastical system, the General Assembly, never had, perhaps, respect adequate or power sufficient given to it to cope with the various forces nominally under its command. And where there is no central authority of sufficient dignity in wisdom, piety, learning, or power, equal to commanding the respect and obedience of men, nothing but anarchy and misrule can prevail. The Reformation of 1560 overwhelmed the central ecclesiastical authority of the land. But nothing so universally binding was put in its place. True, there was a purer spiritual life, and a more reasonable faith asserted once more, but the application of this to externals was not so calmly and orderly adjusted as could have been desired. When Knox died in 1572, and Andrew Melville came to the front with his "Divine right of Presbytery," all the elements of Scottish life slowly assumed the condition of inflammability, and the combustible and explosive stage was merely a question of time. For if there exist side by side with this belief in the "divine right of presbytery" a not insignificant party whose conviction holds all for the "divine right of episcopacy," if royalty, for example, should also be convinced of its own "divine right" to uproot this system of presbytery from the land, and plant "divine right of episcopacy" in its place, is it not clear that combustions must ensue, and something like Civil War take place? There was at work also the active agency of the spirit of revenge. We do not need to say that this was actually the state of matters prevailing in Scotland in 1650, and for many years previous to it. King James VI. and I. and Charles

his son after him, would have their episcopacy forced upon Scotland; Scotland as strenuously, respecting herself and her liberty, declared for divine right of presbytery, and this she would have, and nothing else. And force met force in the field, and saint met saint at the Throne of Grace and spilt blood, and counterpetitioned and counterlawed each other in the name of the Most High through most of the seventeenth century.

For the same principle and conviction is found at the root of the mad doings of the "killing time." That cultured and civilised men, some of them of high breeding, should deliberately and coldly imbrue their hands in the blood of a helpless peasantry for the mere pleasure of the thing, is what no sane person can now conceive. But when men believe that one form of religion is God-designed and divinely ordered, and that another system of worship is superstitious and contrary to Scripture, they will only think that they do God service when they put down the one and establish the other, even at the heavy cost of much bloodshed.

1650 is the year that saw Cromwell cross the Tweed at Berwick, march round by the east coast, Dunbar and Musselburgh, and confront the forces of the Scotch in Edinburgh. The year before he had settled the question of the "divine right of kings" by executing King Charles I., and his convictions were just as free on the question as to the divine right of episcopacy or presbyterianism. The arms to the man who can use them, was his belief; the throne to the man who can rule; and the pulpit to the man who can preach. It is the natural truth of the matter, and therefore carries with it the true right of the divine. But Scottish ministers everywhere held this as blasphemy, and defied him.

They stood by the Covenant and compelled Charles II. to come under its obligations before they would permit him to reign. He was secondary in their estimation to the Covenant which declared for presbyterianism. The most characteristic feature of this Covenant was its *repudiation of prelacy*. Prelacy to them was the handmaid of popery, and both were black superstition in the eyes of men who believed in the divine right of presbyterianism. Round this central principle religious fury raged throughout the land. But Cromwell principally wished to prevent the Scots from setting up Charles II. in the room of his father, who had but lately expiated his crimes on the block. And with this in view, when Charles II. landed at the mouth of the Spey in June of 1650, he hurried from Ireland to London, from London by Berwick to Edinburgh, to frustrate their intentions. "Cromwell's host caused great excitement. At the approaching of this English army, many people here (Edinburgh), in the East parts and South, were overtaken with great fears." "22 July 1650 being ane Monday, the English Army, under the Commandment of General Oliver Cromwell, crossed the water of Tweed and marched into our Scottish Borders to and about Aytoun, whereof present advertisement was given to our Committee of State, and thereupon followed ane strict proclamation that all betwixt 60 and 16 should be in readiness the morn to march both horse and foot." "During the lying of thir twa armies in the fields all the cornes betwixt and twa or three miles be west Edinburgh on both sides were destroyed and eaten up. Meat and drink could hardly be had for money, and such as was gotten was fuisted and sauled at a double price." *

This picture of terror and desolation over all the east and

* Nicoll's *Diary*.

south finds corroboration in our records in the quotation we have given above. Nothing was sacred, not even kirk treasuries, to the plundering soldiers. The meagre details we have of their visit to Channelkirk are touched with pathos as well as sacrilege. The kirk session had met, and on settling the year's accounts after September 1st, when the hostile armies were fronting each other at Dunbar, and two days before the defeat of the Scottish host, there was found the sum of £42, 4s. 4d. Thirty-six shillings had been paid "to the Presbytery for James Murray," who was doubtless a probationer fighting his way through the university with such assistance, and twenty-four shillings more went "to the poor smith of Ugston," and the rest fell into the hands of the marauders. The precise date of their robbery is not given, but there is an inferential hint given us in the blank left after July 21st, which was Sunday. Cromwell came across the Tweed on the Monday following, viz., the 22nd, and there is no service in church on the subsequent Sunday, July 28th. "Aug. 4" is the next entry. This might lead us to imagine that the soldiers had scoured Lauderdale and Channelkirk poor's box about that date. No doubt, the helpless people would be thrown into great consternation, and church attendances would be forgotten in the desire to escape with precious life. The "box" which was broken open so ruthlessly had also its romance. Six years afterwards, there is a homely consideration given to the old friend who was not to be discarded though desecrated, and so—

"April 23. After the sermon the clerk brings to the session the old box that was broken. The session sends it to the smith that he may mend it and make a key for it. The smith accordingly mad a key for qk (whilk) he gets 6 sh.

The session by vot (deliver) the box to Alexander Riddell and the key to Adam Somervell, elders." It resumes its wonted dignities also, for "qk day they put into the box the four dayes collections, April 6, April 13, April 20, April 23 : qk day they reckon wt Alexr. Riddell, and finds he hes 3 lib. 8 sh. qk is not yet distribut, qk they ordere to be put into the box."

We can only express the regret that time has not handed down to us this venerable object of the English soldiers' regard, and can only surmise that the care over the church possessions has not always risen to the level of the kirk session of 1656.

While the battle of Dunbar was being decided on national issues, the local difficulties of Channelkirk parishioners were being settled by similarly rough methods. The minister records that a month previous to Cromwell's invasion "Patrick Haitly payd for drinking and reproaching Alexr. Riddell of Hartsyd on the 20th of Jun, 56 sh." Pat's brother James "on 2 Aug. 1650" pays "for himself and Margt. Simson £7, 10s. for a more serious fault, although to reproach an elder, such as Riddell was, did not pass in those days as a slight misdemeanour.

There are one or two items which occur in 1653 which may be interesting to the curious. A lock for the kirk door cost twenty-two shillings, for instance, Scots money ; "building a door up of the church, 28 sh.," "2 soldiers' wives get 12 sh.," "lime for the kirk" costs 18 sh., while there was "given for casting of ten thousand divvets for the kirk, £7," and there was "given to craftsmen to lay them on and to sparg the lym, £9." Mr Liddell was evidently busy having his church put in good repair. Perhaps this was the first attempt to put right the shameful condition of this place of worship

complained of so loudly by Liddell's predecessor, Cockburn. "Divvet" renovation was better than none. Cockburn grieves that "the parishioners cannot get rowme in the kirk, the quir (choir) being doune." This was in 1627. We are persuaded that nothing had been done to remedy matters till this year of grace 1653. The great lords had seized the kirk lands and kirk advowsons, and were indifferent whether kirks or ministers sank or swam. Liddell appears to have been suaver in his manners than Cockburn, who doubtless had a Celtic preference for speaking his mind, and perhaps got less attention from the heritors on this account. But the fact of payments of £7 and £9 for divots and labourers puts them entirely aside. The work, for most part, must have been undertaken by the parishioners themselves, and paid for out of the kirk collections. Perhaps it was the more satisfactory way of doing it.

There are not many other items in Liddell's record which would be of general interest. There are the recurring "poor" who receive help, and there is a significant entry "To a cripl and to a prisoner, 4s.," which shows that war was at the doors. We have also ample proof of the curious custom of consigning a sum of money into the session's hands when a marriage took place. This last item is fully explained by the following :—

"Robert Halliwell being to be proclaimed for marriage with Jeannie Halliwell, consigned two dollars that the marriage should be consumat, and that there should be no promiscuous dancing and lascivious piping ; which two dollars was delivered to Alexander Riddell in Hartsyd, July 8, 1655, to be kept till they should be redelivered—5 lib. 10 sh.

"Sept. 30, 1655.—Whilk day Alexr. Riddell redelivered to Robert Halliwell his two dollars whilk he consigned, and his bro.-in-law, Richard Sclater, becaime caution that if his daughter was brought to bed before the ordinar tyme, he should pay the penalty and cause her satisfie the church."

It is unnecessary to say that this was a condition of social affairs which, in their relationship to the Church, and kirk sessions in especial, was prevalent during the seventeenth century over all Scotland. The kirk records of churches, the registers and minutes of presbyteries and synods, collections of sermons, and the Acts of the General Assembly, bear ample testimony to this statement. Festivals, penny bridals, christening assemblies, or merry-makings in any shape, were frowned upon by the officials of the Church as pertaining to sinfulness.* The John Baptist ideal of life, as viewed through a lurid atmosphere of sin and all its attendant sacrifices and suppressions, took a deep hold of the Scottish religious nature, and the loftier one of Christ with its clearer heaven of forgiveness, and the happy union of the human and divine affections, was almost wholly obscured. Still, the natural wells of human feeling had not totally dried up, for nothing is more persistently prominent in these records than the sympathetic dole of money or goods given to the poor. Again and again the "poor man in Greengelt," whose name was Andrew Johnston, the "poor smith in Ugston," and various others are relieved by the kirk session's benevolence. "James Alin and his motherless children" are never left out, and even the stranger has his share. In the bleak days of January 1657 "the session thinks fit to distribut 40 sh. (illings) to the 3 poor people in the parish, because the wether is foul and they cannot travel." Here is also an illustration of how the Scotch love of education was fostered and fed, "Feby. 15 (1657) collected 7 sh. whilk was fully distribut to James Alin's two sons, to pay their quarterly stipend to the schoolmaster." James was a widower, and needed, for some reason, considerable assistance

* See Buckle's *History of Civilisation*, vol. iii.

from the session, and, as we see, his two boys were obtaining their education out of the "collection" plate. But not only scholars: the school, also, and the schoolmaster seem to have been sustained out of the same intermittent source, as far as we can make out from mangled words, blurs, and frayed leaves. "1659, May 29th, Adam Somerville, boxkeeper, by warrant of the sessione, depursed fyve pounds to Will Milcum (Malcolm?) in Netherhouden to (roof?) a house—for the schollers to learn in." Some years afterwards this temporary building would seem inadequate for its purpose, for on 25th Nov. 1661 "the elders met and unanimously decided to pay the builders of the scole for that work, and to pay for the timber out of kirk money which Adam Somervell has in keeping. And they thought a schoolhouse for the schoolmaster ——" The necessary words to complete the sentence are beyond our ability to decipher, but enough is given to support the conclusion that the session had raised a school for the parish and contemplated a schoolhouse also. They purpose, however, to use means to get back the money from the heritors. We trust they succeeded.

The dead are never far from the kirk, and the records make frequent reference to them as a matter of course. "Given to John Burrek (or Burrell), for mending the hoa and speid and shool for making the graves, 20 sh." The "mort cloth," large and small, is also a source of revenue to the session, £1, 6s. 4d., and 13s., being the respective sums exacted.

The village, and south of the parish, being cut off from the church by Mountmill Burn and Headshaw Burn, it was necessary to have a bridge across them for accommodating the people. We have therefore such allusions to it as this: "Sept. 30, 1655. Appointed to be a day for a volutar

contribution for building a bridge, the elders at the kirk door collected 8 lib. 3 sh." "Oct. 7. Collected half-crown 30 sh., from those that were absent the former day for building the bridge."

This bridge would seem to have been over Mountmill Burn (then Airhouse Water) near to the top of the old glebe in the Haugh, where the old road from Oxtou, crossing from near Parkfoot, sloped down to the foot of the Kirk-brae, up which the present road to the church still lies. There was no stone bridge then at Peasmountford—the situation of the present stone bridge, near the railway, over Mountmill Burn—and it was really a ford through the water at that place. The mark of the old road is still visible across the slope opposite the Kirk-brae. Collections for this bridge are made at different times up till November of 1655.

Reference is sometimes made to sums collected "appointed for the rest of the house-meal," "given to mak out the house meale," which may have accrued to the minister when the stipend fell short in bad harvests.

The money in use has the names of pounds, shillings, and pence, but "rix dollars," and "dollars" and "doits" are common. Bad money was rife. "May 30, 1658. The elders find that Adam Somervell has in the box counted by him 52 sh., all which being for the most part ill copper, the minister and (four) elders hav gotten it put off their hand, and good money for it, which they delivered into Adam Somervell."

Needless to say, the Lord's Supper was an affair of almost superstitious regard. All its simplicity and clearness of brotherly purpose was as completely buried out of sight by Presbyterians as it ever was by Romanists. The feeling of "Boo-man," with which children are horrified, was called up

whenever the season of its observance came round. The awe and trembling with which savages regard eclipses of sun and moon had its counterpart in the most holy yet most natural of all the observances of the Christian religion. "March 15, 16, and 17, 1662—At which tyme the congregation meet for hearing sermons to prepare them for the Lord's Supr and to stir them up to be thankfull for that ordinance." An artificial and unwonted excitement of mind due to rhetorical whipping and frequent services was considered the correct spirit in which to break bread in commemoration of Christ. The simple majesty of the act, resting upon the natural faith and feelings of the sincere heart, was overwhelmed by whirlwinds of words and a feverish atmosphere. But we may not blame them who, in our present-day observance of the same holy rite, lull our souls into delectable moods by such helps as low, sweet voicings, low lights, tremulous murmurs, mysterious fingers, smooth faces, half-shut eyes, grave gyrations, and all the varied machinery of pious cantrip and devout incantation.

The last entry made by Liddell has kindly reference to his predecessor which has been noticed in its place. Liddell was called to the Barony Church, Glasgow, in 1662, and by Act of Parliament, 4th July 1661, received £100. He had done splendid work during his twelve years in Channelkirk, and was well worthy of his promotion to so honourable a position. The building or repairing of the church, and the building of school and schoolhouse were doubtless done under his direction and initiative, and where these two necessities of civilised life were provided, little else was required in a district so completely rural, and moving in such circumscribed circumstances. He closes his record with "Laus Deo!" He would be nothing loth to leave the silent hills, with their loneliness

and irresponsiveness, for the excitement and honours of such a city as Glasgow. It is said to be one of the severest trials the human spirit can pass through, to be trained in the emulation and vigour of student life, in cities and where societies thought and feeling are raised to their best levels, and in touch with the noblest sentiments of all ages, then to be compelled to slog along in the muddy ways of country life, with its torpid thought, inarticulations, crude manners, raw revenges, and frozen faiths. A man may quite realise it to be his duty to bend his nature to these extremes, for he usually has first gone from the country to the university, but the change is too abrupt in either case, and, if it were possible, some medium between the feast and the fast, the turkey and the turnip, might be more agreeable. Liddell had doubtless been in Aberdeen all his life, previous to his career at Channelkirk, and twelve years' experience, which brings much from his people's affection to help a country minister, had not quenched his joy to return once more to a wider field and a loftier society. The records of the Barony Parish yield nothing concerning him. His name occurs repeatedly in the "Munimenta" * of the University, but only in formal entries, as consenting to deeds in his capacity of Dean of Faculties, and such like. He held the office of dean from 1665-1674. He was elected in October of 1674, "by unanimous consent and common vote of all the moderators," Professor of Theology in Glasgow University, and took the oath. His successor, Alexander Rosse, was elected in 1682, so that he must have died about the middle of that year. The election is on the 27th of September, and the chair is said to be vacant by the death of Mr David Liddell, "lait professor thair." He does not seem to have published any work.

* Maitland Club Publications.

WALTER KEITH—1663-1682

The minister who succeeded David Liddell in Channelkirk was named Walter Keyth. He comes upon the scene under different auspices from those attending his predecessor, and leaves it with a totally different character. Episcopacy began to grow powerful once more, and Presbyterians trembled for their sacred ark. The Scottish Parliament which met on 1st January 1661, truculently forsook all the principles which had modelled the laws of the former years, and proceeded to not only pass some which were abhorrent to Presbyterians, but abolished those which had hindered Episcopacy from gaining the ascendancy. The famous Rescissory Act of 1661 fell like a death-knell on the Presbyterian polity, and Episcopacy practically then came into force. The Marquis of Argyle was executed in the same year, and James Guthrie, minister of Stirling, sometime of Lauder, perished on the scaffold, both bowing to influences which were flowing adversely to the Presbyterians. Samuel Rutherford was marked for the same doom had not death snatched him from that fate. King Charles II. wanted Episcopacy, and took measures to effect his purpose. Ministers who had been ordained between 1649 and 1660 had been chosen by the kirk-session alone, the congregation having right to complain to the Presbytery if they were dissatisfied. All these ministers were now proclaimed as having no right to their livings. Here was change with a vengeance. But a deeper wrong was inflicted because offered under an insidious and immoral temptation. All of these ministers who should consent to receive institution at the hands of a bishop, and obtain presentation from the patron, were to be continued in their parishes, churches,

manse, and emoluments as before. Hundreds, of course, scouted the terms, and were driven forth to starve, or eat the bread of charity. But the vacant pulpits had to be filled, and from the north, which had always been an Episcopalian preserve, "came a crowd of candidates, as droves of black cattle are now brought from their wilds to be fattened on the richer pastures of the south. The parishes were filled, but many of them by men infamous for their immoral lives, almost all of them by men despicable for their talents and learning." *

Walter Keith seems to have been one of this "crowd," or related to it in some way, and all the characterisation which we have quoted appears to fit him very well.

The year that brought Keith to Channelkirk was one of much division throughout Berwickshire. The Presbytery of Earlston consisted of nine parishes, but six of these were true to Presbyterianism and against Episcopacy. These were:—

GORDON—John Hardie, A.M.

LEGERWOOD—William Calderwood, A.M., who along with his wife and servant took refuge in Channelkirk parish after 1663, though he continued to preach to his people in Legerwood, now and then, clandestinely.

MERTON—James Kirkton, A.M., author of *The Secret History of the Kirk of Scotland*, quoted below concerning Keith.

SMILHOLM—Thomas Donaldson, A.M.

STOW—John Cleland, A.M.

WESTRUTHER—John Veitch, A.M., who, like his brother William, vigorously preached throughout the Merse and Lauderdale, under the very nose of the Duke of Lauderdale, to whom he was related, and which relationship perhaps saved him some trouble.

An Act of Parliament of 1662 declared that all ministers ordained between 1649 and 1660 had no right to their

* Cunningham's *Church History*, vol. ii., p. 95.

livings. Of the above names, only the ministers of Smailholm and Stow, who were ordained in 1640, escaped this deprivation.

Seeing that Earlston, Lauder, and Channelkirk Churches were Episcopalian during this covenanting period, Lauderdale was exempt from hazard and has no bloody record to show. The people, as a rule, followed their ministers faithfully in those days, and, had they been so directed, would have died as hard for Episcopacy as they did for Presbyterianism. It was in general a minister's affair.

Keith received the degree of Master of Arts from St Andrews University on the 9th July 1655, and was presented to Channelkirk 14th October, and ordained and collated 20th November 1663. The records of his time begin :—

“The compt of the monney collected for the poore sinc Mr Walter Keith's admission to the kirk of Chingilkirk November 1, 1663.”

The winter passes and spring arrives, and in March, on the 13th day, there is “no sermon, the minister being appointed the sd day to preach at Gordun to give admissiōe and instilatiōe to Mr James Straiton in ordouris his collation to be minister at the sd kirk.”

“Collation” to Scotch ears is a strange term, but it simply means the presentation of a minister to a benefice by a bishop. The bishop, by-the-by, comes into our records for the first and only time on 30th July 1665, where Keith has set down, “The collection given to Mistres Marie Kein (or Kem) by the Sessione, she having a testificat sub^d (subscribed) by the bisshop.”

We have evidence also that matters were not too tightly drawn on Episcopal lines, and perhaps as hatred to Episcopacy was not so fierce in the east as in the west

and south-west of Scotland, it was deemed judicious to temporise with the people till they were accustomed to the name. Church government might be called Prelatic Presbyterian. At any rate, Keith has still his elders and kirk-session, who meet with him and arrange the affairs of the church and parish as formerly. We ascertain that on 2nd October 1664 the collections were "compted by the minister and the elders, to wiz, Alexr. riddel of hartside, Wm. Knight in hairhouse, and Wm. Waddel in Ugstoun." "The wlk day the box put in ye custodie of patrick Andersone ye Schoole Mr, and the key delivered to thomas thomson in Hiseldain to be keeped by him."

It was in the following month, on the 24th day, that three troopers of His Majesty's Life Guard rode to Greenknowe, in the parish of Gordon, and apprehended Walter Pringle, the laird there, for holding views adverse to Episcopacy. They travelled with him by Whitburn and Channelkirk, where they rested a night, and Keith's interest in the case could not be slight, as in most instances it was through the curates of parishes that the High Commission in Edinburgh received information of those who were non-attenders at the parish church, and were thus enabled to put them in prison.

September 24, 1665, is the last date in the connected accounts and minutes of Keith's time, after which there elapse sixteen years before the record is resumed—that is, not till 1681. It was the bitterest time known to the Kirk of Scotland, as it includes the interval of that sad and awful period when the blood of the Covenanters was shed like water. Not a word is given us to indicate whether the people of Channelkirk were Prelatic or Presbyterian

by preference. Perhaps it was prudent to be neutral and to bend to the storm. The castle of the Duke of Lauderdale was but a few miles distant, and he who struck such terror into Covenanting hearts and homes throughout all Scotland was not likely to tolerate anything like vacillation so near his own seat. The Rev. Walter does not seem to have distressed himself much at a throne of grace over the calamitous condition into which his wretched country had now fallen. The vindicators of spiritual freedom might starve, or bleed, or hang for aught he cared; his aim was to enjoy himself, and, if necessary, purloin nefariously his joys from other people.

Regarding him we may quote, by way of apology, what Principal John Cunningham has said regarding the Romanist priests. "We cannot conceal, though we willingly would, the gross licentiousness of all ranks of the clergy. Denied by the stern ordinance of their Church the enjoyment of wedlock, and unable to repress the instincts of their nature, they sought relief either in systematic concubinage, or in the seduction of the wives and daughters of their parishioners." * Now, if it was just to expose the priest Roman, it is surely as fair to pillory his brother English, remembering also that men's lives are for warnings as well as for wise examples. But an historian, † who has been variously rated, shall tell Keith's ugly story:—

"I will give you an instance of the justice our curats used to do in such a case. There was one Mr Walter Kieth, curat in Chingle Kirk, who was, all the country knew (and many stories there were of it), a common adulterer with his neighbour James Wilson's wife. The poor man resented

* *Church History*, vol. i., p. 206, 1882.

† Kirkton's *Secret History*, p. 185.

it, and complained to his neighbours upon it. The curat, to be first in play, summons him before the Presbyterie of Erlistoun (his ordinary) to answer there a slander of his godly pastor. The man could not deny what he had spoken before so many; but because he could not by two eye-witnesses prove that they saw Kieth commit adultery with his wife, he is condemned to confess his slander in sackecloath upon all the pillories in the presbyterie. Yet one eye-witness there was; for my Lord of Jedburgh his lackey lyeing one day in James Wilson's barn, saw the curat and the wife enter the barn, and was both eye and ear-witness to what I need not write. The lackey resolved to make advantage of it; so after they had left the barn, he went boldly to the curat's stable and took away his horse, which the curat soon mist, but could not find it. The next day the lackey comes that way rideing upon the curat's horse, and so was seased by the people of the village, and brought before the curat, who threatened him very sore; he whispers the whole story into the curat's ear in so convincing a manner, the curat thought it even best to quite his horse for fear of a worse. Always, poor James Wilson had no other satisfaction but this: Being a vintner, he made a painter draw a pair of bull's horns upon his sign-post, with a scurrelous epigrame containing the sume of the shamefull story; and this was a memorial to be contemplate by all travelling that most patent road, as I have seen it myself many times, and with this the curats durst never meddle, nor Kieth himself, though he dwelt within a few paces of it."

This farm stood at one time opposite the manse, on the north side; the highway only being between them. It was called Channelkirk farm, and New Channelkirk farm, near Glengelt was so called to distinguish it from

the former. It was in existence in the early years of this century.

The records of the church resume Keith's time on 13th December 1681. "The sacrament of the Lord's Supper being celebrated yr (there), was only collect for the three dayes £10" (16s. 8d.). One is surprised there was even so much. The year 1682 follows, and it seems Keith had fallen ill after the 8th January, for from that date there is "no sermon till the 12 of March, on qlk day Mr David Forester, Minr. at Lauder, preached. There was collected 3s." Keith died this month.

After 12th March, "no sermon till the 2 of April, on qch day Mr Anderson Meldrum, minr. at Martin, preached."

Then the year goes past without any sermon, and the preaching is resumed on 23rd March 1683. April passes without a service, in May there is one, but in June the 4th there is "sermon by Mr William Arat, Expectant," who became Keith's successor in Channelkirk Church. Keith's widow stayed at Channelkirk till, at least, July 1683, for there is a minute, "Given out to the minister's relict for two dales that went to the pulpit, 16s." inserted under that month. His son, William Keith, followed his father's profession and was Presbytery bursar, and his career as a probationer may be partly traced in Earlston Presbytery Records (1691-1704).

When Walter Keith died in March 1682, he was forty-seven years of age, and had been minister of Channelkirk for nineteen years.

It was during his incumbency that the "Thirteen Drifty Days" transpired, viz., in 1674, when snow never once abated for thirteen days and nights, when sheep died in thousands, and farms were rendered without stock and without tenant for many years afterwards. The disaster to Channelkirk

must have been terrible, but no record is left to particularise the calamity.

WILLIAM ARROT—1683-1696

William Arrot, who succeeded Walter Keith in this parish, made his first appearance, as we have seen, as an "Expectant." This term meant the same thing as "Probationer" now. Although it was the time of Episcopalian predominance, the system of training students for the ministry was carried on in the old way. The young man was trained at the University, then passed his trials by the Presbytery, and was admitted as an "Expectant." Church government was a curious conglomerate of both systems in Arrot's time. The Presbyteries were still in active authority, and the kirk-sessions continued to fulfil the same duties as formerly, viz., overseeing the poor, rebuking offenders, and such like; the "bad" cases standing in sackcloth in Episcopal congregations just as they did in Presbyterian churches. But the bishop warranted the Presbyteries, and a permanent moderator presided over them, who was appointed not by the Presbytery but by the ordinary, or deputy of the bishop.

Our first glimpse of Arrot is in St Andrews. He studied there in St Leonard's College, and had his degree from the St Andrews University on the 25th of July 1676. He was taken on trials by the Presbytery of Forfar, and was recommended for licence on 1st December 1680. He preached in Channelkirk Church with a view to the cure on June 4th and 30th, and on August 20th of 1682 (the year when the Duke of Lauderdale died), after which he seems to have been permanently appointed to the charge. He was about twenty-seven years of age at his ordination. The records of the church have nothing special to say regarding him.

There are the customary notices of relief to the poor, mortcloths and burials, collections and disbursements. But he seems to have been as careful of church and school as was his distinguished predecessor, Professor Liddell. During the incumbency of Keith, matters were allowed to lie as they fell, and as both buildings were roofed with divots and thatch, and their high elevation subjected them to the vehemence of every Lammermoor storm, constant care was necessary to ensure comfort and respectability. The presence of Arrot is evident in such notices as "Dales for the pulpit, 16s." "Given to George Kirkwood for covering the kirk, 13s." "Given to George Kirkwood for work to church and school, £3, 6s. 4d." "More for two men that served at covering the kirk." "10 Aug. 1684, more to James Broun, wright, for repairing the Comunion tables"—amount blank. Incidentally we may notice that James lived in "Bourhouses," a fact which we learn in connection with his wife's death there on 8th December 1683, and also from Lauder Burgh Records, 1st July 1660, when "John Robertson, mason, is ordained to pay James Broun, wright, in bourhouse, £7, 8 scotes," as part payment for the making of a mill. On January 10th, 1684, there was a big storm, and so—"no collection, because of the small convention"! The present minister remembers a similar "convention" on just such a stormy day, when only the precentor, the beadle, and himself held "public worship," but there was a collection! Mr Arrot notes on the 30th July of the same year "a fast for the harvest," which seems to point to an unfavourable season then.

But while the common duties of a quiet country parish drummed round the horse-mill path of steady routine, the national life was flowing high, and the very throne heaved

under the earthquake forces below it. It was the terrible time of Covenanting horrors. "During the years of 1682 and 1683, the lawless soldiery continued to harass the country. They carried terror amid the quiet dwellers in the villages, they pillaged farm-houses, they traversed the loneliest moors." * John Grahame of Claverhouse netted or shot them like vermin in the field, and Sir George Mackenzie, Lord Advocate, took care that the meshes of law should well strangle them in "court of justice." Crowds were fined ruinously, many hanged, hundreds were sent to the West Indies as slaves. In February 1685, Charles II., the cause of all this misery—tyrant, dandy, libertine, butcher, and liar—passed to his account. A few more years saw his cruel successor, James VII., deposed from the throne of Britain, and the Prince of Orange seated in his place. It was like the sun rising after a night of storm and darkness, of peril and death, and men once more returned to their former trust in "the authority of law, the security of property, peace of the streets, and happiness of home."

Presbyterianism lifted its cowed head in triumph, and the effect of the changed times was soon felt by William Arrot, curate in Channelkirk. Episcopacy, we know, was still strong enough in many districts, but in Lauderdale Presbyterianism appears to have been universal, and Arrot, leaning to that form of Church government, sought to be recognised by Earlston Presbytery, and received into that communion. He first finds record there on the 20th August 1691, when "the whilk day he producit ane Act of the Commission of the Ge'rall Assembly recommending him to the presb. to be received into presbyterian communion. The presb. taking the affair to c'nsideration, referred

* Cunningham's *Church History*, vol. ii., p. 127.

it to the next dyet for a fuller meeting.* At Earlston, on the 7th September of the same year, the Presbytery "judge fitt that they take tryall of his gift before they proceed any farder, and therefore appoint him to preach before them at their nixt meeting on Psalm 101, beginning at the middle of the thrid verse." This text seems to have been specially aimed at his Episcopacy, and meant as a form of confession by him of his renunciation. "I hate the work of them that turn aside; it shall not cleave to me." On the 24th of September he is before the Presbytery on his "tryalls." It is said, with a fine blending of Scotch enthusiasm and caution, that "with whilk sermon the presb. were extraordinarie well-satisfied, but before they could receive him into presbyteriall communion they judge it fit that a visitation of the Church of Ginglekirk be appointed this day fortnight, and that narrow inquiry be taken that day annent his life and conversation." The Presbytery meets again at Ginglekirk on the 8th of October, when "the heritors and heads of families, who were frequently (numerously) present being called in, nothing was found culpable in Mr Wm. Arrott, his life and conversation, but on the contrair a good character was given to him by his parishioners both as to his painfullness in preaching and catechising, and his exemplariness in his life and conversation. After all whilk, Mr Arrott being called in and inquired annent his judgment (who had served under prelatie) of presb. government, his answer was that he judged it agreeable to the Word of God, and that he was most willing to join in supporting thereof, and that he was willing to subscribe to the doctrine contained in the Scriptures, and drawn out in the confession of faith and catechisms. After all whilk, he being again removed, the

* *Records of Earlston Presbytery* (See Index of, 1691-1704.)

presb. judged convenient that before he should be received to presbyteriall communion he should subscribe a declaration thereof under his hand, and Mr Jo. Hardie appointed to draw up the said declaration and present it to the next meeting whereat Mr Arrott was appointed to be present." The Presbytery next meets at Smailholm 12th October, and the "declaration" is duly signed by him; and the Presbytery delivers itself of the following "painfull" document which, because it bears testimony to his life and character, we give in full:—

"The whilk day (viz., 12th Oct.), the presbyterie of Earlston taking to their c'sideration a petition formerly delivered to them by Mr Wm. Arrott, Minr. at Ginglekirk, craving that he might be assumed unto ministeriall communion and received unto the number of the presbyterian ministers of this church, the whilk desire was by this presbyterie referred to the last Ge'ral Assembly, and by them committed to their Commission, and last of all remitted by the said Commission to the said presbyterie, recommending unto them to take inspectione into the Doctrine, Life, and ministeriall qualifications of the said Mr Wm. Arrott and unto his affection to the Government, and to proceed as they should find cause. And the presb. having accordingly taken tryall and made inquirie by visitation, long and frequent conferences, and other due and propper ways, and finding the said Mr Wm. Arrott to be a person of a blameless behaviour, of ane edifying gift, of orthodox prin'lls (principles), of competent diligence in the pastoral office, and he having signed the Confession of Faith and declared his willingness to submit to and joyn with presb. government, and his resolution to continue faithfull to the same—They

do judge him worthy to be received, and accordingly do receive him, into ministeriall communion and give him the right hand of fellowship as one of the presbyterian ministers of this church and a member of the presb. of Erst."

He was therefore continued in Channelkirk pastorate until called to Montrose. During his official life in this parish he seems to have been much beloved and respected by all classes. He took a leading part in the Presbytery from the beginning, and was entrusted with duties by them requiring the zeal of the churchman as well as the polite diplomacy of the gentleman. He frequently supplied Ormiston Church, and was deputed by the General Assembly to preach in those "north" country churches where as yet no ministers had been settled. His comfort in relation to his heritors was, in the usual way, disturbed about such things as "divvets"—no doubt for church and school—and he takes action against Lairds Hume and Auchenhay to procure them. He was by no means on terms of fraternal affection with his neighbour, William Abercrombie, minister at Lauder, who had also severe words for the minister of Arbuthnot. But with the testimony of the Presbytery before us regarding Arrot, it was not to be expected that he could fraternise with a man whose conduct was so totally vicious as to call ultimately for deposition from the sacred office. In a valley where, in the many changes attending agricultural life, the churches in it have often the same members, this was regrettable in the interests of religion and a consistent Christianity, but where character, office, and principle are all involved, distinct cleavage is the only option left.

In the course of his preaching appointments in the "north" (Angus and Mearns), he visited Montrose. The church there gave him, on 26th June 1696, a call to be their minister, which he accepted. On 15th July 1697, Mr John Hardie, minister at Gordon, reported to the Earlstoun Presbytery "that he supplied Chinelkirk and declared the kirk vacant. Arrot was admitted on 6th January 1697 as follows:—

"Montrose, Jany. 6, 1697.—Which day Mr Jo. Spalding preached at the admission of our Minr., Mr William Arrott, upon 1 Tim., 6 chap., 20 ver.: O Timothy, keep y't q'ch is committed to thy trust, and after sermon, first minister of the said burgh in room of the late Mr Da. Lyel by the Presby."*

The following is from the same source:—

"Jany. 8, 1697.—This day the Minr. did report that before his admission to be Minr. of Montrose, the Presby., taking to consideration the season of the year, tenderness of his family, and circumstances of his affairs at South, upon all these considerations they did undertake that notwithstanding his admission they should allow him to go south and continue there till June next, against which he might conveniently transport his family to this place." "August the 12th, 1697, which day the Minr., Mr Arrot, being now come from South with his family, did call a Session."

By the Montrose Records, Arrot is "confined to a sick-bed on 1st December 1729." On 12th January 1730 he is "still valetudinary." He lingered on till 15th August of that year, when he died. He was about seventy-five years old. He was married to Magdalen Oliphant, who

* *Kirk Records of Montrose.*

survived him, and had a son, Andrew, who became minister of the historical parish of Dunnichan. There were also two daughters: Margaret, who married John Willison, one of the ministers of Dundee, and Elizabeth, who was wife to James Bell, the minister of Logie Pert.

CHAPTER VII

THE VACANCY

An Ecclesiastical Five Years' War—June 1697-Sept. 1702

Election of Ministers, Past and Present—John Story—Charles Lindsay, Lord Marchmont's Nominee—The Patron or The People?—The Presbytery and the Lord High Chancellor—John Thorburn—Case referred to Synod—Referred to Commission of Assembly—New Elders—New Candidates—Presbytery Distracted—Foiled Attempt to Elect—Presbytery obsequious to Lord Marchmont—William Knox—A Day of Decision—Heritors and Elders of Channelkirk—Election of Henry Home—Deplorable State of Religion—Presbytery to be Blamed—Culpability of Marchmont.

THE "transportation" of Mr William Arrot to Montrose created a vacancy in Channelkirk, and a vacancy in a Presbyterian church means a tug-of-war. The few exceptions of peaceful settlement merely prove the rule. The Channelkirk vacancy was, moreover, extraordinarily prolonged, owing to the contest having been more than commonly virulent and complicated. It lasted from June 1697 till September 1702, that is, for more than five years. Perhaps the case was unique. It has a certain interest from the part taken in it by the redoubtable Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, Patrick Hume, Earl of Marchmont, the hero of Polwarth Church vault, and the friend and protégé of the Prince of Orange. The affair is somewhat notable, too, as showing that an unhappy spirit of con-

tention was no less potent then in the councils of landed men and men of leading in the parish, to whom the election of a minister was confined, than it is to-day, and engendered throughout the sacred proceedings feelings just as fierce and as foolish as those which prevail in our own time on similar occasions among the people. Religious controversy has ever been dear to Scotsmen, but since congregations ceased to take part in disputes about doctrines, the ecclesiastical prize fight has afforded a sufficient alternative. It marks the lowest point yet reached in a process of declension which has had movement and a varied morality through several hundred years. Its continuity seems assured, but it gives one heartaches that the highest consecrations and oftentimes the purest of characters should be so bowled about in the sawdusty areas of official appointments. Whatever delights may be reaped by "parties" and contestants in such mêlées, to the ministers immediately concerned in them, winners or losers, there is no question that the fires of the conflict are as the fires of the stake. The degradation to morals, not to mention lofty spiritual tone of mind, is immense. That such things must be is an enduring grief to many.

As illustrating in some measure the character of a distinguished historical personage, and the methods of a Scottish ministerial election two hundred years ago, we treat this vacancy in Chinnelkirk Church in some detail. The records of Earlston Presbytery are our authority and guide throughout.

The bugle note of battle was first sounded on the 7th October 1697. In Earlston Presbytery, "this day Adam Knox and another of the elders of Chinnelkirk, having

commission from the elders of Chinelkirk, produced a petition to the Presbytery, desiring Mr John Story might be allowed to preach again to them to satisfy the non-residing heritors, and that one of their number might be sent to moderate in a call to him." Candidates had already been heard in a calm, decent manner, and Story had excited some enthusiasm in the discriminating bosoms of the wise elders, who rather thought "he might do." But the troublesome "non-residing heritors," always a blister to Channelkirk susceptibilities, would have none of him till they had heard him, and so comes this petition that he might be allowed to preach again. "The Presbytery, taking the said petition to their consideration, refuses the desire thereof at this time, in regard Mr Charles Lindsay has not as yet preached to them."

It is at this point that the match is applied to the bonfire. This Charles Lindsay, as it turns out to be later, is the favourite and nominee of the Earl of Marchmont. Now the Presbytery look with great respect on his lordship, and for the time being put this enthusiasm on the part of the elders for John Story into a bath of cold water. The elders had come thirteen miles with their petition, and we can fancy that their prejudices were not formed in favour of his lordship's protégé whose interest had non-plussed their scheme, nor would they spread through the parish when they returned home a very favourable view of how these sacred matters were judged in high quarters. His lordship had a renowned name, of course; he was a zealous churchman, a white-hot Presbyterian, a great lawyer, a power at the king's court, and a leader in the realm. Why should not his choice obtain sway in an insignificant country parish like Channelkirk? He had set his heart

on Charles Lindsay. Let the Presbytery take note, and be good enough to bend their acts and processes accordingly. Should not all elders be humble and wise, and take light and leading from Marchmont?

The high and wise patron is, we venture to think, the best solution for ministerial elections; and the bishop in the church to guide and appoint is, perhaps, as genuine a growth of human nature and human needs as is the king in the nation or the parent in the home. But the people will not always have this man to reign over them, and by the old rebellious gate Satan enters and claims his world. He had evidently glanced in upon Channelkirk enthusiasts. Strange rumours had got afloat. The people's choice was to be set aside for that of the Lord High Chancellor. The Presbytery also seemed to be colluding with his lordship. They, the humble farmers and jobbers in an unheard-of parish, were to be eaten up without grace or blessing by the powers above in matters ecclesiastic! A belief gained currency that Lord Marchmont had drenched two of the elders with his "plan," and had obtained their co-operation and that of some of the heritors in giving a call to Mr Charles Lindsay. Here was a minister to be thrust upon them without due honour and respect given to ruffled bosoms, glowing to embrace John Story! Thereupon the parish became a mass of troubled water; but what kind of an angel had gone down is not recorded, neither is it said whether healing virtues were found in the midst. The people were helpless, too, or nearly so, for, as has been noted, power to elect a minister lay not with them in those days, but with the heritors of the parish and the elders in the church. Notwithstanding, the force of public opinion is a strongly determining factor

in this "planting of Chinelkirk." It is apparent at every turn of the process.

But what was to be done? Marchmont had got his "call" made out, it would seem. The Presbytery might be smuggled into a consent! What were distracted elders to do? After due deliberation, they agreed to petition the Presbytery. Thereupon the canvass over the parish began. Names were hurriedly adhibited, and all was hustled into due form, and breathlessly presented to the Presbytery before the wily chancellor's trick took effect. "Presbytery (Nov. 7, 1697), in the sixth month of the vacancy, finding no such call tabled before them, delays the consideration of the petition, and appoints it to be *in retentis*." All the same, the call was in existence. The reverend conclave seem to have known the fact, but while willing to conciliate his lordship, they could not ignore weighty considerations on the popular side. His lordship's methods were also, to their mind, somewhat dictatorial. Was the great chancellor going to overlook the Presbytery as well as the elders, and give his Charles Lindsay the call by himself? The Presbytery has its suspicions.

Meantime, Adam Scott, John Thorburn, and Thomas Tod, are also eager to have "a day" at Chinelkirk with a view to the vacant pulpit. This being granted, Thorburn plays his part there so well as to shift poor Mr Story from his pedestal in the admiring hearts of the elders. "Put not your trust in"—elders, Story might well have said. So on 24th February 1698, at Earlston Presbytery, there is "a petition fra the Kirk-Session of Chinelkirk, presented and read, desiring a minister may be sent from the Presbytery to moderate in a call to Mr John Thorburn to be their minister." See, saw! One down, the other up!

The Presbytery, evidently very sick of the tedious business, appoints three ministers to meet with the heritors and elders, and gives them power to moderate in a call. One of their number is appointed to give intimation hereof from Channelkirk pulpit to all concerned. But before this can be done, the High Chancellor again complicates matters. He desires that Charles Lindsay may be heard at Channelkirk yet another time. Would the Presbytery not concede this to him? The Presbytery concedes; his name and piety being potent. Intimation of a call is therefore delayed, and an angry protest comes from Channelkirk. The angry breeze there is becoming a howling storm. But between Lord High Chancellors, heritors, elders, and people, all at variance, what is the sedate Presbytery to do? On 6th October 1698—the terrible year of harvest failure, of wild winds, rains, and snowstorms; when great part of the corn could not be cut, and people died in the streets and highways, some parishes losing more than half their inhabitants—"the Presbytery," in the eighteenth month of the vacancy, "finding great difficulty in planting of the Church of Chinelkirk, by reason of the difference betwixt the heritors of the said parochin, and the elders, and the body of the people, refers the planting of the said Church to the Synod." The poor distracted Presbytery flings up its impotent hands in despair, and hustles the load on to the back of the court above it. May the Synod have joy of it! This might be politic, but it was not furthersome. For the Synod did not appear to have clearer light. The Lord Chancellor was the terror. All might go well if his infatuation for Charles Lindsay would cease and determine. For be it known that Synods and Presbyteries cannot very well stand haughtily up against a Lord High Magnate; such a friend of the Church, too, and so favoured by a Protestant

Prince of Orange. The Synod cautiously would like to know if his lordship's love for Lindsay cannot be dried up by some desiccative process, and warily appoints ways and means to ascertain. But the matter on trial was too deterring to awestruck "brethren" who undertook this function, and therefore, when the 24th of November comes, report is heard in Presbytery that the Synod has done *nothing*. The appointments have twirled off on gusts of official wind, and the poor Presbytery is plunged again in anguish dire.

Well? Refer it to the *Commission* this time. Presbytery must wash its hands of the case somehow. In the Commission's keeping—Commission being a kind of ecclesiastical Court of Chancery—it is snug and safe.

Two years of this pious embroilment pass away, and June 1699 brings an additional complication. The chancellor's call to Charles Lindsay, which so alarmed petitioners from Channelkirk, and which the Presbytery found nowhere on their table in November 1697, now flutters out of its state of hibernation, and alights with golden wing on every prominence the Presbytery possesses. No doubt of it this time; and the alarms of Channelkirk elders one and a half years ago appear not to have been out of place. The Lord High Chancellor, through James Deas, advocate of Coldenknowes, presents a call to Mr Charles Lindsay, "subscribed by some of the heritors and elders" of Channelkirk, "which call being read, the presbyterie found themselves diffculted in regards there was formerly given to the presbyterie a supplication subscribed by the plurality of the elders and body of that people wherein they intimate their dissatisfaction with, and aversion from having the said Mr Charles to be their minister." But even if Channelkirk people and their petition could be overlooked, the "presbyterie" has yet more

serious objections. "The said call was not moderate *at the appointment* and *by the direction of the presbyterie!*" The Chancellor verily then did purpose to override their reverend court! But the worm thus turns upon the wily high-planning Ulysses of Marchmont, and will show him that it has prerogatives and powers! A proud spirit which does not live long. For after having hissed so much in the forensic ears, refuge is again taken within the jungle of the General Assembly's Commission, to which both call and case are referred with blessings.

Almost another twelvemonth goes by, during which time letters, and petitions, and arguments fly thick between Marchmont, Earlston, and Channelkirk; the "case" meanwhile "depending." At last, on 19th September 1700, in the fourth year of the Armageddon, devout and vociferous John Veitch, of Westruther, "reports that the Commissioners from this presbyterie spake to the members of the Commission of the General Assembly to whom the Chinelkirk affair was committed, and that they gave this return—that the Chancellor had got up his call, and that they would meddle no further in that affair."

So: the Commission was as timid as the Synod to face the pious lion of Marchmont. The Presbytery could do no more. Stagnation and ineptitude were to prevail. All the Church courts shuddered to thwart Lord Marchmont, and to all appearance the people of Channelkirk would have to accept his nominee with the best grace possible. Yet, perhaps not! The people themselves, while Church courts were laboriously doing nothing, took the matter up and bethought them of a counterplan to his of Marchmont. Election, be it remembered, lay with heritors and elders only. Now, if new elders could be got to any considerable number, the votes

might not fall out so conveniently for Charles Lindsay! Who knew? Another petition, then, gets rolled down its thirteen miles to Earlston Presbytery, beseeching for new elders for Chinelkirk. Eight names are submitted as those of quite capable men. Nowadays, the necessary two can scarcely be got, as though God did beseech them by us; but it is another matter when there is guerilla warfare to enforce, and a lofty lord to humble. Sweet are then the duties and honours of an elder. Pious is he, and fit beyond words.

But the wily and wary Chancellor gets wind of the plot, and counterpetitions against these elders, and again menacingly urges Charles Lindsay. Presbytery tearfully wrings its hands and implores delay, and sends post-haste one of its number to the Commission of Assembly for their advice. Presbytery bethinks itself, however, that notwithstanding its inability to "plant" a minister, the "making of" *elders* need not stretch its strength so much, and so quietly, yet venturously, shuffles along with that matter, hearkening with its deaf ear to the roar of the lion. Elders are therefore diligently ridden steeplechase over the stiles that obstruct their path. Attendances, characters, catechism, family behaviour, doctrinal soundness—all are found most excellent. Bang, then, go they into the most holy place. And now, let the Lord High Chancellor consider his ways!

In the intervals of controversy, and through rifts in the battle smoke, we discern that three probationers among many attain a certain distinction and favour in Channelkirk quarters, and something may come of it: James Gray, Henry Home, and William Knox are their names. The elders were ordained in March 1701, and on 3rd April Thomas Brounlies, one of them, requests the Presbytery to grant "a hearing of Mr Wm. Knox and Mr Wm. Keith."

Keith is a son of the notorious "curate of Chinelkirk," of whom we have already heard somewhat. Presbytery sends Knox, and in May, two heritors and two elders desire the Presbytery to moderate in a call to one of the three—Home, Gray, and Knox. So sick are they of the whole tangled matter, that they will thankfully accept any one of these, the more cheerfully, too, because Lindsay, the hated Chancellor's nominee, is not one of them. But ever sleepless "Patrick, Earl of Marchmont, Lord High Chancellor, one of the heritors of the parish of Chinelkirk," pounces down upon the cowering Presbytery once more, and frightens it into another fit of "delay." Still later in the same month, a more urgent appeal comes from heritors and elders of Chinelkirk to call one of the three, and still another letter from the menacing Chancellor. The poor Presbytery is at its last gasp in such a state of matters. But as the ages testify, light dawns at the darkest hour. The Presbytery, like the ox driven desperate, lolling out its tongue in its "forfoughen" and prostrate condition, with the goads of heritors, elders, people, and a pious Chancellor thrust into it, recalls some virility to its help, screws itself up to act, if possible, and fixes a day, 10th of June, for a meeting of all concerned at Chinelkirk "to try if they can be brought to agree unanimously upon one to be their minister." Unanimously! The Presbytery in its weak state sees visions and dreams dreams. A minister unanimously agreed upon by a Presbyterian electorate!

However, it is a policy with a glimmering of good in it, and on the 10th of June 1701, this meeting does take place at Chinelkirk. Lord Polwart was there, son of the Chancellor, and the lairds of Trabroun, Johnstonburn

and Kirklandhill, the inflexible Chancellor himself being also in the near neighbourhood, but not condescending to mingle among the others, all of whom seemed favourable to Mr Henry Home. But Sir James Hay, Lady Moriston, the lairds of Cruixton, Heartsyde, Nether Howden, and all the elders, save one, wished to have William Knox. No unanimity possible here. The Lord Chancellor was approached and informed of this, and "my Lord Chancellor gave a commission to signifie to the meeting that he was sorry there was not ane union amongst them, *and that there was a call independent, which he would prosecute as far as law would allow.*" He still clung to Charles Lindsay, and dared them to thwart him. The old bombardment of Presbytery took place as a consequence; petitions, letters, vociferations, tedious to every one, and the tedious Presbytery found itself as usual "difficulted," craved delay, and resolves to ask advice from several brethren of the Synod!

There was one other method not yet tried which a Presbytery driven distracted might attempt, viz., to kneel at the most High Chancellor's feet, and beseech him to have mercy, and settle this dreadful election now going into its five years of unchristian bitterness. This the Presbytery contemplated doing. For when interminable petitions to "moderate in a call" showered down from Channelkirk, and interminable loquacious letters fluttered in from Marchmont, the Presbytery, "with the assistant brethren"—called in to strengthen the feeble knees and uphold the weak hands—"having pondered the above desire and letter," on 17th July 1701, "came to this resolution, that ane letter should be writtened in name of the Presbytery to my Lord Chancellor, signifying their deference to his lordship, and how willing they would be

to comply with his lordship's desire if the heritors, elders, and body of the people were of his minde." On their knees, then, they go before his lordship, very deferring, very willing, very compliant, and yet, what can one do in the teeth of heritors, elders, and the body of the people?

Presbytery is pressed out of measure by such weighty considerations, and falls back once more on "delay," notwithstanding "that pressing instances were made daily by the parochin for a minister to moderate in a call." That is to say, "It was further resolved to delay this affair till next Presbytery day, when the Presbytery shall grant the desire of the said parochin unless they find a relevant ground for a further delay. There was Scotch caution, indeed! But it was clear that if the Lord Chancellor, the wordy, inextricable Patrick, should lower his brows over the Presbytery before next "day," the parochin might find its "desire" as unattainable as ever. This the wily Patrick proceeds to do by the usual "letter." The "day" was 7th August 1701. With the "letter" appeared, as usual, the faithful petitioners from Channelkirk, "insisting in their former desire." It is William Knox, too, probationer, whom they always hold aloft on their shoulders as their "Desire." He, to all appearance, is the favourite of the people. "Let this man reign over us," they cry.

We know not whether the petitioners had been more than usually urgent, or that some scintillations of gracious concession had been made in his "letter" by my Lord Patrick, or that, goaded beyond all suffering, the poor presbyterial ox had pulled ropes, rings, and goads out of its tormentors' hands and made off with them, but it is clear that the "day" was a day of decision, and the final summing up of a five years' battle was at hand.

"The Presbytery considering the contents of foresaid letters (the Chancellor's), and the instant desire of the heritors and elders above mentioned, did appoint Mr Robert Lever (Merton), to preach at Chinelkirk next Lord's day, and there and then from the pulpit to make publick intimation to the heritors, elders, and others concerned in the calling of a minister to that parochin to meet upon Thursday, the 23rd inst., for that effect."

The meeting at Chinelkirk took place, but not on the 23rd, as fixed, but on the 21st of September. The winding up of the "last scene of all" cannot be better told than in the words of the minute of Presbytery.

"At Channelkirk, the 21st day of August, 1701 years, the which day after sermon preached by Mr Wm. Calderwood, Mr George Johnston, Modr., Jo. Veitch, and Calderwood, and James Douglas, the ministers appointed by the presbytery of Earlston to meet at Chinelkirk, to moderate in a call to a minister for that parochin did meet accordingly, and with them the Heritors and Elders following, viz. :—

	(	PATRICK, EARL OF MARCHMONT, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland.
		LORD POLWARTH.
		WILLIAM BORTHWICK, Johnstonburn.
		JOHN BORTHWICK, Cruixton.
<i>Heritors.</i>	(	JOHN SPOTSWOOD, Advocate.
		ALEX. SOMERVELL.
		JAMES AITCHISON.
		GILBERT AITCHISON.
		SIMEON WEDDERSTON.
	(	GEORGE SOMERVAILL.
	(	JAMES WADDELL.
		THOMAS BROWNIES.
		JOHN LOWDIAN.
<i>Elders.</i>	(	JAMES TAITT.
		JAMES WEDDERSTON.
	(	GEORGE KEMP.

"Mr George Johnston, Modr., did constitute the meeting with prayer. Mr James Douglas was chosen clerk.

"A motion was made by my Lord Chancellor, that all who were to vote in calling a minister should take the oath of Allegiance, and sign the Assurance, which oaths being read, the Allegiance was tendered by the Lord Chancellor to the heritors and elders present, and sworn by them, and the Assurance signed.

"The officer being appointed to call at the church door if there were any heritors or others without who had right to vote in calling of a minister to the parochin : Compeared Geo. Douglas, portioner of Newtonlies, and delivered a commission to himself from Sir James Hay of Simprin, and others mentioned in the said commission, empowering him to vote for Mr Wm. Knox, preacher of the Gospell, to be minister at Chinelkirk. As also Mr Andrew Cochran, portioner to Andrew Ker of Moriston, produced a commission from the Tutors of Moriston, and another commission from Margaret Swinton, Lady Moriston, empowering him to vote for the said Mr Wm. Knox ; which commissions were read, and it being objected by the Chancellor against the said George Douglas and Mr Andrew Cochran that they had no right to vote in calling of a minister by virtue of their said commissions, in regard all heritors and others concerned in calling of a minister are required to qualify themselves according to law at the tyme of signing the call."

The matter of commissions having been adjusted, the great event of the day transpired.

"The Moderator having asked the heritors and elders whom they designed to call for their minister. Some were for calling Mr Henry Home, others for calling Mr William Knox, and it being put to the vote, which of the said two should be elected, the roll being called, the votes split—seven voters being for the one, and seven for the other—and two *non liquet*. Whereupon, after a little demurring, the Laird of Cruixton, being one of the *non liquets*, arose and demanded his letter directed to Mr James Douglas to be communicat to a former meeting at Chinelkirk signifying his assent and consent to the calling of Mr William Knox to be minister there ; and upon the Moderator's reply that they had not the letter, but the Presbytery Clerk, and that they were not the Presbytery—did instantly vote for Mr Henry Home, and a call being produced be my Lord Chancellor to the said Mr Henry, he did subscribe the same with others, which being done, and George Douglas and Mr Andrew Cochran called in, the meeting was closed with prayer."

Twelve months afterwards, five of the six elders protested in due form "against the ordaining of Mr Henry Home minister of Channelkirk," but the Presbytery "found nothing of moment in this paper," and proceeded with his settlement,

which took place at Channelkirk on 23rd September 1702, a year and a month after his election to the vacancy. The elders had greater reason to complain to the Presbytery concerning Mr Home in the years following.

So ends the ecclesiastical Waterloo of Channelkirk. It is impossible to review the deplorable state of Church matters here laid bare in the hard and dry statements of Earlstoun Presbytery minutes, without feeling that whoever was to blame, the Church of Channelkirk was deeply injured in its highest interests by such unseemly procedure. No doubt it was a remote parish, and its inhabitants were few, but its very weakness and want of influence should have commanded consideration from those who had the control of its spiritual welfare. Instead of this, there is evident in every step of the clerical and unclerical processes, a wanton and selfish disregard of the honour of religion, and the spiritual wants of the people. Personal whim and arrogance cloud every judgment and stamp every action; and in order to obtain individual triumphs the common Christianity of the district is disgraced and besmirched by those whose names were its proudest boast throughout the nation. The people stand out spotless in the affair because their power was nil, and they only "desired" a speedy settlement. The elders, no doubt, were fluctuating in their behaviour and "choices," but their endeavours to place their church on a proper and respectable footing were praiseworthy and admirable. The Presbytery was, we think, to be blamed for its supineness and want of courage to do its plain duty. The fear of man was more to it than the fear of God. The same paralysis of will before courtly influence is manifest also in the Synod and in the General Assembly's Commission. But the chief indictment must be found against Lord

Marchmont, who, by sheer splenetic stubbornness and self-will, resisted the decent settlement of the church for five bitter years, out of regard to a man who does not seem to have possessed one distinctive virtue or gift sufficiently attractive to create for him a single supporter in the entire parish. We are perfectly cognizant of the Lord High Chancellor's claims to veneration and respect. His sacrifices for religion cannot be dimmed, nor can they be eliminated from the history of a period which abounded in noble sacrifices. But we must sorrowfully maintain that the Duke of Lauderdale's epithet "factious," and Lord Macaulay's* estimate of him as a man "perverse," "incapable alike of leading and of following, conceited, captious, and wrong-headed," are amply sustained by his conduct in this case of Channelkirk vacancy. He was not too high to stoop to despicable dodging, and he uses his great reputation to overawe all who were concerned in the carrying out of plain legal processes. He systematically disregarded throughout the loudly expressed wishes of heritors, elders, and the people of Channelkirk, and treated the Presbytery, the Synod, and the Assembly's Commission as feudal vassals in his lordly superiority. He did injustice to the Church, to her courts, and to her peasant worshippers, and, above all, to the Master whom he so ostentatiously professed to serve.

He was the representative of the throne in the General Assembly of 1702. We do not doubt for a moment that he would sustain that honourable office to the satisfaction of all concerned, but how could he face the Shepherd of the sheep in the Assembly when he had been busy worrying one of His flock on the Lammermoor Hills?

* *History of England.*

CHAPTER VIII

THE MINISTERS AND THEIR TIMES

HENRY HOME—The Records—Lithuania—Home as a Preacher—Public and Domestic Troubles—Libelled by Presbytery—Death decides—The Rebellion of 1745—Cope's Halt at Channelkirk—Prince Charlie at Channelkirk—Church Discipline—DAVID SCOTT—Church Property—Scott's Description of the Church—Stipend Troubles—New School—Declining Health and Death—THOMAS MURRAY—Heresy Hunting—Recalcitrant Parishioners—Sabbath Breaking—Becomes a Heritor—Stipend Troubles—Farmers in Channelkirk in 1800.

HENRY HOME—1702-1751 A.D.

HENRY HOME sat down in a parish reeking with dislike of him. He was clearly "the heritors' man." Regarding his early life we know nothing. He was born about the year 1675, and it appears he was educated at Edinburgh University and graduated Master of Arts there, 13th July 1695.* After serving a probationary period in Chirnside, Berwickshire, and "supplying" churches here and there, he was elected to Channelkirk, as we have seen, on the 21st of August 1701, and ordained, under protest from all his elders save one, on the 23rd of September 1702. The Kirk Records of his time, which are in his handwriting, are sparse in items of local interest, as Home, for certain reasons which appear below, was particularly chary of

* *Catalogue of Graduates.* Bannatyne Club Publications.

putting his statements in black and white. Where one page would be given by others to "Collections," and another to "Depursements," he crams both on to one sheet, and renders it impossible to state anything in detail. There are many blanks also which have sinister tales to tell.

The records of his régime begin with May 28, 1704. The Sacrament we learn was celebrated once a year in June, July, or August, the month, to all appearance, being varied according to the local requirements. A pair of silver cups for Communion purposes were purchased on 13th May 1706, and appear to have continued in regular use till January 1885, when they mysteriously disappeared at the burning of the manse. One item under 21st September 1718 arrests our attention. "To Protestants in Lithuania, £15, 5s." One naturally asks what earthly connection had Lithuanian Protestants to do with Channelkirk? Perhaps the following from Carlyle may explain: "Insterburg, 27th July 1739. (Crown Prince to Voltaire).—Prussian Lithuania is a country a hundred and twenty miles long by from sixty to forty broad; it was ravaged by pestilence at the beginning of this century, and they say three hundred thousand people died of disease and famine."* "Since that time, say twenty years ago, there is no expense that the king has been afraid of, in order to succeed in his salutary views." "Twenty years ago" would mean the year 1719. This is about the time when Channelkirk compassion was moved to charity, and sent its mite of help to those far-off stricken regions. Three years later—in December 1721—"To Protestants in Saxony, £13, 7s.," displays a similar disposition. The famous Salzburger persecution may likewise have had

* *Frederick the Great*, vol. iii., p. 271; vol. iii., c. 3.

something to do with it. This wide interest in events and places lying far from such an isolated country parish is very notable. We have, for further example, such an entry as the following: "To St Andrews Harbour, £3, 4s." This occurs under "August 3, 1729," when, it seems, the good people of that ancient city were exercising themselves in building a harbour out of the stones of their ruined cathedral.

The local interests, however, are not forgotten. Wintry storms and equinoctial gales seem to be answerable for the following: "May 8, 1720.—To thatching the kirk, £1, 4s." This thatch does duty for four years, when the entire church undergoes repairs of a more permanent kind. On 25th June 1724, the heritors meet with Presbytery, and Home reports on kirk and manse repairs. He says he is "much straitened for room in his manse." But the church alone seems to have been touched, and on the above date the kirk bade farewell to a thatched roof, and for the first time was covered with slates brought all the way from Dundee. About this time the slating of churches became general in the district, and that of Channelkirk seems to have been among the first to be treated in this manner.

At the present day we should surmise that Home was popular as a preacher, as he was in much request at sacrament seasons with neighbouring ministers. We find him often at Lauder, Stow, Fala, Humbie, Yarrow, Edinburgh, and once in 1741, September 27th, at Whittingehame. At the last-mentioned place he was "assisting his nephew," George Home.

As a minister it was his painful duty to take up an attitude against local transgressors, but it must have been to him "sharper than a serpent's tooth," to see his own flesh and

blood stand at the bar of the Church Court. Nevertheless, the legend runs: "24th Feb. 1741—William Eckford and Marion Home were called to compear before the Session" (the Reverend David Duncan being moderator *pro tempore*) "for their Irregular Marriage, and after prayer they were interrogate when they were married; declared that they were married upon the 3rd of Sept. last, and produced their testificats testifying the same signed by David Campbell, minr. After they were sharply rebuked, and seriously exhorted to live all their days in the fear of God, were dismissed." Mr Home had married Jean Henryson, probably one of the Henrysons of Kirktonhill, on 23rd September 1702, and this delinquent of his flock, Marion, his second daughter, had made a "runaway match." "Irregular marriages," as they were called, were very frequent offences in those days. They were always sustained, however, after confession, and the "sinners" admitted once more to "all the privileges of Church membership." Mr Home's eldest daughter was called Jean, and the youngest Anne. These three Graces seem to have completed his family, and they were all alive and "above sixteen years" on 3rd December 1745.

About this time, troubles of the direst kind began to fold around poor Mr Home, and his years afterwards must have been as devoid of brightness as the place of his dwelling, when the mists of November roll like milk curd through all the glens of the Lammermoors. His parishioners had firmly made up their minds that they did well to be angry with him. His very domestic servants felt justified in abusing him. His neighbour, Henryson of Kirktonhill, was at bitter variance with him, the heritors eyed him unfavourably, his manse was in a wretched state, and he declares "he had not a dry roof for years past," and to crown this pyramid of pity,

his daughter Marion elopes, and the Presbytery of Earlstoun libel him for various misdemeanours! A weltering district of purgatorial pains surrounded him, if it was not a Persian trough of Skaphism. In other respects he seemed prosperous, and had been for many years the proprietor of Kelphope, and a heritor in his parish. What malignant microbulous influence dogged him? We shall see. But we must go back a few years.

On the 19th of October 1739, he complains to the Presbytery, in the presence of Wm. Henderson of Kirktonhill, that Henderson "some months ago" "had come into his yard, and cut a growing tree, and carried off a part of it." This had become a matter of litigation before the Bailiff of Lauderdale and a Justice of the Peace, Henderson maintaining that Home had no right to the ground where the tree grew, and that he had merely the use of it during his father's pleasure. It appears to have been "arranged" amicably.

Home has a more serious business in hand five years afterwards. He came to the Presbytery on the 6th September 1743, with a document of indictment called a "libel" in his hand, in which he avers that Katherine Waddel, his servant, had "grievously reproached" him during the months of June, July, August, and September of 1742—"alleging (as he said) that I had rudely at my own house attacked her chastity," etc., etc. We leave out all the other details particularised in the incriminating sheet. He asserted his innocence, and convinced the Presbytery that he had been wronged, and thereupon the Presbytery find this scall to be "a scandalous person," and condemned her to be rebuked before the congregation at Lauder, her native place—all of which was duly carried out, and Mr Home absolved from the scandal.

But another matter, which came up before the same Court in 1745, proved more formidable for him, and we are doubtful if it has not left an indelible stain upon his character. It emerges in May of that year, when Alex. Dalziel of Hartside, James Somerville, George Somerville, George Wight, and Archibald Smith appeared at Earlston with "a note of some particulars to be laid before the Presbytery extracted from books, relative to the complaint" at the instance of the heritors and elders of Channelkirk, "against Mr Hoom his management of the Poors Funds." The heritors had been urged to libel him, but demurred to going so far. The Presbytery, however, took a grave view of the state of affairs, and met at Channelkirk, and, after investigation, a committee was appointed to search into the truth of things. This Committee reported to Presbytery on 10th March 1746, and, as the result, the Presbytery libelled him on the 17th. In popular slang phrase he was accused of having "cooked the kirk books" for more than forty years, but in the dignified terms of the indictment he was charged with having laid aside a due sense of his character and the duties of his office in perpetrating "crimes and offences" intolerable in one of his calling. Having been treasurer of the kirk "collections," he had peculated the money and appropriated it to his own uses, thus robbing the poor of God, deceiving the heritors and elders, and deliberately falsifying the accounts to conceal detection. Meetings of session were set down which never took place, the elders were made to approve proceedings which never happened, mortcloths were bought for heavy prices that had been unknown to the parish, and innumerable "travelling poor" had received doles of cash from him who were never born, neither had travelled that way.

Mr Home declared his innocence once more, and appealed

to the Synod. Meanwhile, a very unsatisfactory ecclesiastical embroilment took place in the parish. The church had been left empty, and, apparently, no one went to Communion. Therefore the elders and leading churchmen met at Glengelt on 27th May 1747, and concocted a letter to the Presbytery, "bearing that there is a great number in the said parish of Channelkirk who will not submit to Mr Home's ministry, and desiring the Presbytery to allow some of their members to administer church privileges to them." He had also been accused of refusing "lines," *i.e.*, disjunction certificates, to objecting persons, but this he stoutly denied. The letter was signed by George Wight, William Allan, James Somerville, and George Somerville, but the Presbytery did not comply with their request. The two first named had indeed resigned office on 22nd April 1747, but they were reasoned with and had withdrawn their demission.

The decision in his case was finally settled, not by the Synod or the General Assembly, but by kindly Death, who deposed Mr Home according to his wonted fashion, on Wednesday, the 19th of June 1751, he being about seventy-six years of age and in the forty-ninth of his ministry. The heritors and elders met after his burial and examined the books, and charged his heir and son-in-law, William Eckford, with the amount of the defalcation, and he having reimbursed the church funds to the full, the whole sad case came to an end.

The rebellion of 1745, which took place during Mr Home's incumbency, did not pass without making its due impression on the affairs of Channelkirk. The pathetic minutes of its attendant miseries speak for themselves. "3rd Feb. 1745, to 2 highlanders travelling home, 4s." "22nd Sept., to several wounded soldiers and wives with

children, 3s. 2d." "Soldiers at several times (6th Oct.), 3s. 9d." The road had been well filled with such pitiable creatures. Some of them never went further than Channelkirk churchyard; Prince Charlie and all his pretensions thenceforth ceasing to trouble them more. "24th Nov., to rebel highlanders' graves, £1, 1s." Again in "1746, Jan. and Feb., to wounded soldiers and their wives travelling on the road, £3, 4s." "To soldiers, etc." (the "etc." means wives and children, doubtless), "as in the clerk's account, £1, 4s." "3rd August, to several soldiers, lame, with wives, etc." "Sept., to some soldiers and yr. wives." "To soldiers going south." And as late as in 1747 there is this reminiscent item: "To a soldier wounded and wanting the hand, 4s."; and even in 1748 wounded soldiers, wives and children, are too painfully present in the records, there being about a dozen references that year alone. But this was to be expected, Channelkirk being situated on the main road into Lauderdale, the route of part of Prince Charlie's army.

The Rev. Henry Home must have found the people of Channelkirk parish too excited with the presence of the rebel troops on the 3rd November (Sunday), when they quartered at the village on their way south, for we find that there was "no sermon" that day. But the incidents of Cope's ride, and Prince Charlie's march through our district on these historical occasions, are best narrated in the words of those who have highest claims to speak concerning them.

After the battle of Preston, 21st September 1745,* "He (Sir John Cope) retired with his panic-stricken troops up a narrow path leading from Preston towards Birslie Brae, which the country people, in honour of him, now call Johnnie

* *History of the Rebellion*, 1745, vol. i., p. 161. R. Chambers, 1827.

Cope's road, and striking into another cross-road to the south, he made with all his speed for the hills above Dalkeith. He did not draw bridle till he had reached Channelkirk, a small village at the head of Lauderdale, twenty miles from the fatal field. He there stopped to breakfast, and wrote a note to one of the Officers of State, expressing in one emphatic sentence the fate of the day. He has been described by a person who saw him there, as exhibiting in his countenance a strange and almost ludicrous mixture of dejection and perplexity. That he was still under the influence of panic seems to be proved by his not considering himself safe with twenty miles of hilly road between himself and the highlanders, but continuing his flight immediately to Coldstream upon Tweed, a place fully double that distance from the field of battle. Even here he did not consider himself altogether safe, but, rising early next morning, rode off towards Berwick."

Prince Charlie's march is given in the words of the same author.* "On the evening of Friday, the 1st of November, a considerable portion of the army, under the command of the Marquis of Tullibardine, took the road for Peebles, intending to proceed to Carlisle by Moffat. The remainder left Dalkeith on the 3rd, headed by the Prince on foot, with his target over his shoulder. He had previously lodged two nights in the palace of the Duke of Buccleuch. This party took a route more directly south, affecting a design of meeting and fighting Marshal Wade at Newcastle. Charles arrived, with the head of his division, on the evening of the first day's march, at Lauder, where he took up his quarters at Thirlestane Castle, the seat of the Earl of Lauderdale. Next day, on account of a false report that there was

* *History of the Rebellion*, vol. i., p. 209.

a strong body of dragoons advancing in this direction to meet him, he fell back upon Channelkirk in order to bring up the rear of his troops, who had lingered there during the night. He marched that day (4th) to Kelso."

A similar account is given by Murray of Broughton in his *Memorials*.* "He (Prince Charlie) moved on ye 3rd, in the morning, at the head of the first column, to Lauder, and took up his quarters that night at Lauder Castle." "A part of the column he commanded being quartered at Gingle Kirk, a village about four miles short of Lauder, he returned there early in the morning to bring them up to the main body, and then began his march for Kelsoe."

Another writer adds a few particulars:† "The Prince lodged in Thirlestane Castle, and occupied the north room behind the billiard-room, since known as Prince Charlie's room. The castle was not occupied at the time, and bedding, etc., had to be brought from an inn in the town, since demolished."

There is a tradition that Cope slept a night in a house in Lauder, now demolished. It will be seen that the accounts here given discountenance this view, but attach the "inn" tradition to the Prince.

When the Prince reached Lauder on Sunday night, there was doubtless much need of refreshment. An interesting account is given of one of these "orders."

"3 Nov., at Lauder, Sunday.

To 15 pound candels, at 8d.,	10s. od.
„ Bread,	6s. 4d.
„ Alle,	12s. 4d."‡

* Pp. 236-7.

† *Itinerary*, by Walter Biggar Blaikie, 1897. Note.

‡ *Lyon in Mourning*, vol. ii., p. 117.

The "drouth," it would seem, as in Falstaff's case, was greater than the hunger.

The road by which both Cope and the Prince arrived at Channelkirk is now disused. It was then the main road between Edinburgh and Lauderdale, and was long used by the coaches. The dining-room of the manse is built immediately over it, and it passed between the manse and the old inn at which Cope breakfasted, and in which the soldiers of the rebellion lingered on Sunday night, 3rd November. The inn on the north side of the manse was taken down about thirty years ago, and the spot is now partly covered by shrubs, and the diverted old road which abruptly bends round the north side of the manse grounds.

The peculiar discipline of the Scottish Church of the last century finds its reflection in one or two entries under Mr Home's handwriting. The following is a sample: "1736, 2nd May.—It is reported to the Session that Mrs Inglis had gone about brandy and brought it home on the Lord's Day; appoints the Minr. and George Wight to inquire into that affair and make their report." The 2nd May was Sunday, and when next Sunday returns the report runs: "9th May.—The Minr. reports that he had spoke with Mrs Inglis anent her bringing home brandy on the Lord's Day, that she expressed her sorrow therefor, and that he had rebuked her and cautioned her never to commit the like in time to come." Similar also is another case: "6th June 1736.—There was a complaint made by one of the members that Mr Boost brought home on the Lord's Day from Lauder, bread and some flesh. Appoints the Minr. and James Somervail to converse with him." The usual rebuke and exhortation followed.

DAVID SCOTT—1751-1792

From June 1751, when Rev. Henry Home died, till October of the same year, intermittent services were held in the church by various ministers. But on the 27th of the latter month "Mr David Scott, probationer, preached: Coll. £1, 17s. 6d." On 19th January 1752, intimation was given from the pulpit to heritors and elders to meet on "Thursday, the 30th instant, to call Mr David Scott, preacher of the Gospel in North Leith, to be minr. in this parish." He was born in 1710, and consequently was now in his forty-first year. He seems to have been educated at St Andrews University, and was licensed by that Presbytery on 21st December 1737, and thus was a probationer of fourteen years' standing when he came to Upper Lauderdale. He was presented by James Peter of Chapel in December 1751, and ordained on the 7th of May 1752, and "entered to his ministry and preached" on the 10th of the same month. The settlement appears to have been a harmonious one, wonderful to say, for Scott was ordained at a time when turbulent settlements were the order of the day. Fifty such cases had been before the General Assembly during the ten years preceding 1750. The reason is to be found in the want of uniformity of rule in the Church as to ministerial appointments. "The law of patronage was written in the Statute Book, but it was not yet fully recognised in the courts of the Church. The call was still universally acknowledged as necessary to the pastoral tie, but there was a difference of opinion as to who were entitled to give it. There was consequently little uniformity in the way in which appointments were made. Sometimes

the patron exercised his right, and sometimes he let it drop."^{*}

The method in Scott's case was for the patron to present, and heritors and elders to call him. Both presentation and call falling on the same person, the appointment was bound to be pleasant all round. Scott thus had both wind and tide in his favour, and opening his course in May, he had also the summer sunshine to gladden his heart. Few lovelier sights meet the eye than that which is to be seen on a May morning on stepping from the manse door of Channelkirk. We are sure Mr Scott appreciated his "pleasant places."

Church accounts and poor's money having been set right, the church property was his next care. On 2nd November 1752, "there was produced said day, in presence of Mr David Scott, minister, William Eckford, James and George Sommervails, elders, Two silver Communion Cups, four mortcloths, three of which are old and very much worn, a large Communion Tablecloth, measuring twelve yards, and a small ditto, with 'Channelkirk' sewed and marked into them; a pewter plate marked '1709'; a cloth for the pulpit; a poor's box with keys, all which were committed to the Session's charge."

We find many interesting gleanings in the records which he has handed down to us, but it may be more convenient to continue the items that bear particularly upon the church, and then incorporate other matters in groups by themselves for the sake of order.

The sacred building needed careful attention from time to time, and was often a source of distraction to the ministers on this account, and Scott did not miss his

^{*} *Church History*, Cuningham, vol. ii., p. 334.

share. Fifty-one years seem to have elapsed before he was called upon to make representations regarding its need of repairs to the heritors. The last repairs were done in 1724. But when 1775 saw Zion's walls fast becoming a ruin and a desolation, he spoke in no uncertain voice, and as his description of the church as it appeared at this time is so graphic, and so full of the character and spirit of the last century, we readily copy out his deliverance, as follows:*

"Mr Scott, minister, represented," at a meeting of heritors 17th February 1775, "that the external situation of the church is so unfavourable that it will prove ever hard to resist the violence of all storms and tempests to which it stands expos'd. But there's no remedy for this but frequent and timely repairs of the fabrick to avoid greater expenses. And as to the internal structure, that is so mean and sorry as to have more the look of a common jail than of the house appropriated to the worship of God." He had brooded over the matter long and bitterly, it is evident, and no simile is base enough to satisfy his scorn. He proceeds: "The walls are extreamly dark and dismal" (the present minister has seen them as sooty as soot could make them), "having never received a trowel of plaister since it was built. The roof most gloomy and admissive of air and drift at all quarters. The windows are so little and confin'd that they can scarce admit so much light as is necessary to read the Bible, so that it requires no small degree of resolution and patience to attend divine service there through all the rigours of winter. Our meetings in this season being so thin and small as to occasion great diminution of publick funds; our collections are dwindled to nothing. The people complain that it's not in their power to attend,

* Heritors' Records.

and that it's fit to freeze and cramp all the powers of body and mind. Now, methinks, it argues no small contempt of God and religion when men think no cost or finery too much to bestow upon themselves, and yet adopt the meanest accommodation as good enough for the service of God. The pious King of Israel could not be easy in his house of cedar, while the Ark of God dwelt in curtains, and his wise son, King Solomon, first built the temple of the Lord before he built the palace for himself. And such as are well disposed will not think much to honour God with a small part of the substance He, as the Universal Proprietor of all, has conferred on them. I would not here be understood to plead for decoration, but simple decency in the house of God." "After this just representation of the case, the heritors present or by their proxies to the number of seven, frankly took the matter under their consideration, and narrowly inspected the whole fabrick, and thought necessary to plaister the whole walls and roof of the church, that the lights should be enlarged, the floors of the two galleries mended, viz., that of Carfrae and that of Glengelt, in order to prevent the dirt and dust from falling down on those below, who for some time past have suffered considerable abuse that way. Thought it proper that both said galleries should be closely plaistered up below."

On 17th March 1775, all this was carried out. His joys in this direction were multiplied in 1784, when a new manse was given to him. There had been propositions of patching up the old one. It measured $32\frac{1}{2}$ ft. long by 14 ft. broad, inside the walls. The Marquis of Tweeddale advised a new one, and a new one was at once contracted for. The new one was to be 37 ft. by 20 ft. within the walls, but it was made 39 ft. long. The walls were up by September of 1784. and

when Whitsunday of 1785 brought the summer once more to the hills, the minister was snug within his braw new house.

In those days the ministers thought it no disrespect to the dead to pasture their four-footed property on the graveyard. The heritors asked Scott to "give up all right of pasturing the churchyard with his cattle in time coming, to which he consented." But he had no rights of grazing to give away, although the grass was his. The heritors found a *quid pro quo*, however, when Scott refused to let them "finish the churchyard coping of the dyke with 'fail' taken from the churchyard," and they had to find it in Glengelt lands at last, and, of course, Borthwick complained! They were plundering his land!

Mr Scott raised a process in 1778 of augmentation of stipend, and on the 27th January 1779, obtained it to a considerable degree, though in consequence of the different disputes among the heritors the locality was not adjusted until the 21st January 1789. But even with the augmentation, his yearly income did not exceed £51 sterling. In his petition to the Lords of Council and Session he says: "The parish of Channelkirk is situated on a very mountainous country, and, of course, exceedingly cold, the manse and kirk itself being placed near the top of Soutrahill, so that the victual raised in this country is of a very bad quality, very often obliged to be cut green, and badly winnowed." As the stipend fell to be paid in kind till 1808, unripe victual would be a great source of misery to him. It would not sell, it would not keep. In his account book,* dating from 1751, he notes that he got delivery of *bear* from certain parties, and notes "infield corn" to show its superiority over "outfield corn." He grumbles that some farmers give him "bad oats," that one

* Channelkirk Stipend Case, Teind Office, Edinburgh.

has "three pennies too little," and that another is "wanting a bagfull and a full use and wont." No doubt these were "contumacious seceders," as he styles them irefully. He wrestles in law with Borthwick for two stones of cheese, and to the present day the stipend is usually 12s. richer because of them. John Pringle, Soutrahill, was accustomed to buy his meal, but occasionally he had to take it to Dalkeith market. In 1778, he complains that "people in the parish are obliged to carry everything to the capital in order to get ready sale for their different commodities, being the only method they have of making up their rents, which are at present come to a great height. This circumstance drains the country of all the necessaries of life, and obliges the minister and others standing in need of them to pay double, and sometimes triple, the prices which he could have had them at when first he entered the parish." Servants' wages are also at a great extent. He cannot have a manservant under £5 sterling yearly, at least, even of the very worst sort, and if they understand their business, considerably higher; and maidservants, £3 or £4 yearly. He also complains of increased expenses in going to and coming from Presbytery.

Mr Scott mentions a few local matters which are of interest. A new school was built in 1760. On the 23rd of August 1761, Dr Jamieson's corpse stood all night in the kirk, for which £12, 12s. Scots (£1, 1s. sterling) were charged. The same month James Wilson, a "contumacious seceder," is prosecuted for the usual sin, and fined by the Commissary in £10 Scots (16s. 0½d.). The "seceders" gave him considerable trouble. It appears that although they did not attend the parish church the fines accruing from their "penalties" were due the church for the poor, and refusal to pay resulted in compulsion.

Mason's wages were, in 1764, 14s. (Scots) per day (1s. 2d. sterling). Labourers' wages, 10d. sterling a day. Bad money was very prevalent. In 1757, the Church sells 16 lbs. of bad copper at 10d. Scots per lb. = £8 Scots, or 13s. 0½d. sterling. A coffin costs 1s. 8¾d.; a stone of meal 1s. sterling; digging a grave cost 3d.; a new spade cost 3s. 2d. The bell was rung for a year for 4s.; for an irregular marriage the fine was 5s. A new tent for the Sacrament cost £2, 6s. 4½d. (sterling).

It is noted that on the 4th October 1772, a man is buried in Channelkirk who had been murdered at Hunters-hall, or Lowrie's Den, an event which must have caused some consternation in the district.

There is a rather striking sculptured tombstone with a woman's bust roughly chiselled on it, and a dog recumbent at the base, which is set against the south-west corner of the present church. "Thomas Watherstone, Brewer in Cranston, gave to the poor 5s. (5d.) for liberty to set up" this "monument" in memory of his father and mother, in the year 1781.

The year 1774 seems to have been specially hard upon the poor, and these "poor" years came rather frequent. The heritors and church had always plenty of outlets for their charity. When a person was taken on the list of "enrolled poor," an inventory of their possessions was taken by the heritors' clerk, and when said person died, these were sold for behoof of the remaining poor of the parish. The hungry living had mouthfuls in turn of the hungered dead. It was also necessary that the "travelling poor," yclept "tramps" in our irreverent days, should be conveyed from parish to parish if need demanded, and there are many items of expense to "carting" this, that, and the other one to "Fala."

In 1784, "Two cartload of women in great distress going to Fala" is one out of several.

Mr Scott, in the course of his long ministry in Channelkirk, had his bits of trials and worries also. He is frequently "sick," and on 21st and 28th of June, and the 5th of July, of the year 1772, three Sundays consecutively, he is in bed and there is "no sermon," "the minister being bad of a sore leg he got bruised upon Lauder tent." With our reminiscences of tents as peculiar only to fairs and fêtes, with jocund lads and lasses crammed along the rough deal tables, this "bruise" of the minister's leg might have had profane suggestions. But the "tent" of those days was strictly identified with "Sacrament day," and some accident due to imperfect construction or strength of timber had been the cause. Perhaps he was a man of robust build, and his weight had proved too much for the erection. Ten years previous to his death there are signs of the old man growing less able for his labours. He is "badly" in June and July of 1782. "No sermon" occurs many times in 1784, and during the several years given to him between that and 1792, when he died, there is an increasing number of times when the church is vacant on Sunday. In 1785, there are sixteen Sundays on which there are no services; in 1786, twenty-two Sundays, and so on, till the year 1791, when there are thirty-one Sundays on which there is no service. No doubt, both people and Presbytery were kind and sympathetic, and the inquisitorial "schedule" had not yet been invented, and ministers were still supposed to have some remnant of personal interest left in their spiritual work. So good and godly David Scott (for not even ministers were "pious" or "holy" in those days, but just "gude and godlie") was permitted to descend to the grave

in peace, not even "visitations of presbytery" breaking in upon his calm, nor "committees of inquiry" harassing with obtrusive interrogations his solemn walk through the valley of the shadow.

It might be permitted to us to reflect here that just as nations are often more deeply touched by the lingering dying of its great ones, than by all the renowned deeds which they have done during their career, so parishes may sometimes reap deeper spiritual fruit from the passing away before their eyes of their minister, through clouded days and years, than from all the services he has ever conducted in church. The old man is nowadays shunted into respectable invisibility, in order that the clapper and happer of the mill of sermons and services may continue under the "assistant and successor," the "powers that be" being oblivious to the fact, that the pensive setting sun may have as fruitful an effect in "deepening the spiritual life of the people" as when he rises in his strength, and that the old Samuels may prove as potent influences for good to their people as the valiant and youthful Davids.

When our minister was laid to rest in the days of April 1792—he having died on the 16th of that month—he was in his 82nd year, and the 40th of his ministry. He married, 4th March 1772, Elizabeth Borthwick, who died 30th August 1803.

THOMAS MURRAY—1793-1808

Thomas Murray, successor to David Scott, was the son of Adam Murray, minister at Eccles, and was born 31st May 1759, a few months later than the poet Burns. On the 4th of November 1783, he was appointed a teacher in George Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh; but his ambition

carried him higher, and having equipped himself for the ministry, he was duly licensed to preach the gospel on the 27th of May 1784, by the Presbytery of Chirnside. He was ordained by the same court on the 2nd of September following ("2nd February 1785," say the Earlstoun Records), as minister of the Presbyterian dissenting congregation at Wooler. After labouring there for five years, he became assistant to James Scott, minister in Perth, in July 1789. From there he came to Channelkirk, having been presented by Hugh, Earl of Marchmont, the patron, on the 18th of August 1792. On 26th December of the same year, "Rev. Thomas Murray's call moderate"; and on Tuesday, 26th February 1793, he was "admitted minister of the Gospel of this parish."* He was thirty-four years of age when he came to Channelkirk, and at his admission he had alive three children, viz., Adam, born 27th June 1783, and two daughters, twins, Anne and Jean, born 6th May 1785. Adam became a merchant in Greenock.

After looking round his new dwelling, he craves the heritors in May to cure the manse kitchen of smoke, build a porch over the door (which then looked southwards towards the church), putty and paint all the manse windows, shelve closets and repair locks, beamfill the garret, put a surbase round the rooms, lay the barn floor, make new stalls in the stable "heck and manger," and loft part of the same. He also wants a dyke built round gardens and churchyard, five feet high, stone and lime, a pine dyke and gate betwixt the manse and the stable, and, last but not least, a new pulpit. All these must have been in the last stage of disgrace, for they were all granted.

Mr Murray is yet remembered by one at least of our

* Kirk Records.

parishioners as a strong, powerful man, with whom it would have been dangerous to differ! Our good old informant, Thomas Scott, still pulling his "lingels" at eighty-four years of age in Oxton, relates that one day in the churchyard, a "throwch" * was being laid over a tomb. This species of stone is laid flat and foursquare over the entire grave. The Rev. Mr Murray stood looking on, but the "hands" being few, he assisted in lifting the heavy stone into its position. This he did, balancing the others in lifting, the rest of the men being at one side, and he alone at the other. This deed of strength was long commented on.

He had occasion to show his strength in other ways. In the year 1797, on the 7th November, at a Presbytery meeting held in Lauder, "Mr Murray represented to the Presbytery that Dr Foord (minister at Lauder) came into his parish and dispensed the sacrament of baptism without his permission, and this being expressly contrary to the established laws of this Church, the Presbytery appointed the moderator to rebuke Dr Foord for said conduct, and which being done accordingly, it was enjoined to be more attentive to the laws of the Church in all time coming." An offence like this is committed in our days with every freedom, the boundaries of a parish being practically imaginary, but in these days the minister tolerated no intrusion upon his special pastorate, and Dr Ford, at the bar of his Presbytery, and rebuked, as it were, on his own hearth-stone, had occasion to reflect upon it!

Mr Murray seems to have had a gifted sense of detecting heresy as well as the ability to administer chastisement to over-zealous brethren. Indeed, he held the reins of spiritual

* A *throwch* or *thruck* differs from a table-stone in lying flat on the ground without supporting pedestals.

supervision more strictly than perhaps would now be tolerated in the minister. He tells an offender bluntly that he is unguarded in his speech, "especially when he got the worse of liquor"; a state of matters which might easily happen. Some members of his congregation do not walk with sufficient propriety, and this is how he deals with them: "21st January 1798, the which day the session being met (in the church) and constituted, Mr Murray represented to the members of the session that several individuals of the congregation had totally absented themselves for many months past from public worship without assigning any reason for such improper conduct, and that on a late occasion the following persons, Mr Somerville of Airhouse, Mr Bertram of Hartsyde, Mr Douglas of Kirktonhill, and Mr David Turnbull in Upton, after attending a funeral to the churchyard of Channelkirk, at the very hour of public worship, instead of entering the church, did, in the face of the congregation, turn their back upon it, and retire to Airhouse. The session are unanimously of opinion that such conduct was highly indecent and scandalous, and that the individuals above-mentioned are not entitled to sealing ordinances in this society till they shall have satisfied the session for such improper behaviour. They are also of opinion that no person is entitled to sealing ordinances who shall absent themselves from public worship for six Sabbaths in succession, without offering some reasonable excuse."

A year passes away and matters do not improve. To the above recalcitrants was united the farmer of Carfrae, Robert Hogarth, notable in his day. He and Somerville, especially, seem to have carried defiance to the utmost. For two years they never came to church. Mr Murray expostulates, but they appear obdurate, and the case is

referred to a committee of ministers. They advised the Kirk-Session "not to admit them to the Lord's Supper unless they should solemnly promise to be regular in their attendance on divine worship." Notice of this decision was served upon them, but "they did not think proper to comply." "In consequence of which Mr Robert Hogarth was refused a token by the Session on his personal application." Somerville did not ask it!

Probably these ostentatious stayaways had not approved of Mr Murray's appointment to the parish! Nine or ten years do not lessen, but rather, under certain circumstances, increase the rabid virulence which is created at a ministerial ordination. Religious rancour is never less deep than the place it springs from. But we are inclined to believe that Mr Murray acted under a very high sense of a minister's duties in such cases, and perhaps did not allow for the commonplace in others. The case following bears corroborative evidence of this, it appears. It happens on the 21st of April 1799. Charles Dickson, a "hird" in Kelphope, is of a religious turn of mind, and like most enthusiasts of the kind, spreads his "views" abroad unsparingly. He has been thinking of such high matters as the divinity of the Trinity, and it is noised over the parish that he is a sceptic! This comes to the ears of the minister and his Session, and forthwith Charles, the "hird," is called before them to answer to "charges." But when "interrogate concerning the report that is spread abroad in the neighbourhood of his erroneous principles relating to the divinity of the Trinity," Charles denies the rumour and declares himself "soond." He is evidently shaking in his shoes, and is eager to testify that he "firmly believed the Scriptures to be the Word of God, the Eternity of the Trinity, and every other

part of the Christian religion as contained in the Larger and Shorter Catechism and Confession of Faith," and having bolted such a bellyful of theological indigestibles, what could the careful and devout Session do but vouch for Charles' integrity and good doctrine with all due solemnity? He is dismissed with an "Absolvo te" and a blessing, and no doubt went up Kelphope glen that day with some thoughts in his head which he did not want every one to know. "Learn" *him* to be a sceptic!

Another instance of Mr Murray's vigilance. Over in Glengelt, in 1803, Robert Anderson, honest man, carrier, and doing some business that way across Soutra to the benefit of the parish and for his own profit doubtless, encroaches on Sunday hours to a perilous degree, and must be hauled up and cautioned. Therefore, "Robert Anderson, tennant in New Channelkirk, compeared, and being interrogate by the Modr. (Mr Murray), whether it was true or not (as reported), that the waggons with which he was connected come or returned from his place on the Sabbath mornings or evenings, he answered that they had done so sometimes (although not intended) by the driver's mismanagement or drunkenness or other accidents, but in time coming he should take better care," etc., etc. "The Session desired him, and the company with which he was connected, to take better care and not encroach upon the Sabbath in time to come, or then they would recommend their conduct to the civil law, and also deprive him of church privileges!" Truly, there were authorities in Channelkirk in those days. Condemned to be cut off by Kirk and State for breaking the stillness of the Lammermoors by a rumbling of waggons on a Sunday morning!

Mr Anderson was the first to start a waggon to carry

goods over Soutra (it was four-wheeled and was drawn by two horses), and was succeeded by James Turnbull, Carfrae mill, who, however, ran four coaches between Edinburgh and Kelso. The "coach," which was bought up latterly by the North British Railway influence, was a great advantage to the district, and was much missed.

In 1799, Mr Murray acquired a landed interest in the parish as well as a spiritual one. Heriotshall became his property on the 13th July of that year.* He held it to 1807, when it was put under trustees. Another year saw him numbered with the dead. He died in Edinburgh on the 26th October 1808.† He was for fifteen years minister at Channelkirk.

Robust in body, he was also robust and aggressive in mind. During the whole time of his incumbency he may be said to have been at constant legal war with his heritors. He had many disputes with them in reference to his stipend. In 1793, he raised a process of augmentation and locality; and on the 20th May 1795 obtained an augmentation of three chalders of victual. But several heritors felt aggrieved at the allocation and went to law with him. It seems that there was a deficiency of teinds to answer the augmentation which caused some irritation, and to better the case for himself he raised, in 1807, a process of reduction of valuations against the Titular and nearly all of the heritors. He died before he had made much progress with the case.

While careful of the ministerial interests of Channelkirk, which must have cost him more than he ever gained, and for which one, at least, of his successors is grateful, he kept an eye upon the good of others. He called for more help to

* Heritors' Records.

† Kirk Records (Presb. Records say, 29th October 1808).

the poor in the year 1795, and obtained it, and he gives as his reason for asking an increase to them, that it was a "time of scarcity" when provisions were very high. The state of the poor had again specially to be considered in 1800, "when the prices of meal of all kinds were so high." It may be noted that in 1800, the farmers of the parish were :—

ROBERT HOGARTH, Carfrae.
 ARCHIBALD SOMERVILLE, Hillhouse.
 WM. BERTRAM, Hartside.
 ALEXANDER IDDINGTON, Over Howden.
 RICHARD DICKSON, Over Bowerhouse.
 GEORGE LYALL, Mountmill.
 JOHN MOFFAT, Threeburnford.
 WILLIAM MURRAY, Ugston Shotts.
 EDMUND BERTRAM, Hazeldean.
 JAMES MITCHELL, Old (? New) Channelkirk.
 THOMAS M'DOUGAL, Grassmyres.
 PETER ANDERSON, Ugston.
 GEORGE THOMSON, Old Channelkirk.
 WALTER CHISHOLM, Waislawmill.
 ANDREW LEES, Incoming Tenant, Mountmill.
 — MESSER, Nether Howden.

The farms of Airhouse, Kirktonhill, Justicehall, and Collielaw were farmed by their owners, or a steward. Glengelt was no longer styled a farm.

Mr Murray also wrote the Old Statistical Account of the parish in 1794. Among his papers, some of which are still preserved in the Teind Office, Edinburgh, and which were used in the stipend cases, there is a letter from Sir John Sinclair regarding the Statistical Account of Scotland of which he was the originator, which may be interesting to some :—

"Sir John Sinclair presents compliments to Mr Murray.
 —Is obliged to return to London immediately in order to

set the proposed Board of Agriculture agoing, but cannot leave Edinburgh without acknowledging the receipt of his obliging Statistical Account of the Parish of Eccles, which shall be immediately printed." There is no date, and the letter is on a torn leaf which had been sealed. Probably this note was sent to Mr Murray's father, Adam, who wrote the Eccles parish part of the Old Statistical Account. No doubt it was highly esteemed and had been entrusted to the keeping of the minister of Channelkirk by his father.

CHAPTER IX

THE MINISTERS AND THEIR TIMES

Rev. JOHN BROWN—Characteristics—Stipend Troubles—Odious to Heritors—Litigation—Deficiencies in the Manse—Parsimony and Law-cases—Glebe Worries—Church Ruinous—Refuses to Preach—Church Courts—New Church—Muscular Christianity—Behaviour in Church—His Death—Rev. JAMES RUTHERFORD—Character—Ingenuous and Injudicial—Records—Assistants—Portrait—Rev. JAMES WALKER—Parish and Presbytery Complications—Testimony of the Records—Resignation and Emigration—Rev. JOSEPH LOWE—Student, Assistant, and Minister—Church Declension—Resignation.

JOHN BROWN—1809-1828

IF there was any characteristic of the warrior about Mr Murray, the predominant feature in his successor, the Rev. John Brown, seems to have been pugilistic. He is principally remembered in the parish as a muscular Christian. A broad, dry grin always precedes any reference to him by the "originals." And all his valiant heroics are neither dimmed nor diminished in their narrations, for his "specialities" were just of such a kind as could attain to immortality in "kirns," and Saturday night confabs at small "pubs" and rural social gatherings. The minister voluntarily divesting himself of his reverend habits, and clad in the garb of politician, prize-fighter, or purveyor of small smut, is a spectacle peculiarly detectable to the countryman, and his reverence never fails to achieve distinction of a certain kind when he chooses to

so play gladiator to the mob. But we should give a false impression of the local estimate of Mr Brown were we to regard him solely from this point of view. The people remember many of his kind deeds and never forget them in their "sequels," and he redeems himself amply in their respect in that he fought a victorious battle with the heritors. He is a "character," in short, with the parishioners, and although not regarded as by any means the chief cornerstone in the Channelkirk temple, yet neither would they judge him the meanest, and perhaps he may best be considered as an ecclesiastical conglomerate, a sort of pudding-stone-character made up of dirt and diamonds.

It is recorded that John Brown was ordained by the Presbytery of Edinburgh on the 9th of November, following upon the death of Mr Murray, as minister of the Low Meeting, Berwick-on-Tweed. He was afterwards presented to Channelkirk Church by John Wauchope, Esq., trustee on the Marchmont estate, in April of 1809. The Kirk Records have these items: "1809, 13 June, Tues.—The call moderate for the Revd. Jn. Brown"; and, "26 July, Wednesday—The Revd. Jn. Brown settled minister."

He was scarcely two years minister in Channelkirk when he found himself up to the ears in litigation. Mr Murray, as we have seen, had many disputes with the heritors, and died while one was in course of process. Mr Brown, on the 3rd April 1811, brought a wakening of this process of reduction, accompanied with a transference against the heirs of some of the defenders, as also a new process of augmentation and locality; and life for him, while life lasted (and it lasted till 1828), was henceforth clouded over by the stern atmosphere of the law courts. What a curious record is the life of some ministers! Stress and battle to get to college; struggle and

semi-starvation while there ; anxiety and desperation to get into a parish ; misery and misunderstanding while in it ; a scrimp living, and forced to employ all the power of law to make that living decent ; and then death, and, of course, deification ! For it is only after death that he gets all his honours and all the praise. Such are the lurid horizons of many an incumbent's career. Mr Brown was undoubtedly blessed with a skin fittingly thick enough for his fate. For if God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb, He also gives leviathan his neck of strength and heart of stone.

From the beginning, he was naturally regarded as an odious person by the heritors. Why he should not continue to starve respectably, as did the other ministers before him, the heritors could not understand ; even though it was an era of high prices for all the necessities of life, and the provision he claimed was only his own which had been unjustly ravished from the church patrimony by their ancestors. They accused him, in the course of the law processes, of low sneaking, and ungentlemanly and unchristian conduct. The most noble and the right honourables, as well as the notables and respectables among them, as much as said in open court that he had cheated them, and asked my Lords to undo his doings and give them justice ! * My Lords did not see it, however, and gravely "adhered to their former interlocutor," etc., not having their judgment warped by £, s. d., which warps the very noblest of minds now and then. But, in truth, we cannot think that such despicable work comes initially from the heritors themselves. If ministers could always find it possible to deal with them personally, we are convinced that there would be fewer law cases, and more pleasantness between the manor and the manse.

* Decreet of Locality.

It would seem that Mr Brown had some cause to be displeased. The sources of his sorrows were many. He had irritations with his manse. Smoke and damp reigned there supreme, notwithstanding that in 1803 the "kitchen vent was warranted big enough to allow any sweep to go up and clean it." The water supply at the manse was also wretched, and the usual unsatisfactory "well" annoyed him, and when a supply was attempted from the hill above it, the operations were carried on in the cheeseparer way that means penny wise and pound foolish. Worry came to him also from his glebe, his church, as well as from his stipend law cases. He wished the manse repaired and enlarged. It was "built thirty years ago," he said, and thirty years at Channelkirk test the best stone-and-lime structures. By that time, 1814, Brown declares the manse "totally uninhabitable."

Meantime larger questions loomed up in connection with the church, and the manse and offices remained on a shaky basis, with the exception of some temporary patches to tide over heavier outlay. There is a reported case about the manse, 18th June 1818: 13 S., 1018, *Shields v. Heritors of Channelkirk*, in which the Court decided against authorising additions merely on account of deficiency in size. The ground was that the manse had been recently erected and in good repair, or only required repairs to a trifling extent.*

When 1820 comes, Brown's continued clashing with his heritors have rendered him stubborn and intractable. They actually wish *now* to repair the manse. They send tradesmen to the manse for this purpose, but he refuses to let them into his house. Doubtless he expected the usual handful of lime, and a door handle here and there, and

* Reports in Signet Library, Edinburgh.

nothing adequate to the clear needs of the case. Then the heritors become injured innocents! It is said Mr Brown means to let manse and offices go ruinous to further injure them. Brown in his ire cannot resist sending an inconsiderate "letter" to the heritors. They shall know his mind! In it he expresses the belief that they have no intention of consulting his good at all, but as he puts it, "have in view only their own interest and malicious pleasure, and are resolved to carry on their defamatory and murderous attempts against me and my family . . . until they make an end of us." Defiantly he bids them go on! Evidently matters had reached a very bitter pass. Worry from manse, glebe, church, and stipend cases had truly maddened him. The heritors, with lifted eyebrows, profess astonishment. Language so very, very! They do wish his good: want to concur with him: want to repair manse and offices, truly. Won't he, then? He won't. The lion growls in his den, defiantly showing his teeth, all of which was extremely foolish in the gladiatorial John. For an appeal was made to the Sheriff, who decided against him; but he, despising small limbs of law, threatens to carry it to the Court of Session, the foolish gladiator. The heritors, still with uplifted eyebrows, "express surprise that he should persist in such an absurd line of conduct," but with crowning absurdity on their own part recommend him to get more elders for the church, there being only one! H'm! Better confine themselves to repairs of manses, *et hoc genus omne*. Brown in the end lost £7 on the business. But his intentions seem all to have been dictated by a desire to have things improved and made more respectable. His methods in reaching this were, perhaps, not justifiable. For instance, he had set his heart on having the ground levelled decently

around the church. He had asked the heritors to do it. They refused; whereupon the militant minister himself orders it to be done, and takes £2, 8s. 4d. out of the collections to pay for it. The heritors declare him to have "appropriated" this money, and treat with him coldly, afar off, as utterly unworthy of their association.

He derived no more comfort from his glebe than from his manse. It lay in two parts, one on the height beside the church, the other in the hollow or haugh through which Mountmill Burn ("Arras Water") flows. This latter part was exposed (as yet it is) to the floods which in winter swept over the Hauch. Extensive sand-siltings, accumulations of rubbish on the good pasture ground, and broken, drifting fences were common occurrences. In 1810, "ring" fences were put round the glebe by the heritors, they agreeing on 14th December of that year to defray the "inconsiderable expenses," while the minister and conterminous proprietors agreed to uphold the fences. The fence round the low glebe was to be made up of a ditch, thorns, and two railings. This was not satisfactory, evidently, and four years afterwards the heritors "*order*" the Rev. John Brown to fence the Hauch glebe himself. Brown thinks rightly that heritors cannot "*order*" him to do anything under the sun, and declares them *ultra vires*, using his shillelah style in designating them "unhandsome and presumptuous" for "*ordering*" him. But, of course, neither could he *order* them to fence his glebe, there being no decision of law on the matter, and his plan was to have asked it as a courtesy, or failing any agreeable settlement, to have asked the Sheriff to decide who should do it. But the wrangling and malfeasance went on, and the glebe question never got settled in Brown's time.

The church, however, the gracious symbol of salvation and peace, proved to be the richest reservoir of acrid waters to both representatives of Jerusalem and Babylon. If the heritors would not drain his manse and improve the amenities of the place; in the name of piety, they should build a new church! This is the Gladiator's resolution. It was on the 14th November 1814 that he publicly intimated from the pulpit the necessity for rebuilding the church. But a church is not a gourd, and cannot grow, just as it cannot die, in a night. The heritors for two years took up the attitude of waiting, and so the impatient and fire-fetching Elijah intimated to them on 1st November 1816, that he did not "intend to preach any more at Channelkirk, after Sabbath first, until the heritors have provided the parish with a new church." The disgusted prophet then retires to his desert, and sits down under his juniper tree. After preaching on 3rd November, he did not resume again until 25th April following. That is, for seven months he "struck work," or rather would not strike it.

But this was imperious conduct, and utterly indefensible. The Presbytery "felt much concerned" at his behaviour and the discontinuance of preaching. They recommend him to "preach from a tent or any other place convenient." Were the sheep to starve? But the heritors found him too good game to let slip, and "libelled" him before the Synod for not preaching, and they had a right to do so. Brown then appeals to the Synod, and the Synod refused to sustain the heritors' appeal, but thought Brown should have given intimation to his Presbytery before taking action. The heritors next take the case to the General Assembly. They will hunt him down! But "corbies dinna pick oot corbies een;" besides, his cause had clearly strong recommendations within itself. And the

Assembly sustained both Synod and Presbytery. Brown certainly acted rashly, but the church was decidedly a "ruin," and he believed himself in danger of his life in preaching in it. The heritors knew this perfectly, yet took no action. Nay, they sneered at the matter unbecomingly, for after examination they declare "the church in as good a state of repair and comfort *as it has been for several years past*, and can see no reason why Mr Brown shouldn't preach as usual." The more disgraceful it was of them to say so, when, according to the testimony of two authorities called in from Edinburgh, the "state of repair and comfort" was as follows:—"The south wall is considerably rent and twisted, and the under part of the walls all round is very much decayed owing to the damp occasioned by the floor of the church being so much sunk below the general surface of the churchyard—an evil which we consider cannot be remedied, and renders the house totally unfit for a place of worship. The timbers of the roof appear pretty fresh, but the slating, particularly on the north side, is very much decayed. The seating of the church, with the exception of the east loft and one seat at the west-end, is in a ruinous and uninhabitable state."

The opinion of the parish was no less emphatic. When the agitation grew strong for a new church the entire parish petitioned to have it built, not on the present site, but nearer Oxtou. In the petition to the Presbytery they say, "That the Parish Church of Channelkirk has been these many years a very cold, damp, and unpleasant house for a place of worship," and, moreover, "for several months during winter it may justly be said to be altogether inaccessible even to men in the vigour of life."

Mr Brown's demand, therefore, for a new church, was

clearly reasonable, and he was only doing his duty in seeking the welfare of his parishioners. But while his motive was good, his method was incommendable and extreme. The heritors, all the same, have our deepest gratitude in this place for not removing the church from its present historical site. For they did build a new church (the present one), and certainly they did not deal shabbily with it. In size, style, and comfort it will stand comparison, all things considered, with most country churches on the Borders. In the Kirk Records it is said :—"1818, February 15th, Sabbath.—This day the new church was opened ; collected 13 shill. 7 pennies, and 6 farthings." Surely peace and amity would then reign between manse and manor? Nay, verily. The old virus, unhappily, lived on in their veins, and one notes with regret that "the heritors have omitted to line *the wall forming the back of the pulpit with wood like the rest of the Church*, nor lathed it under the plaster to defend the seat from wet and damp, and so it is rendered uncomfortable and even unsafe for the minister to occupy." The Presbytery so delivers itself on inspection. The exception made of the pulpit is suspicious. But it was remedied, and there it ended. The heritors never let a chance pass afterwards of sending a shot the parson's way. Next year they recommend to Mr Brown "not to put horses, cows, or asses into the churchyard."

There is reason to believe that the minister was rather an ugly customer to tackle on any ground. His forte was fighting, and as there is a kind of man in all parishes who is incapable of understanding any reason except the one impressed by the closed fist, he was not loath to grant this advantage to any one who required it when occasion suited. It was a reversion to Jewish or Davidic methods, doubtless, and Mr Brown may have blessed God with the Psalmist that

"He teacheth my hands to war and my fingers to fight." Whether he advanced the high spiritual principles of his Master in his parish by such practices is another matter. But the fact itself is too well authenticated to be "explained away." The consequence followed, however, that an aggressive attitude on his part provoked resistance on the part of others, and it soon became a talk in the district, "Whay wis yible for the menister, an' whay wisna!" There is a fearful story told of a meeting of heritors and elders which took place in a bibulous locality where the minister, or rather John Brown, was one of the company. Like those heavenly bodies which travel at such high speed that they fire up to explosion point on entering the air, and scatter their fragments over space, so this heterogeneous company soon found the atmosphere too intensely frictional and explosive, and found itself blasted out of the inn on to the high-road, each constituent member, "by some cantrip slicht," flourishing a table or chair leg, to the utter ruin all round of ribs, hats, and heads. When the air cleared, the landlady was discovered weeping over her broken furniture and shattered crockery. So runs the tradition. It is pathetically added that the elder, Thomas Waddel, and the minister, stood "shouther to shouther" in the battle.

These characteristics sometimes reflected themselves in the minister's pulpit manner, we are told, if we care to entertain such things. One day, while preaching, the gallery was unusually obstreperous, and he had frequently to pause and cast warning glances in that direction. This having no effect, he singled out the most offensive gentleman and told him bluntly that if he came up to him he "wad pu' the flipe ower his nose!" We do not know how to extenuate such pulpit eloquence, except by supposing that Mr Brown, having

long studied the matter, had concluded that he had as good a right to "flipe" noses as Saint Peter had to not only "flipe" but slice off ears in vindicating the Master's cause. Ecclesiastical views are apt to vary widely.

The new church was opened barely three months when the windows were blown in! The superstitious saw in this the cloven hoof of him who, on the strong wind flying, "tirls the kirks." The sagacious merely remarked that "the putty wasna hard yet."

We are told that the foundations of the old church are still to be seen underneath the floor of the present church, which is the same that was built in Mr Brown's time. The plan was cruciform. The sundial in the south wall, and the cross on the top of the east gable, are remnants of the old edifice. The cross is chipped in one of its arms as the result of a fall which occurred in recent times, owing to having been fastened by wooden instead of, as now, by iron bolts. The old gallery was so low that once at a baptism in church, a father, when about to "tak' the vows," stepped over the front and slid down instead of going round by the stair. So true is it, that when the shepherd ventures outside the bounds of respect and decorum, the sheep soon learn to follow.

It might be an easy task to multiply instances of this state of matters in the parish in the "teens" and "twenties" of this century. Our object is gained when a correct conception of the minister and the man John Brown is obtained, together with a view of the manners of his time and people. It must not be supposed that he was lacking in kindness and amiability. Men who can give the hardest knocks have often the tenderest of hearts. One noble action yet stands out distinctly in the parish memory. The seasons had been

hard ones for farmers, and they fell with double severity upon the weaker men of that time. He learned that they had no seed to sow their crops, having been forced to sell out everything to pay their debts. The minister came to the rescue with the grain from his glebe, and for three years assisted them gratis in this way till better seasons rewarded them. It gives us great pleasure to record this.

He was not always in good health, although he had a character for robustness. In 1822, he writes from "Mrs Cowans, 12 Queen Street, Edinburgh," on the 15th April, to the chief trustee for Kirktonhill, who was resident in Edinburgh, enclosing his stipend account for crop 1821. He says he "is in bad health and needing money greatly." We think it no wonder. His lawsuits must have been a terrible drain on his small exchequer. Yet he seems to have preserved fairly good health till the year 1827, when on thirty Sundays there was no service in church. He died on Sunday, 15th June 1828, aged 59, and was buried in Channelkirk Churchyard on the 20th of that month. A small plain headstone memorialises the place where he lies. He was born in 1769, and was thus 40 years of age when he was presented to Channelkirk. He was a minister for twenty-five years, and nearly twenty of these he spent in this parish. He was married to Philis Moscrop, and on 5th May 1815, mention is made of his having "a wife and child." After his death Mrs Brown communicated with the Earlston Presbytery to get from the fund of the Association of Dissenting Ministers in the North of England, of which Association her husband was for many years a member, some help of a pecuniary kind by paying up his arrears. She got, through the Moderator, a "decidedly unfavourable" answer. This "Association" seems to have been purely a

voluntary one, and was not in connection with the national churches of either England or Scotland.

In consequence, we suppose, of the lack of respect for the ordinances of religion in the parish, Mr Brown had great difficulty in obtaining elders. For many years one only stood with him, and in the four years immediately preceding his death all had forsaken him. This is made evident by the minute which introduces us to his successor, James Rutherford.

JAMES RUTHERFORD—1828-1862.

"Channelkirk, 27th December 1829.—In consequence of the want of elders in this parish for a number of years, the duties connected with that office have not been regularly performed. To remedy this defect the Rev. James Rutherford, minister, from the pulpit, requested the congregation to select four or five persons whom they might think qualified for that office." *

Mr Rutherford found the ecclesiastical machinery somewhat rusty, and quietly, as was his manner, set to work to improve it. He was translated from the Presbyterian congregation at Whitby, Yorkshire, to Channelkirk, and preached for the first time in the latter place on the 26th of October 1828. He had been duly licensed by the Presbytery of Dunse on 31st May 1816, and ordained minister at Whitby by the Presbytery of Kelso, 14th March 1820. He was presented to Channelkirk charge by the patron, Sir William Purves Hume Campbell, Bart., of Marchmont, and was admitted 16th December 1828. He was "under 40" at the time, and had married Margaret Clark on the 20th December 1827, that is, twelve months previous to his translation. She died 30th June 1837, just ten days after

* Kirk Records.

Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen began her memorable reign.

Mr Rutherford's incumbency of thirty-four years in Channelkirk is marked by a quiet, inoffensive grace of life, and a suave disposition towards all around him. He is remembered as a man who shrank from publicity in every form, and was rather shy than otherwise in the social relationships of the parish. He was often observed to turn in his walks and divert his route if a person or cart were seen coming towards him. He was accustomed to spend his forenoons in the church alone; the extreme silence of the place being more to his taste than the domiciliary bustle of the manse. He is also reported to have been in possession of some wealth, and this consideration, joined with an easy benevolent temperament, brought him frequently under the guileful ways of the wily mendicant. Certain babies in the parish took sick; an aged mother, living at a distance, had just died, and funds were required to bury her; and such like stories were floated over him with the usual loquacious incantations; and they were never known to disappoint the needy one, although, it is said, Mr Rutherford subsequently found out, in most instances, that the special distress had been entirely imaginary. Doubtless he acted on the principle that to be charitable to all is the only true method of relieving the wants of the few genuine poor. This is the mode which is stigmatised as "indiscriminate," but it is also the lavish way of nature, which, to effect her end, often showers thousands of seeds abroad to accomplish one good plant. Mr Rutherford is yet remembered as gentlemanly in all his ways, and a man of wide reading and scholarly habits.

A milder friendship between minister and heritors ob-

tained during Mr Rutherford's day than was wont in former years. It is pleasing to note the change. The Nathaniel-like disposition of the man comes out sharply in a proposition which he laid before them on the 13th March 1829, although the astuteness of the lawyer is clearly absent in him. He had apparently ruminated long on the causes of dispute between the manor and the manse, and to put an end to any possibility of such disagreeables arising in his own experience, had devised a plan of peace, and laid it on the table for their consideration. He proposed that they, the heritors, should give him the slump sum of £270, and he, in turn, would execute whatever repairs and additions on the manse, offices, garden and glebe might be required, and take upon himself all further expense in these matters during his incumbency. This testified a magnanimous spirit truly, but it was not "business." For suppose the heritors had closed with the bargain and had handed him the £270. Suppose that in the following week Mr Rutherford had died! The money was then lost to the heritors, and the next incumbent would have demanded his rights from them also in due process, and thus double expense would have fallen upon them. They, therefore, could not accept his scheme of peace. But he had proved himself the possessor of a right and kindly mind. This comes out again fifteen years later, when, in 1846, he provided at his private cost the materials for rough-casting the manse, while the heritors had only the expense of the labour to meet. Only a minister "with means,"—a rare thing among Scotch ministers—could cultivate such generous habits. But by such means all friction ceased between the two interests, and during the whole of his ministry we do not find that anything except harmony prevailed.

Would that the same record had existed both before and after his period.

A few items are chronicled in the Kirk Records which wear the complexion of his day. It is noted, for example, that a national fast was proclaimed for 22nd March 1832, on account of the fearful visitation of cholera during that year. The same thing for the same reason takes place on the 8th November 1849. The "Disruption of 1843" cost him an elder and the parish a schoolmaster with the secession of Mr Dodds. A national fast is held again in 1847, 24th March, on account of the "Famine in Ireland." Such matters as an eclipse of the sun, 15th May 1836, and great snowstorms in 1852 and 1859, are faithfully noted.

Mr Rutherford was not a robust man, and on the 3rd December 1844 we find him obtaining leave from the Presbytery to have an "assistant and successor." His son, Cornelius, born 22nd April 1830, also weighed upon his spirits, as on 5th December 1843 he requests leave of absence from his charge for two months on account of the ill-health of this only son, then residing in England. In 1850 Mr Rutherford "is still in poor health and unable for all the duties," and again obtains leave of absence. But he does not seem to have actually had an assistant till 1851, when John Archibald Dow is found in that position. Mr Dow's successor as assistant, now the genial and lovable minister of Maxton, the Rev. Manners Hamilton Nisbet Grahame, came to Channelkirk in 1854, but only stayed a few months, as Archibald Brown, now Minister Emeritus of Legerwood, took over the work from him in December of the same year. James Forbes, now minister of Cults, Fife, succeeded Mr Brown in 1858. Mr Peter Christie, now the esteemed minister of Abbey St Bathans, succeeded Mr Forbes in

1861, and Mr Rutherford found his last assistant in the Good Shepherd Himself, who led His servant "doon the dead-mirk-dale" on the 2nd day of August 1862.

A portrait in oil of Mr Rutherford hangs in the session-house of Stow Parish Church, access to which can be readily obtained by any one interested. The brief notice of the parish incorporated in the *New Statistical Account*, ii., is from his pen.

JAMES WALKER—1862-1885.

The Rev. James Walker's career as a minister in Channelkirk appears to have been a chequered one. At the death of Mr Rutherford the parish seems to have been lapped in profound repose, the people, the heritors, and the minister enjoying a common peace, each pursuing the routine of daily duty in mutual harmony and esteem. Mr Walker was doomed to unhappier experiences. During his time the little parish became a boiling cauldron. Presbytery, minister, teacher, heritors, elders, beadle, precentor, and the general populace became involved in melancholy complications; and heart-burnings such as require generations to neutralise and eliminate were engendered. Everywhere there is evidence, during the period between 1862 and 1885, of distraction at the heart of things. The Records of the General Assembly, Earlston Presbytery, and the parish of Channelkirk, are dabbled full of such expressions as "difference of opinion," "committee appointed to inquire," "injunction," "explanations," "fama," "famæ," "scandalous conduct," "libel," "elders' petition," "beadle's petition," "intoxication," "deep sorrow," "no Sacrament held," "cautioned by Synod," and such like. Even after the lapse of a decade of years there appear again, like the haunting underground tones of the

ghost in *Hamlet*, the expressions, "fama," "libel," "allegations of insanity," and much more, which sufficiently indicate the kind of acid element in which, for so long, the ecclesiastical affairs of Lauderdale continued to float. And when such terms are found in all the precise legality of recorded statements, it would be surprising if more ample definitions and stronger flavours were proved absent in the sententious narratives of the general public. As a matter of fact, gossip on this topic usually grows grey with the travail of elucidation, and the extemporised colloquial stage soon becomes crowded with thrilling incidents and exciting situations, and *dramatis personæ* too bewilderingly numerous to individualise.

Mr Walker was presented to the charge of Channelkirk by the patron, Sir Hugh H. Campbell of Marchmont, on the 22nd September 1862. He had been previously licensed on the 10th June of the same year by Dunse Presbytery. The call was signed by one elder and twenty others. He was ordained by Earlston Presbytery on the 27th November 1862. He married on 24th April 1867, and had issue. He resigned the charge on 11th December 1884, and Channelkirk was declared vacant 6th January 1885. He and his family emigrated to Vancouver, British Columbia.

The occasion of the departure from the manse was made memorable by the burning of that building, which in some mysterious manner caught fire and was wholly destroyed. The silver Communion Cups were lost in this catastrophe, and no trace of even the melted silver was ever discovered. The present pewter ones took their place, but there is no reason why some generous lover of the church of St Cuthbert should not replace them with others worthy of the services of the house of God. The donation would help to modify in

some measure the terrible details of a sad chapter in its history. It was during this incumbency that cards were substituted for the tokens dated 1822. Older tokens were plentiful, it is said, but were relegated to the strawhouse, where they got lost.

JOSEPH LOWE—1885-1891.

We understand that Mr Lowe was born in 1849 in the parish of Lundie, a few miles north-west of Dundee, where his father was "minister's man." The family removed to Balmerino, where his father, a most respectable and intelligent workman, acted in the same capacity for fourteen years under the Rev. Dr James Campbell. The future minister of Channelkirk learned there in his youth the trade of a joiner, and having the ministry in view, must have worked hard and also learned to "scorn delights and live laborious days." He matriculated as a "bejant" in St Andrews University for the session 1871-2, taking the two classes, English and First Mathematics. He then spelt his name "Low." He entered St Mary's Divinity Hall there in the winter of 1875-6, at the age of 26, and passed through the usual three years' curriculum. He was licensed by the Presbytery of Dundee on the 3rd July 1878, as a preacher of the Gospel. Principal Tulloch, of St Andrews, was instrumental in obtaining for him an assistantship in West Church, Perth, under the learned and distinguished scholar, the Rev. Dr Milne. He afterwards began a mission in Loanhead under the Rev. Mr Burdon, and made the nucleus of the church there which is now served by the Rev. Alexander Stewart. He left Loanhead to be assistant to the Rev. John Milne, Greenside, Edinburgh, and subsequently acted in a

similar capacity to the Very Rev. Dr James Macgregor, of St Cuthbert's.

Mr Lowe was one of four candidates who preached for the vacant charge at Channelkirk, and the system of patronage having been abolished, he became the choice of the congregation as minister on 6th April 1885, the call being signed on that date by seventy-four members of the church. He was ordained to the church and parish on the 7th of May of the same year.

The Presbytery Records show a strange declension in the church membership during his ministry. In 1887 there were 181 names on the Communion Roll; in 1889, 162; in 1890, 146; in 1891, when he resigned, 142. The number of members who communicated in June 1885, the first year of his ministry, was 112. In May 1891, his last year, 43 only communicated. He resigned his charge on the 22nd June of that year by letter sent from Edinburgh, where he resided, to the Moderator of Earlston Presbytery, in which he says, "I am sorry that through continued indisposition I do not expect to be at the meeting, but I hope there will be no injustice done to my case on that account."

His resignation was in due time accepted, and the church declared vacant on the 12th July 1891.

CHAPTER X

THE ELDERS, BEADLES, CHURCH, AND CHURCHYARD

Elders since 1650—Beadles since 1654—The Mortcloths—Salary—The Church—Style of Architecture—Mode of Worship—Kirk Bell—Rural Religion—Attendances at Church—The Roll—Church Patrons—The Churchyard—Consecration—Notable Tombstones—Resurrectionists.

THE following is as complete a list of Channelkirk elders as we have been able to make. The years opposite the names are those in which they are first mentioned:—

- 1650. WILLIAM WIGHT, "elder and deacon."
- " ADAM SOMERVILLE, Airhouse, "elder and deacon."
- " ROBERT WIGHT.
- " ALEXANDER RIDDELL, Hartside.
- 1658. "The minister and four elders."
- 1661. JAMES SOMERVELL in Headshaw.
- 1664. WILLIAM KNIGHT, Airhouse.
- " WILLIAM WADDEL, Ugston.
- 1697. ADAM KNOX.
- " GEORGE SOMERVILLE.
- 1698. WILLIAM BRUNTON.
- 1701. THOMAS BROUNLIES.
- " GEORGE KEMP.
- " JAMES WADDEL.
- " JOHN LOTHIAN or LOUDON.
- " JAMES WETHERSTON, WEDERSTON, or WATERSTON.
- " JAMES WADDINGTON.
- 1702. JAMES TAIT.
- 1744. JAMES SOMERVAIL, Airhouse.
- " GEORGE SOMERVAIL, Carfrae, died in Kirktonhill, 1779.

1744. GEORGE WIGHT.
 „ WILLIAM ALLAN.
 1752. WILLIAM ECKFORD, Kelphope, died 1764.
 1758. JOHN BORTHWICK, Crookston.
 „ ALEXANDER DALZIEL, Hartside.
 „ ROBERT CLARK, Ougston.
 „ WILLIAM RENTON, Wiselawmiln, died 1787.
 „ JAMES THOMSON, Nether Bourhouse.
 1795. ROBERT WEDDAL.
 „ THOMAS WATSON.
 „ JOHN TAIT.
 1799. THOMAS M'DOUGAL.
 „ THOMAS WADDEL (see “Rev. John Brown.”)
 1810. JAMES WATHERSTONE.
 1812. WILLIAM CESSFORD, Bowerhouse, died 1824.
 1829. NICHOL DODDS, teacher, Ugston.
 „ DAVID SCOTT, Ugston.
 „ WILLIAM CESSFORD, carpenter, Ugston,
 went to America in 1836. } Not ordained till
 } 1833, though act-
 } ing as elders.
 „ JOHN GRAY, tenant, Midburn.
 1836. WILLIAM TAIT, Parkfoot.
 „ ROBERT MASON, Justicehall (left the parish 1844).
 „ WILLIAM GRAY, Midburn, nephew of above John Gray.
 1845. JAMES WILSON.
 „ ALEXANDER DAVIDSON, teacher, Oxton.
 „ WILLIAM FORREST.
 1850. GIDEON RENWICK.
 „ THOMAS DARLING.
 „ JOHN RENWICK.
 1852. JAMES STEVENSON.
 1867. DAVID WALKINSHAW, farmer, Burnfoot.
 „ JAMES BATHGATE, farmer, Bowerhouse.
 1888. WILLIAM BELL, joiner, Oxton, resigned eldership 9th September
 1896, and died 20th December 1898.
 „ ROWALEYN WILLIAM MATTHEWSON, merchant, Oxton.
 1893. WILLIAM BALD, steward, Hartside, died 17th July 1898.
 1898. THOMAS WADDEL, tailor and clothier, Oxton.

There are thus fifty-three names of elders who have served Channelkirk since 1650. The writer can only speak of those whom he has known personally during his incumbency.

William Bell, joiner in Oxton, was a man of warm religious feelings, specially of the "evangelical" or "revival" type, and took more than a common interest in the services of the church. The writer remembers, with gratitude, the help he rendered in inaugurating the new Sunday School, as he was the only person who volunteered to do duty in that capacity. He was genial and hearty in his manner, and was much respected in the community. His attendance at church was exemplary, and the day was stormy indeed that prevented him from occupying his wonted seat. For some reason, which he never explained, he resigned his eldership on 9th September 1896. He was sensitive and retiring in disposition, and deeply resented certain actions of the Kirk-session, especially in abolishing the Fast Day, as he considered it unjust to the ploughmen in depriving them of a holiday. He latterly "lifted his lines" and joined Lauder parish church, in which membership he remained till his death on 20th December 1898. He died suddenly of palsy. He is buried in Channelkirk churchyard.

William Bald, steward on Hartside farm, became an elder in April 1893, and was in all respects a faithful and worthy man. He was married and had several of a family. His frank and cheery manner made him welcome in every society. The sun and the breeze were both in his ways and words, and his attention to kirk matters strict and exemplary. He became an elder for the sake of the Church and the advancement of its work, and steadily to the end he set this purpose before him. His connection with the eldership was entirely pleasant to all concerned. On the last day in which he attended the Lord's Supper, he did so with great effort, as the disease which was to carry him away then lay heavily upon him. Alone, he served the tables that May day when

he could scarcely stand, and cold perspiration stood constantly on his brow. He did it out of a strong sense of duty to his Master and His Church, and the writer has ever regarded the act as a deep reproof to the unhelping spirit which pervaded the Church at that time, and as a proof that even among the humblest there are to be found examples of the purest heroism. He was very straightforward and sincere. But to us he always appeared at his best at the bedside of the sick. His cheery, hearty words were invigorating and uplifting, and no woman could nurse another in her dying hour with more than his care and tenderness. No man was more welcome at the manse, and we hope the day will be distant when he is forgotten there. He had a quiet fund of native humour which gave his conversation a piquant flavour, especially when he recounted the reminiscences of his early life, or his experiences at Hartside with the "tramps." His kindness to all such was proverbial, and the first question a tramp now asks on coming into the parish is, "Can yez tell me the way to Hartside?" In the barn, in the stable, somewhere among glorious straw, Mr Bald could bestow them for the night, and we have heard him say that he never found a thing astray, or discovered any intention to do any injury on their part. He died of leucocythæmia, and was buried in Channelkirk Churchyard. The grave is situated on the south side, west from the "Somerville" gravestone, but in the centre of the ground, between the church and the manse garden wall, a memorial stone marks his resting-place, and few deserved one better.

During Mr Bald's last weeks of life, an attempt was put forth to obtain as many elders as make at least a "quorum." Three are required in any Kirk-session to

accomplish this, and in our case a Presbytery assessor was required to furnish the requisite number. The Rev. William Rankin, minister at Legerwood, had always been sent by the Presbytery, and now that he also has followed Mr Bald "doon the dead-mirk-dale," we mention his name with mingled feelings of sorrow and gratitude. Always obliging and kind, his company at the manse on these occasions was much appreciated, although, without doubt, the presence of an assessor from another parish to do work which belongs to those within its bounds is an unworthy stain on the honour of church members who, while professing to serve in the vineyard, say, "I go," but go not. After the usual obstacles had been met and subdued, two worthy members, Messrs Matthewson and Waddel, both from Oxton, consented to act as elders, and Mr Bald was delighted at the prospect. All the legal steps were fulfilled with a view to their admission, but on the day when they stood before the congregation as elders of the parish (19th of June 1898), Mr Bald was, alas, denied the pleasure of being present to give them the right hand of fellowship. He lay in Edinburgh Infirmary looking shortly to be himself promoted to the glorious company of elders that surround the throne on high; so that Messrs Matthewson and Waddel entered upon office to take up the work which Mr Bald had practically laid down, and which Mr Rankin, in his youth and in the midst of his good work in Legerwood, was so shortly to commit to other hands also. But the men were worthy to follow in their footsteps, and we trust it may be long ere their place is vacant or their presence missed in the church.

Mr Matthewson, merchant in Oxton, was, perhaps, the most obstinate opponent the writer had to his becoming

minister at Channelkirk. The dicebox of kirk-electioneering is often presided over by trick-loving Pucks, and in this case, the writer, to his dismay, found himself confronted in the contest—what a detestable word to be found in such an affair!—by his college friend, the Rev. R. D. Mackenzie, now minister at Kilbarchan. Mr Matthewson was leader of the Mackenzie voters. But, with true gentlemanliness, when the election was declared against his wishes, he at once laid aside all party feeling, and recognised that personal matters must yield to higher considerations if the ministry is to maintain its high place as a sacred office far above all whims and passions. Accordingly, he was chairman at the writer's ordination dinner in Carfraemill Hotel (23rd Dec. 1891), and no one could have received greater help, or more attention in the parish as a stranger, than fell to the lot of the minister on entering then upon his duties at Channelkirk. We are happy to say that the relationship so formed has never changed, and mutual respect has only deepened into mutual friendship as the years have passed.

He has done much good work in the district, and if in several ventures he has not achieved all he wished, he has, at least, saved the parish from becoming a mere place of dreams, and has decidedly improved the pace. For example, after meetings and motions innumerable had transpired about obtaining a telegraph between Lauder and Oxton, and when every one had believed the matter impossible, Mr Matthewson still kept it alive, negotiated alone with the authorities, put the necessary time and expense into prosecuting it, and the present extension from Lauder to his place of business in Oxton is the result. In such an old-world district as ours, this progressiveness meets, of course, with much solid, though silent, resistance. The townman, as

Emerson notes, goes with the town clock, but the countryman moves only with the law of gravitation, and where stobs are laid down opposite hedge-slaps, to be set in their place three years afterwards, and subjects of consideration can be postponed for a six years' interval, it is not to be supposed that Mr Matthewson has found his public spirit always a pleasant possession. Too much energy is discomfiting to many good folks, and it has been a matter of interest to notice how, on several occasions, almost the entire parish has been combined against him. No doubt, the combinations have been good-natured ones, as a whole, and we believe no one is more highly respected in our district than he is. He is characterised by fearless outspokenness, and states his opinion of men and things with a vivacity which is sometimes disconcerting. This, however, is only his public attitude towards all that affects the welfare of the district, for in private life he is the most genial of men. He has proved himself a true friend of the community. The Church being by far the foremost institution in any parish, the true level of public spirit of the best kind is marked by men's attitude towards it, and their ability to fill its offices. A district is rich or poor in proportion to the men it can furnish to minister to the highest wants of human nature. Mr Matthewson was a parish councillor; he was for many years a member of the School Board; in all social meetings he was, and is, a leader. The Sunday School has received yeoman service from him and his family. In these his energy is tireless, his services and time given gratuitously and cheerfully, and the whole parish is indebted to him for his interest and work in them, and the high example he shows in all-round helpfulness.

Thomas Waddel, tailor and clothier in Oxton, was

ordained an elder on 19th June 1898. He bears a name which has been associated with Channelkirk eldership through a longer period than any other name in the parish. Perhaps, also, it is one which is associated most with that ability which in our district has risen higher than mere commercial pursuits, and the ploughing of the fields, and getting gain. Some of the Waddels are notable artists and musicians, some manufacturers, some parish councillors ; all are characterised by intellect ; all have prospered, and all are respectable. The Waddels can be known anywhere by their massive heads, dome-like foreheads, and large, clear eyes. The name is, we believe, the same at root as Wedale, the ancient name of an extensive district of the Gala Valley. Sometimes spelt Weddell, it is a name often met throughout the Borders.

Mr Waddel is a fine type of the Scottish elder. Calm and deliberative in all his ways, cautious in speech and quiet in manner, his robust yet erect form and reverential air blend very becomingly with the duties that fall to his share on Sundays, and more especially on Communion days. He is retiring and reserved, and although interested in all that affects the parish, politically or otherwise, his voice is seldom heard, and is never prominent at any time. He is warm-hearted and sympathetic, without fads, and his sunny nature gives a touch of humour to his conversation, which is very pleasing. Happy the minister that has such elders ! We at least think ourselves fortunate, and pray God we may be long spared to do His work together, in His Church and among His people.

THE BEADLES.

The beadles of a parish are usually men of some character, if not men of mark, and in their sphere have to be reckoned with both inside and outside of the church. They possess as definite and as privileged a place in the estimation of the people as do the ministers themselves, and, as a rule, they deserve it. Working much alone in empty churches and empty graves, their moods take the sombre yet thoughtful tone of these places, while familiarity with them imparts also a freedom in regard to sacred things, which occasionally broadens out into humorous traits of a grim, taciturn kind not easily definable. In every case they are men apart. Their caste is unique, and the beadle's place is sometimes more held in awe than that of the elder or the parson. The Channelkirk beadles have, in days gone by, well sustained the varied reputation of their guild.

It is in the year 1654 that we first catch a glimpse of David Kool digging away at the graves in Channelkirk churchyard, and receiving a small sum from the collections in remuneration. Between his name and that of William Brown, who appears in 1754, exactly one hundred years afterwards, the beadle is but a shadow, and a nameless one. "The beadle" is mentioned several times during that long period, but his name is not given. William Brown did not hold the office many years after 1754, as in 1757 Robert Fairgrieve takes the bell-ringing in hand. David Henderson succeeded him in 1767, ten years later. After David came James Douglas in 1772. James Henderson came next in 1793, and he reigned thirty-eight years. He was the "King of the beadles." He is yet remembered

as a man of fine build, not tall, but broad and stout, as a "seaman bold," with a nose hooked like the eagle's beak. He was a great snuffer. Coming under the notice of Lord Lauderdale, his lordship put him into livery, and thus, "not arrayed like one of these," James strutted about the dale till an advanced old age, proud of the "Yirl's" uniform and patronage. Many a shilling fell to him in this way in order that he might indulge his favourite "sneeshin'." The old chestnut is related of him that when asked how he was "gettin' on," he replied, "Hoot, no ava ; I haena buried a livin' sowl this sax weeks."

This connection between our beadle and the Earl of Lauderdale recalls the relationship between that illustrious family and the beadle of Lunan. The able and genial historian of Arbroath thus narrates the story :—"A remarkable story, a romance of the peerage, is connected with two of the successive beadles of Lunan, father and son. The office of beadle in the parish was for a long time virtually hereditary in a family of the name of Gavin. It was held in 1720 by James Gavin, who showed hospitality to the skipper of a Dutch vessel which was in that year wrecked in Lunan Bay. The skipper married the beadle's daughter, and returned with his wife to Holland. Afterwards, the beadle's son, Alexander, succeeded to his father's office, and his son, David Gavin, became a partner in a commercial house in Holland, where he married his cousin, the skipper's daughter. She died soon afterwards, and David Gavin, having amassed a fortune, returned to Scotland, where he bought the estate of Langton in Berwickshire, and married, in 1770, Lady Betty, daughter of the Earl of Lauderdale. By this marriage he had three daughters, one of whom became Marchioness of Breadalbane, mother of the late

Marquis and of the Duchess of Buckingham. Alexander Gavin, the kirk beadle of Lunan, was thus the father-in-law of an earl's daughter, the grandfather of a marchioness, and the great-grandfather of a marchioness and a duchess.*

John Gibson succeeded James in 1831, and after five years' service he gave place to Laughlan M'Bean, who became beadle in 1836. "Lauchie" was twenty years in charge, and many stories are told of him, one or two of which seem to suggest that he was absent-minded to a degree. David Tait came in his place in 1856. He is spoken of as having the most retentive memory for local affairs of all the people in the parish. We can easily believe it: his sons, Robert and James, our present roadmen, having received their father's mantle in that respect. David Tait resigned in 1862, and John Lindsay took his place. He was uncle to the present beadle, Robert Lindsay, who began his duties in the year 1874-5, and still discharges them regularly and well. Robert is a man of strong character and resolution, and has the courage of his convictions. He is perhaps more feared than loved, but he has sterling honest qualities which compel respect. The writer has known few men more conscientious in the fulfilment of duty. First impressions do him injustice. He is credited with a nature somewhat unsympathetic, and with speaking his mind vigorously. He is nevertheless genial and kind, and has many humorous stories of bygone days. Genuinely Scotch, he possesses a scornful resentment of anything like fine palaver in the pulpit, and has scant respect for "grand English." He is a splendid workman, and never spares himself in what he does, and when it is done it can be trusted. It is impossible to give any man higher praise.

* *Aberbrothock Illustrated*, p. 55.

In most country parishes the beadle also acts as sexton and gravedigger, and is indispensable at funerals. Mortuary notices are frequent throughout our old Parish Records, and cullings from these may have a certain interest to many. The *mortcloth*, for example, discontinued now for many years past, used to be a familiar object on all occasions of burial. In 1683 the fee for its hire was £1, 6s. 8d. Scots (2s. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. sterling), and in 1684, £1, 1s. (1s. 9d.); 13s. 4d. for a child. A new one in 1705 cost £25, 9s., with £24, 12s. for fringes (which "fringes" is said to be a false entry, however), or a total of £4, 3s. 1d. sterling. In the same year a "mortcloth of sackcloth" cost for making, 1s. Scots (1d. sterling). In 1706, a "child's mortcloth," that is, a pall to be used over a child's coffin, cost £13, 5s. Scots (£1, 2s. 1d. sterling), and the making of it, 7s. (7d.) A litter cost £1, 6s. (2s. 2d). In 1748, a new mortcloth cost the Kirk-session £62, 8s. (£5, 4s.), replacing one made in 1732 at a cost of £15, 12s. For its use in 1752 and onwards the charge was £2, 2s. Scots (3s. 4d. sterling), 16s. Scots for the smaller one, and 6s. for a child's. These fees seem to have held till 1775, when they were raised to 5s. sterling, and 2s. 9d., the latter charge including the litter. In 1804, "the Session this day (23rd March) took under their consideration what the prices of the different mortcloths should be when they were given out, and they agree that the best mortcloth shall be six shillings within the parish and seven when it goes out of the parish, besides a shilling over and above to help to keep the churchyard dyke in repair. The second mortcloth to be both within and without the parish three shillings and twopence, and a sixpence over and above for to help to keep the churchyard dyke in repair. The small mortcloth to be sixteen pence

both within and without the parish. The beadle is to have one shilling off the best mortcloth money, eightpence off the second, and tenpence off the small mortcloth, for taking care of them. He is also to have one shilling and sixpence for digging big graves, and ninepence for digging small graves."

"At same time the Session examined the accounts respecting the buying of the new mortcloth, etc., and finds as follows :—

1. To velvet, etc., for the new mortcloth, with expense of buying, amounts to	£3 7 5
2. To the tailor for making the new mortcloth and mending two old ones, with silk and thread,	0 18 6
	<hr/>
Added, is	£4 5 11*

After 1834, the fee varied. We note 5s., 3s. 9d., 2s., 3s., and in 1848-49, 1s. The people appear to have latterly almost wholly discarded the use of the mortcloth. The preference of the present day is for simplicity in burials. Funerals are devoid of the garniture of woe which formerly obtained on such occasions, and while the coffin is carried from the hearse to the grave without any drapings, the mourners follow it without that display of crape and white "weepers" (bands of cambric sewn round the coat sleeve at the wrist), which was so common to a former generation. Those attending nearly all come on foot where distances are not great, but it was customary of yore for a large proportion of the mourners to ride on horseback, and a troop of boys were wont to accompany them with the expectation of receiving a penny or twopence for "holding the horses" at the entrance to the churchyard until the owners should return from the interment. In consequence, a funeral then

* Kirk Records.

sometimes meant a holiday to the school. In 1733, a coffin cost £3 Scots (5s. sterling); in 1775, 5s. sterling; in 1776, 6s.; in 1783, 7s.; in 1796, 9s.; in 1804, 12s.; but these were cases where the poor were buried at public expense.

Proclamation of marriage in church cost, in 1705, 14s. Scots (1s. 2d. sterling); and this seems to have been the fee till 1843. From November 9 of that year until November 27, 1885, we have no record of these fees. On that date the proclamation fee is set down at 2s. 6d. This is the charge at present.

For "ringing the bell" a year the beadle received in 1705 the sum of £2, 8s. Scots (4s. sterling). In 1721 there is this entry, "To the Schoolmaster and Bellman, and other poor people, £8, 4s. This fee continued till 1795, when it was raised to 12s. sterling; in 1807, to 15s. 4d.; in 1808, to £1; and from 1811 till 1836 it was £3, 3s. From 1833 till 1835 it was £4, 4s. In 1837 the beadle's salary is stated at £2, 2s. yearly; in 1847 it is again £3, 3s. In 1855 it was £2. This was supplemented, however, by the heritors, who made the beadle's salary, in 1873, £6. No money from church funds appears to have been given to the beadle after 17th May 1874, when £1 was paid to John Lindsay. The heritors bear the whole expense from that to this date, and the sum paid at present is the same as in 1873.

THE CHURCH.

The original Church of Childeschirche, if we may assume it to have come into existence between the seventh and ninth centuries, would be a very humble structure erected out of the rough materials which the district afforded. Rough stones chipped with a hammer, turf and fail, would

compose the walls, with a roof made of the trees growing plentifully on the spot, protected by thatch made of grasses. In the thirteenth century, as we know from Bellesheim, churches were enjoined to be built of stone—the nave by the parishioners, the chancel by the rector, and the same to be duly consecrated and furnished with proper ornaments, books, and sacred vessels. In 1627, Channelkirk Church is mentioned as being in the usual form of a cross. It was in size incapable of accommodating the 400 communicants of the parish, and the choir was without a roof. In 1653, ten thousand divots were used in repairing it. It was first roofed with slates in 1724. The slates were brought from Dundee, and the trouble and expense must have been considerable. But on a church with such a lofty exposure thatch would be even more so.

The present church was built in 1817. The old structure was much smaller, had very low galleries, and a common earthen floor. The foundations of it, it is said, are yet to be seen below the present church flooring. When it was building, it is reported that many bones and skulls were exhumed from the centre of the old structure and carelessly cast out on to the field, where they rolled downhill. They must have been buried before 1560, for no burials have been made within churches since Protestant reforms were inaugurated. The entrance seems to have been from the west instead of from the east as at present. In 1775 the then minister characterised it as more like a common jail than a place of worship. There was little light, the snow and rain came through the roof, the walls were dark and dismal, and it was colder that the people could endure. The heritors have a bad record in connection with Channelkirk Church. If the minister of 1816 had not refused to preach any more

in the structure they called a church, the old building would perhaps have been allowed to do duty to this day ; that is to say, all that the owls, and rats and mice, and dry rot had left of it. The minister's determined, if unwarrantable, act brought matters to a crisis, and the present fairly handsome building was the result. "Out of evil still educing good."

At that time there was an eager desire on the part of many parishioners to remove it to the neighbourhood of Oxtou, a scheme which was happily frustrated. Long may it stand in its old historical place, overlooking the beautiful dale of Leader, to which it first became the visible symbol of the Eternal and Unseen.

The style of architecture of the church is perpendicular Gothic. The doors are finished with Tudor arches, the windows with divided mullions and transomes of stone. The belfry on the west gable, with its acanthus ornamentation, and the unpretentious cross on the east, are both modest in taste and character, and suitably befitting a rural place of worship. The chief eyesore is the architectural tumour on the north side of the building which the inside stair leading to the gallery has swollen outwards for its own relief. Galleries seem fatal additions to churches, both in principle and detail, and never fail to mar the outside and inside of the building which is afflicted with them. A corresponding protuberance on the south side might have given to the eye an illusive show of transepts, but, as it is, the church has to content itself with a warty dignity, a deformity, however, which has not been shown in the photo-engraving given as frontispiece. After all, its grandest ornaments are doubtless the hills and glens which lie around it, and the sincere company of honest people who fill it Sunday after Sunday.

It has been several times rewooded for dry rot; damp and lack of ventilation being the principal causes. During the late minister's time, it was painted inside and varnished, at some expense. Since coming here, we have seen it all black with soot, owing to the heating apparatus breaking out, and thereupon repainted and cleaned. Floors have been laid for the first time with matting, the doors covered with crimson baize, and the pulpit refitted with silk trimmings. There would be much gratification on the part of all concerned if our absentee landlords or our absentee tenants (for their past sins!) were to put in memorial windows, or gift an organ to the church. It lacks these to give a sense of completion to an otherwise graceful and commodious place of worship. At the same time, the writer feels the claim that simplicity of externals has in a Zion so thoroughly rural. A distinguished visitor once said when the subject was mooted, "Well! one longs now and then to have the old style of worship in all its sincerity and plainness, and if one cannot shake one's self free here of the masterfulness of organs and choirs, where are we to do it?" We acknowledge the force of Ruskin's statement: "The Church has no need of any visible splendours: her power is independent of them, her purity is in some degree opposed to them. The simplicity of a pastoral sanctuary is lovelier than the majesty of an urban temple." *

Looking round on the simple mounds in the churchyard, the calm solemnity of the hills, the quiet truth of field and corrie and spreading wood, one is forced to admit that in sacred things one may have far too many artificialities, and though the present minister would rejoice to hear a fully equipped orchestra lead the praise of God

* *Seven Lamps*, chap i.

among surroundings not so near the rebukes of larks and mavis, nor so foreign and far away from the stern, rough-throated praises of our peasantry, he has to say that he has heard the old Scotch psalms lifted up by an open-air assembly in Kelphope Glen, and on the breezy braes of Clints and Collielaw, in such a way that put every "help to devotion," either of wind or windows, completely out of comparison. It is well, indeed, to aim at realising ideals and "keeping up to the time," but a sense of the fitness of things is also becoming. The passion of worship should never lack the enthusiasm of the past, however it may soar on the aspirations of the present, and when the soul of old times is cut out of the praises of ordinary Sundays, and the spirits of our fathers are no longer heard in the Communion psalms, then national worship seems to have lost part of its grand continuity and strength, and a bar is dropped from the great fugue of the centuries. No native worshipper has ever mentioned in our hearing that an organ would "improve" the "services": some of our townified visitors have done so: but we have heard several times, from parishioners, denunciations, "not loud but deep," upon any attempt which should change "the old order." The minister believes strongly that the desire and initiative should come from the congregation in all that concerns changes in forms of worship, and consequently waits for the moving of the waters. If, then, it should arrive in the full tide of orchestral grandeur, the deeper will be his satisfaction.

No part of the old church seems to have been preserved in the structure of the present one, except the sundial, and, perhaps, the cross. These are noticed under "Antiquities," chapter xxiii.

The church is in length of outside wall, 50 ft., inside wall, 44 ft., in breadth of gable wall, 34 ft. 8 in. outside and inside, 28 ft. 9 in. It is orientated, though its position relative to the north is between the magnetic north and true geographical.

Internally, the church is commodious and comfortable, and is of the usual presbyterian oblong construction. There is no difficulty in being easily heard in all parts of it, even when articulation and delivery are defective and feeble. The roof is ceiled like an ordinary dwelling-house, and is pierced by two circular ventilators. Perhaps the inside view of the church gives less satisfaction to the eye than does the outside. The charm of perspective, and the dignity which is given by elevation, are both destroyed by the surrounding galleries. This is still more emphasized by the arrangement which has placed the pulpit on the side wall. But we do not need to remind ourselves that this is due not to a crude artistic taste on the part of those who build churches, but purely to considerations of expense. It saves land and material, and workmen's wages. To perch the half of the congregation above the other half, like poultry on spars in a henhouse, utilises space of elevation, makes it possible to contract the walls, which saves quarrying and hewing, and renders the roof narrower to cover over, and so curtails the cost of wood and plastering. Summer and other visitors, however, always express surprise at finding all so neat and comfortable.

The ugly erection immediately above the pulpit, which is called a "sounding board," is also a painful reminder that a right intention may sometimes have the worst form of expression.

The church is accommodated with a Haden stove for heating purposes, but it cannot be said to warm the church,

as the portion nearest the hot-air outlet becomes too hot while the remoter seats remain in a Greenland temperature. The stove was generously put in by the heritors in April 1869. We may add that the church is insured for £500.

The kirk bell, which has a very pleasant tone on F#, bears the inscription: "For Channonkirk, 1702." There is an old saying quoted by Dr Raine,* and which the late Dr Hardy, of Old Cambus, informed the writer he had heard when a boy, which runs as follows:—

" Chinglekirk bell
Which rings now
And evermair shall."

The rope which works it hangs down outside the western gable, in the old-fashioned way, and when high winds rage out of the west it has a trick of slipping its holdfast and walloping round the corners of the church, to the destruction of window-glass. It would naturally be supposed that after such expense once incurred, the rope would be let down inside the church, where it would be secure from playing pranks, and insure the beadle, also, some comfort in a wintry morning in ringing the bell. We do things differently in the country; the rope is mended, fastened anew, put up in the old place to wait till the next storm of wind visits it, and then there begins the old wrestling with the holdfast, the old breakloose, and the usual result. The beadle, on the following Sunday, finds that his rope has flung itself in disgust up over the crow-steps of the gable in such a way as to need ladders and much manipulation to coax it to return to its proper duties.

There is only one service in church, summer and winter,

* Surtees Society, 1838.

at noon on Sundays. For several years services were also held in the village schoolroom on Sunday evenings, but the novelty grew common, and the attendances thinned away to a handful. Summer services are yet held in the open air in the outlying parts of the parish, but these, also, are meagrely attended. From all we have been able to note of the character of the people, we should infer that their religious instincts are not of the enthusiastic kind. Religion is quite a Sunday affair, and does not seriously interfere with the week day at all. There is a dumb sense of duty which seems to send them forth on Sunday morning, and which seems to draw its strength largely from hereditary sources and the sheer force of custom. The church stands apart from their feelings in most respects. Especially is this so among the farming population. No amount of entreaty, or persuasion, will move a man or woman of them to do anything for the church or the Sunday School. But for the grateful assistance which comes steadily from the village, in the matter of elders and Sunday School teachers, the entire religious ministrations of the parish would fall to be done alone by the minister. Nothing has grieved the minister more than this dead, dour, inert spirit of the agricultural population. Apart from the Christianity of the matter, there is a lack of manly virility, a want of animation and interest in the ordinary things of life, that must sadden any one responsible for their moral and spiritual well-being. Some say the cause is found in their holding to "disestablishment" notions, and of their being encouraged in these contrary ways by those in the parish who exercise an authority over them. We do not think so. There would be evidence of stir and motion somewhere if such were the case. But the apathy is too deep. The minister would easily feel such a spirit in

their manner, for the country has no conventional ways with it to cloak its resentments. On the contrary, the minister is welcomed in every home with a kindliness and warmth which bespeak true hearts and no hypocrisy. It appears to arise from an inability to take any action upon conviction. We find that people coming into the parish experience the same surprise as ourselves in this respect. Others say the reason is that all the farmers, being mostly dissenters, their servants, who are nearly to a man churchmen, hesitate to seem prominent, in any way, in church or school, lest worse things befall them. If so, we apologise for all the blame which we have laid at their door. There is one way, at least, in which this is true. Some of the men never get to church. If asked why, the answer is, "The master has aye something to dae for us at kirk-time." Shepherds and orramen complain most about this. Perhaps it were nearer the truth to say that dull times have to do with such a state of matters. The farmer, finding that he cannot keep sufficient men to do all the work on the farm, must pinch in some way to get it out of the others on Sundays. But there is no denying that a great change has come over the religious character of our peasantry. Here and there one may meet with evidences of the old piety and earnestness, but it is rare. Only once in this parish, we believe, we encountered it. When we made our visitation to the house, the "bake-board" was on the table, and the gudewife was up to the elbows among flour dough. The gudeman was resting, and his dogs were at full length under the table where baking operations were proceeding. By-and-by, during the conversation, the table was cleared up, and, just as if it were a matter of course, the big Bible was laid reverently on it by the wife, with a "Noo, sir," as much as to say, "Lead the

worship," and family worship proceeded. It was a generous experience, but we considered that it was necessary to go back a hundred years, at least, for the tap-root of it. So far as we can ascertain, family worship is very rare in the parish. The kirk is killed at the cradle. We confess to the belief that all backsliding in church and public life is directly due to the decay of religion at the fireside. The Church is partly to blame for this. The peasant has been encouraged to believe that if he send his child to a Sunday School, his duty in its religious training is at an end. Ministers loudly proclaim the need of, and torture their wits to create, sufficient "bridges" between the Sunday School, the Bible Class, and the young Communicants' Class. We think the Creator has made some, and that the "bridges" should always be found in the home; but by the direct creation, on the part of the pulpit, of a false view of parental responsibility, fathers and mothers have let the "bridges" go with the stream, and the parent's part is not found anywhere in our ecclesiastical "plans" for saving the souls of the young. Then, when a parish obtains a character for blasphemy, drunkenness, or fornication, and church attendance is low, the blame is laid upon the minister! The root of the evil will be found growing up at the fireside, manured by the buried corpse of family worship. No father now desires the sacred associations of the Church for his family when there are births, marriages, or burials in it. The Church has no existence in the honours and solemnities of our peasant life. It must be said, with some reflections, that where the newly converted savage in the wilds of Africa has the services of the missionary, he stands exactly on the same level of ecclesiastical advantage as we do here on the Lammermuirs of Scotland. No member's child has been baptised in

Channelkirk Church; no one has been married in it; no dead person has passed forth from its hallowed precincts to the tomb, within the memory of man. Here is a gap needing a bridge! How different in other spheres. The school is carried through life in the memories of the boy; the pride of his university is carried over land and sea in the bosom of the student; the House of Parliament never fades out of the family traditions of those who have sat there; but the Church alone is cut off from the sacrednesses of our lives, and is only associated with "weary" days and "disagreeable" services. Then, in view of all this, our venerable Assemblies wring their hands over the lapsed masses! More glory to them, and much success to them with their committees on "Religious Conditions of the People," "Church Extension," and "Heavenly Unions." That the "religious condition of the people" under such circumstances should be other than pitiable, that "Church extension" should be laggard, or "heavenly unions" impossible, we are not in the least surprised. Church life in the heart of it everywhere rots. No one attaches much value to its statements of principle; no one seems to care a straw for its discipline. In faith and form there is deplorable deficiency. The machinery of motives is all pivoted upon finance and statistics. Get money! Get up the numbers on the Kirk Roll! Furious coercions are directed to these purposes, and the "successful" minister is he who shows them largest. Meanwhile, there is no form of religion in the home; there is no connection between the sacrednesses of the family and the Church; there is little or no faith in the "Standards"; scorn rather; and the minister's office is regarded more and more as a question of "bags," "ladles," or door "plates."

But lest any one should imagine that Channelkirk is a parish given over to iniquity, let us hasten to say that in all outward semblance the people appear respectable, temperate, industrious, and honest. Fornication seems to be the prevalent vice, but it is bad enough. They are pleasant people to deal with, apart from the standard of piety. They are very healthy people. They send their children to the schools, week-day and Sunday; the Communion is fairly well attended; and when weather is favourable, their attendance at church, allowing for the natural disadvantages, is all that could be desired. But, withal, the spiritual life is low, in most cases extinct, and it is this phase of parish life that the minister must regard as chief among all else; for when this is dead, the rest is dying.

The following is a list of members on the Communion Roll for the years between 1892 and 1900.

Number of Members on the Roll, 31st Dec.				
				1892—142.
"	"	"	"	1893—155.
"	"	"	"	1894—171.
"	"	"	"	1895—186.
"	"	"	"	1896—198.
"	"	"	"	1897—197.
"	"	"	"	1898—206.
"	"	"	"	1899—217.

The average attendance at Communion (which is held twice a year) during the last eight years was 90, the lowest being 77, the highest 111. The last figure was reached in the November Communion of 1899, being the nearest approach to the number 112, which was attained fourteen years before.

Connected with the church there is a Sunday School, which is held in the village schoolroom. It was first opened as the Parish Church Sunday School on 17th November 1895.

There were 38 scholars, and William Bell, elder, now gone to his rest, was the only teacher besides the minister. Since then the average number on the roll is 66. There are at present three male and three female teachers.

A Bible Class was opened for the first time in the winter 1892-93. An average of 20 has attended since then. It meets at 11 A.M. on Sundays in the church. A Zenana work-party flourished for two seasons, but gradually lost interest for the women of the congregation. The great distances which have to be faced through snow and rain prove fatal to all meetings of this kind. This also hinders the attendance of the women of the parish at church; it prevents, likewise, a second service on Sundays; and, there being no lamps, all evening meetings are impossible.

Church Patrons. — The right to appoint a person to officiate in spiritual things in a place set apart for that purpose is one that has always been exercised, and often fiercely contended for. To-day the people possess this power. It was not always in the hands of the people. This arrangement is modern and purely protestant, and was, perhaps, granted more to allay unseemly procedure than to justify an inherent principle. Of old it was deemed the sacred prerogative of Heaven. "No man taketh this honour unto himself but he that is called of God." The Master "called unto Him whom he would." This prerogative He committed to we know whom; it was not to the crowd either in or out of church. But the argument of force and finance have long overridden the jurisdiction of the Highest, and it is even now accepted as an axiom that money and majorities are the supreme founts of power in church or palace. This system may be convenient for a time, but it will end. It never has had sanction from the teaching of the Master, and

when the Church condescends to put aside the authority of her Reformers, her Fathers, her Pauls and Johns, to follow humbly that of Christ alone, the people and the patrons will also lay down abashed an usurpation which their experience has fully declared to be an unholy one.

The patronage of Channelkirk Church is first seen in the hands of Hugh de Morville of Lauderdale. But when he took upon himself the monk's robes he also resigned to the Abbot of Dryburgh the advowson of the church, which he gifted to him and his brethren, and there it remained till the Reformation. The Bishop of St Andrews in 1242, "in consideration of the charity of the canons, and the debts they had incurred in building their monastery, and other expenses, gave them permission to enjoy the revenues of the churches under their patronage, within his diocese, *one of their number, approved by him, performing the office of a vicar in each parish.*"* The canons, therefore, would serve the cure of Channelkirk under the approval of the Bishop of St Andrews up till the year 1560. The advowson then passed into the hands of the King, who conferred it, along with others, upon John, Earl of Mar, Lord Erskine and Garioch. The Act of 1606, c. 91, sets forth that the King "wills the foresaidis personages and vicarages sall be provydit with qualefeit godlie and learnit persones apt and hable to instruct the parochineris thairof in the knowin veritie," and that to Lord Mar is to be given, "The advocatioun, donatioun and full richt and titill of all and sindrie the forsaidis kirkis, parochinnes, alsweill personages as vicarages of the samen."† There was no qualified minister in Channelkirk till 1611. The Act of 1592, c. 116, provided that Presbyteries were bound and astricted

* *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, p. 311.

† Acts of the Scottish Parliament.

to receive and admit whatsoever qualified minister was presented by His Majesty or laic patrons. King James VI. and I. presented Francis Collace in 1615, and King Charles I. presented Henry Cockburn in 1625. Lord Cardross presents Walter Keith in 1663. In March 1682, there is a sasine in favour of James Peter and others of the advocation and donation of the Parish and Parish Kirk of Ginglekirk.* As William Arrot came in the following year, 1683, he must have been presented by "Peter and others." But the Act of 1690, c. 23, put the patronage of churches into the power of the heritors and elders, who elected the minister that followed Mr Arrot. In 1711, the Act which was then passed (10 Anne, c. 12) wrenched this privilege from the heritors and elders, and restored it once more to the laic patrons. Consequently, James Peter, of Chapel, exercised the right to present Rev. David Scott in 1752. As showing how the right of patronage was sometimes bargained about, we have on 26th May 1763 a sasine granted in favour of James Pringle, Esq. of Bowland, who receives "All and Hail the advocation, donation, and right of patronage of the Parish Kirk of Channelkirk, alias Ginglekirk, lying within the said Bailiary of Lauderdale: proceeding upon a heritable bond granted by George Peter,† elder of Chappell, and Captain James Peter, younger of Chappell, with consent therein specified."‡

From James Pringle the right of patronage went to Hugh, Earl of Marchmont, who presented Rev. Thomas Murray in 1792. It continued in the hands of the Marchmonts till the

* Sasines.

† Mr George Peter seems to have had some pious repute, as we find him chosen by the Burgh of Lauder to represent them in the General Assemblies of 1747 and 1750.—*Lauder Burgh Records*.
‡ Sasines.

patronage was vested in the congregation by the statute law of 1874.

It may be permissible to mention here that the writer, with consent of the heritors, erected in 1897 a mural brass, having engraved on it an account of the name of the church, the chief facts of its history, and the names of its ministers as far as known. It is placed on the south wall.

THE CHURCHYARD.

"Oh come, come wi' me
To the auld kirkyaird,
Ye weel ken the path
Through the soft green swaird ;
Friends slumber there
Ye were wont to regard,
And their bodies lie low in the auld kirkyaird.

Weep not for them,
They weep no more ;
Sorrow not for them,
For their sorrows are o'er ;
Sweet is their sleep,
Though cold and hard,
Their pillows lie low in the auld kirkyaird."

Channelkirk Churchyard is in all likelihood co-eval with the church which was originally raised to the honour and memory of St Cuthbert. And although we have no early historical reference to this, there are not lacking some indications that it must have been a place of very early sepulture. As the visitor to the sacred place passes round the church to the west gable, a few rude stones present themselves lying against the wall or "dyke," which divides the manse grounds from the cemetery. These have a history which is set forth in the newspaper cutting which follows:—
"Curious burial: On the fifth of this month (March 1897), while preparations were being made for an interment in

Channelkirk Churchyard, a curious instance of primitive burial was brought to light. Instead of a coffin, rude slabs of stone had been employed to surround the corpse. Two small pieces were found on the inner side of the larger stones, supporting each side of the head, and evidently intended to keep it in its normal position. No stone was found either above or below, with the exception of two or three small bits laid above the head. The earth immediately surrounding the remains was of quite a different kind from the natural soil. The grave was about six feet deep. A very peculiar feature was the slanting way in which the body had been laid. The head seemed to have rested at least twenty inches above the level of the feet. The lair was due east and west in the usual way, and this would seem to point to Christian sepulture, but this mode of burial, it appears, is usually considered to be prehistoric. The mere semblance of a skull was visible, and sensibly indicated a person of full-grown stature. It crumbled away on exposure to the air. The tomb was found two yards due south-west from that corner of the church. The stones exhumed are of a rude unprepared description, and bear the appearance of having been chosen simply because they lay readiest to hand. They have been laid aside for inspection by the curious. The churchyard, it is needless to say, is a very old one, and may have had Romans as well as Britons laid within its hallowed confines."

We may supplement this account by a few remarks. The grave, though "about six feet deep," would not be more than three originally, as the ground has been levelled up considerably during church renovations and rebuildings. Perhaps it could not have been more than two feet underground primarily. The head was to all appearance that

of a man. Mr Wight, farmer, Carfrae, when his attention was drawn to this case, was of opinion that a similar burial had taken place there at one time, as on repairing the road in front of his stables, a tomb-like hollow was exposed about two feet below the surface, but only half the length of a man of common size. It was, of course, customary in ancient burials to double the corpse's legs in such a way as to make the tomb much smaller than those of the present. The Channelkirk one may have been similar, but owing to the ground around it having been disturbed, it was impossible to trace the likeness with any certainty. There is no mention of the churchyard having been consecrated when Bishop de Bernham consecrated the church in 1241. The reason is obvious. The churches which were rebuilt on the sites of the old ones required renewed consecration, but the churchyard would be consecrated from the beginning once for all time.

There are few graves or gravestones in the churchyard which call for special remark. No one of known celebrity seems to have been buried in it. The memorial stones are for most part of plain workmanship, and commonplace in record. The entrance to it was at one time from the north-west quarter, and it is in this neighbourhood that tombstones of some degree of quaintness are to be found. There are none that seem older than about the middle of the seventeenth century. The graves, according to the fashion of country "kirkyards," are all raised in mounds above the usual level, a circumstance which at first sight gives a painful impression to the beholder, who may perhaps be accustomed to the smooth green sward of town cemeteries. The custom, of course, comes down from remote times, when no tombstone was erected to any one,

and the mound alone served to direct the steps of sorrowing friends to where the dead lay.

Perhaps the greatest interest attaches to the stone which commemorates the Somerville family. This stone is oblong and raised on four stone pedestals, one foot in height from the ground. It stands on the south side of the church. The grave, however, is not underneath the stone, but to the north of it a few feet, and the church wall must be built over it. The proper place for the stone would have been in the church wall if exact locality had been aimed at ; and also because, owing to space, it would have been an obstruction to people passing round the church, it was placed just as far from the wall as permit a footpath between them. The last of the descendants of the Somervilles of Airhouse resented this arrangement, but it was too late then to alter it, and so it remains. Being convenient for the purpose, it is turned into the "Kirkyaird Convention Stane," of which few churchyards are quite devoid. That is to say, it is the place where young and old seat themselves of a Sunday morning in oblong conclave, back to back, "before bell-time," and discuss the local topics of interest. The Wight tombstone, in the extreme south-west corner, is the only other table-stone in the churchyard. Both are of the same shape and finish, being chamfered on one side, but the Wight stone is laid with the chamfered side upmost, whereas the Somerville stone is the reverse of this. In the latter, the space available for inscription is, consequently, greater and continuous from top to bottom. Some smaller upright stones in the west portion of the churchyard deserve attention both from their age and the characteristic emblems and figures sculptured on them. A large one at the south-west

corner of the west gable is notable in this respect. Many new tombstones have been put up during this century, and the practice is becoming more general.

The remoteness of the churchyard, its high moorland surroundings, and its situation on the direct route to Edinburgh, made it a tempting lure for the "Resurrectionists" at the beginning of this century. No corpse was secure from their clutches, and several exciting chases took place. The most notable is, perhaps, the following:—

The public road ascending from Lauderdale to Soutra Hill is cut at various intervals by ravines, more or less wide, made by rivulets of water rushing down to Headshaw Water during spates, and at these points the road has small tunnels or conduits underneath to pass the water through in its headlong course down the slopes. The first of these which the traveller meets on his way from the south is called "The Bairnies' Conduit." Two children had been buried in Channelkirk Churchyard, and the medical corbies from Edinburgh prepared to descend upon the prey. All had gone successfully with them, the bodies were lifted, the trap or "deadcoach" had got away without notice from the burial-place, but when this ravine was reached, some hitch had occurred which placed it in jeopardy, and the bodies, which had been put in a sack, were quickly concealed under the road inside the conduit, to be lifted at a more convenient season. The body-snatchers were evidently scared for some reason or other. Mr Hogg, the farmer (buried January 1834), then of Channelkirk Farm—the old farm which stood opposite the manse, and which is now obliterated—had had occasion next day to be in the ravine in which the ghastly deposit was concealed, and caught sight of the sack obtruding from the conduit. He quickly discovered

what it all meant, and raised the alarm throughout the parish. The wrath and excitement of the people knew no bounds, and men with guns turned out to lay wait for the return of the marauders. The bodies were put back into the conduit, and a numerous watch set to catch the corbies. By-and-by, in the gloaming, a trap drawn by one horse passed down the road, and went on to Carfraemill Inn, nearly two miles further down the dale. All was eager expectancy on the part of the ambuscade, but whether the two men who were in the trap had seen, as they passed, signs at the ravine of danger, or had scented suspicion in the looks of the people at the inn, who, of course, were fully apprised of all that was going forward, it is uncertain. They had deemed it safer, however, to leave the parish behind them as quickly as possible, and rode furiously past the conduit once more on their way to Edinburgh. Some aver that but for the eagerness of those of the ambuscade who showed themselves too soon, and whose guns went off through excitement, and betrayed the plan, the trap would have stopped at the conduit and lifted the bodies. The "resurrectionists" got clear away at all events, and the bodies of the poor children were once more committed to the "auld kirkyaird."

After this occurrence a strong iron coffin-cage was made, into which the newly-buried were placed, coffin and all, and the whole entombed until the body was beyond all uses of the "medicals," after which it was again raised, the coffin taken out of its iron encasement, and buried finally by itself, the "cage" being reserved for the next interment. This "cage" is still preserved, and lies on the north side of the church against the boundary wall, and may be seen by the curious at any time.

Many cases of body-snatching are spoken of, but the above seems to have impressed itself most upon the memories of the inhabitants. The "big woman at the Dass" was the last case of lifting. She was buried on a Saturday, and when the worshippers came to church next day, an open grave and scattered earth were all that remained to tell where she had been laid.

CHAPTER XI

THE STIPEND

Its "Bad Eminence" in Church Histories—In Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries—Worth and Wealth of the Monks—Dryburgh Abbey and the Titulars of Channelkirk—Stipend during the Years 1620-1900—Heritors and Agents—Cess Rolls.

IT is a matter of some regret that discussions on stipend have been so prominent in histories of the Church of Scotland. This "bad eminence" has been given to them by necessity. The humble penny, as much an "aid to devotion" as to honesty, instead of being regulated in ecclesiastical affairs by a sympathetic common sense, has been absurdly exalted to the glittering pedestals of moral law. It has been held, for example, that "Blessed be ye poor" means "Blessed is poverty," and that a poor church is essential to the maintenance of a pure church. It is thus that a senseless ethic has starved many a manse, just as in days bypast a criminal text burned many a poor old woman as a witch. The sorrow of it also continues in the fact that equally under national law and the desires of the dissenting people, the starvation still proceeds. Perhaps the reason is to be found in the acquired instincts of Scottish theology, which has construed the path of the minister to be more consonant to that of holiness when shadowed with misery and stained with blood. The "old clo'" of the Jews still cling to us in this as in much else.

It is between the years 1165-89 that we have the first historical reference to the maintenance of Channelkirk priest. Richard de Morville then concedes and confirms to the brethren of Dryburgh Abbey "the gifts of my father (Hugh de Morville) which, with himself, he gave to them, viz., the Church of Childenchirch *with all those pertinents with which Godfrey the priest held it* on the day in which my father assumed the canonical dress."*

Although the "pertinents" are not specified, it is not difficult to infer from other sources that the endowment of the church was in land, together with the tenths of the produce of certain land-districts. The Church of Northumbria and the Lothians was an offshoot from the Columban Church in both its characteristics of spiritual jurisdiction and monastic practices, and assuming, as we may safely do, that Channelkirk Church was Columban before it was Roman Catholic, the condition of life of its ministers before Godfrey's day is not wholly unknown to us. Bede has shown us that many Irishmen (Scots) came daily into Britain, preaching the word of faith with great devotion to those provinces of the Angles over which King Oswald reigned. "Churches were built in several places: the people joyfully flocked together to hear the word: *money and lands were given of the King's bounty to build monasteries.*"†

The example set by the King was generally followed by his vassals, and wherever a church existed, the owners of land endowed it, according to their zeal and faith, with portions of the land; and ordained that the tenths (following the Jewish system) should be forthcoming from certain parts farmed by their followers and henchmen.

* *Liber de Driburgh*, Charter No. 8.

† *Ecclesiastical History*, Book III., chap. iii.

When, therefore, we read that King Malcolm (1153-65) confirmed to Dryburgh Abbey the donations of Hugh and Robert (Richard) de Morville, viz.: "Channelkirk Church, with land adjacent to it, and everything justly pertaining to it," we are not to suppose that the De Morvilles had originally endowed Channelkirk Church, or built it, but that they had given it as it stood, and as they found it on their Lauderdale lands; while the priest of it was also to be preserved in the rights, privileges, and emoluments with which he had held it prior to the time of their coming into Lauderdale.

It is not possible, perhaps, at this distant date, to arrive at any clear statement as to the exact value of the priest's "living," though we may venture to do so approximately. We have no doubt that it would be a "sufficient" living, for in those days, and while the Church was Roman, the labourer in God's vineyard was never grugged and denied, as he is now, a comfortable and respectable maintenance.

To the modern starvationist, it must be galling to read that about 1220 quite an embarrassment of riches befell Channelkirk Church. The treasury must have been bursting with wealth: pious people were so mistaken! Land in abundance, arable as well as meadow, was gifted to it by a foolish person called Henry, son of Samson. He measures it from Pilmuir to Wennesheued (Fens-head?), and from Wennesheued to Bradestrotherburn, and from there to the Leader. He also flings all the pertinents after the land; so reckless was he! Channelkirk held an interest also in those days in the lands of Threeburnford. She looked upon ten acres to the immediate east of the church as her own patrimony, with the addition of much land "adjacent to" the church, an endowment of which there is no definition given,

but which we have reason to believe included all the lands of Kirklandhill estate, now Kirktonhill. To all these we must add eight acres in the Haugh opposite what is now Mountmill steading. But even in those degenerate times, the high officers of the Church heard their days before them, and caught a glimmering of that purifying policy which rejoices at present the latter-day starvationist. The priest in Channelkirk parish was not allowed to wallow in so much wealth. The monks of Dryburgh first milked the cow, and then permitted him to lick the outside of the milk-pail. This, as it is yet believed, taught him self-denial, self-sacrifice, and more and more to die daily unto sin and live unto righteousness. But we are far from lamenting his case. Even the outside of the pail was worth licking in those days, and, as we shall see, was flaked with a greater richness of cream than is to be found inside of it in modern times.

We arrive at some glimmering conception of the value of the stipend of Channelkirk priest in the thirteenth century in the following way :—

(1.) He received £10 annually for serving the cure at Channelkirk, and also supplying Lauder.*

According to Adam Smith, £1 in the twelfth century was equal to £3 in his time.† In proportional or exchangeable value, this sum has been by some writers calculated much higher. Therefore, the least stipend which the priest of Channelkirk could have was of £30 value. This looks at first sight a small enough amount to satisfy even our modern starvationists. But in 1264 one could buy for £10, 20 chalders of barley; and a chalder of oatmeal (14 bolls) cost exactly

* *Liber de Driburgh*, passim.

† *Wealth of Nations*, chap. i., p. 288. London, Third Edition, 1784.

£1.* This being the case, his stipend was worth far more to him in purchasing power than is the Channelkirk stipend at the present day, which is equal to 14 chalders "half barley, half oats." At that date he might have bought 10 chalders of oatmeal: an amount which should have kept the porridge-pot eloquent for some time. For it meant 140 bolls: surely a royal girnle-full! Yet it was the staple food.

But this was not all his "living." We must add to this amount (2.) his *Vicarage Teinds*. These were by no means the least part of the stipend. They were often superior to the *rectorial* or great teinds, and were drawn from hay, stock produce, lambs, calves, dairy and garden produce, and such like. And there was yet a more lucrative source of revenue. Professor Cosmo Innes says, "The large part of clerical emoluments came from offerings at Easter and other feasts, dues by marriage, baptisms, and, heaviest of all, funeral dues."†

The stipend of Channelkirk, therefore, in the middle of the thirteenth century, was derived from the following sources:—

1. Channelkirk and Lauder, £10.
2. Vicarage teinds, hay, dairy produce, garden do., stock do.
3. Feast-offerings, marriage fees, baptism do., death do.

The vicarage teinds and feast-offerings were in all likelihood by far the wealthier reservoirs. But if we reckon each of these only at the value of the stipend, which, independently of Lauder, he would have had as the vicar of Channelkirk, viz., 10 merks—for no vicar could have less—and rating the merk at 13s. 4d., this sum would mean £6, 13s. 4d., or the value of nearly 14 chalders of

* See Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. ii.

† *Leg. Antiq.*, Lect. iv., p. 161.

barley. Doubling this amount gives us 28 chalders, and adding this to the former value of 20 chalders, we seem justified in assuming that the total stipend in 1268 would rise to something like 48 chalders of barley. The present stipend, as we have stated, is of the value of 14 chalders, half oats, half barley. Of course such preposterous affluence had to be purged from the priestly office. To our starvationist friends this condition of matters must appear to have been full of potential carnalities. The clergy, then, were indeed the almoners of the poor; they were the only historians, lawyers, and doctors; they were the chief legislators; they were the best landlords; they introduced agriculture and the arts. As a matter of local interest, if we are not mistaken, they were the founders of the Border wool trade. But their influence was also national. When the independence of Scotland was in jeopardy, it was they who stood side by side with Wallace when our aristocracy left him to his fate. They hid him; they fed him; they prayed for him; they sent his foes to hell for him. They were zealous, earnest men; eager for their country's welfare; open-handed, wide-hearted, with a religious creed far closer in touch with human sympathies than anything of that kind produced in Scotland since. And we believe it is astonishing to our starvationists that all these ameliorating and civilising influences should not have been amply carried forward and sustained on something equivalent to the modern stipend of £200 a year.

But however the facts of history may now be balanced, and whether or not we may trace to the affluence of the priests that immorality and debauchery which, for fifty years or thereby before the Reformation, disgraced their conduct, we may be allowed to believe that Channelkirk

priest, at least, continued to wallow in the grossness of his 48-chalder values until there came the ever-hallowed year of 1560, and cleanness of teeth for the ministers. The nobles were, of course, the chief starvationists of that time, and it must be admitted that they carried out their sanctifying and purifying duties nobly and well. Our minister, indeed, was so purified in their furnace of refining that he etherealized away into space and became "a blessed ghost!" The gain was immense; for the minister of Lauder, besides officiating in his own church, also supplied Channelkirk and Bassendean; and thus, instead of three stipends, one fed the three parishes with spiritual pemmican. Even for him, a little tightening of the belt helped to meekness, and when entire holiness was desired, the neck was stretched!

About 1567, Mr Ninian Borthuik gets his stipend from Lauder and Channelkirk to the extent of £40, "with the thryd of his prebendrye extending to xj lib. 2s. 2d. 10b." For these two charges, that is, he was paid £51, 2s. 2½d. Scots money.

The same "Maister Niniane Borthuik, minister," appears to have also supplied "Bassenden" in the Merse, for which he received £66, 13s. 4d. Scots, "with the kirkland of Ersiltoun."* In 1576, the reader at Channelkirk received "£16, with the Kirkland, to be pait thair of the thrid of the vicarage, £5, 11s. 0d."† The reader's name is not given. Scott's *Fasti* gives his name as John Gibsoun. From £16 to £20, with or without Kirkland, was the usual stipend of a reader about this time.

From 1560 till 1611, fifty-one years, there was no minister in Channelkirk, and a brief sketch of the circumstances

* *Register of Ministers, Readers, etc.*

† *Buik of Assignations of the Ministeris and Readers Stipendis.*

and of the men who directly influenced the condition of its stipend then, and until this day, may be permitted to fill up that space of time.

Dryburgh Abbey, with other religious houses, was annexed to the Crown after the Reformation, and all the churches under it went with it. A liferent reservation was made, however, in favour of the commendator, David Erskine, who entered that office 1556. This reservation included the tithes, which kept Channelkirk emoluments in direct connection with the Abbey. As "modest and honest and shamefast" David was a prominent and influential political partisan of the reform party of his day, he found it more convenient to lease Channelkirk teinds, as did also the commendators immediately preceding him.

Accordingly, about 1535, Cuthbert Cranstoun and Sir Robert Formane pay in rental to Dryburgh Abbey for the Kirk of Channelkirk £66, 13s. 4d. Scots (100 merks), and they continue to do so till the year 1560. Cuthbert Cranstoun was then resident in Thirlestane Mains, and seems to have been a quiet, inoffensive man, although his family were often wild and lawless in their behaviour. He was "prolocutor for pannale in the case of slaughter of Stevin Bromfield, laird of Grenelawdene, 1564." His son, John Cranstoun, in 1560, committed crimes of treason and leze majesty, but was pardoned in 1578 (Acts of Parl., iii., 109). John's sons, Thomas and John, were also, with many others, subject to a process of treason raised in 1592 in Parliament, and their posterity was disinherited. But in 1604 His Majesty restores to "his heines lovit Maister Thomas Cranstoun of Morestoun," and John Cranstoun, his brother germane, their "lyffes, landis, gудis," etc., and rehabilitates their posterity in their said rights.

Alexander Cranstoun, mentioned below, is served heir to his father, Thomas Cranstoun of Morestoun, in Burncastle, in Lauder, September 4, 1607. The same year he also holds Ernescleuch and Egrop, and in 1609 gets Birkenysyde, as heir to Cuthbert Cranstoun.*

Sir Robert Formane was doubtless a relative of Archbishop Andrew Forman, Superior of Dryburgh, during the reigns of James IV. and James V. About 1512 he was Commendator of Dryburgh Abbey, resigned in 1506, and died in 1522.† The Forman family was of Hatton, Berwickshire, and Sir John Forman, brother of Andrew, married Helen Rutherford, one of the heiresses of Rutherford of Rutherford in Teviotdale.

It appears that Cuthbert Cranstoun and Sir Robert Forman divided Channelkirk teinds between them in the lease. In subsequent leases, at least, the Cranstoun share was always a half of the teinds, and probably no more was ever held by that house.

When the Reformation came, great changes took place in the payment of ministers, but as Channelkirk had no minister till 1611, it is a clear inference that nearly all its emoluments went into the secular purse.

In 1604, John, Earl of Mar, received from King James VI. a grant of Dryburgh Abbey, together with the Abbey of Cambuskenneth and the Priory of Inchmahome. The King afterwards erected Dryburgh into a temporal lordship and peerage, and on 10th June 1610 the Earl of Mar was created Lord Cardross. In 1615 Lord Mar obtains another charter, in which we find the stipend of Chingilkirk set down at 300 libras (£300 Scots), or £25 sterling. An augmentation must have been given a few years afterwards,

* Retours.

† Walcot's *History*.

as we learn from what follows. In 1620 the King "concedes to Alexander Cranston of Morrestoun" (noticed above) "and to his heirs masculine and assigns whomsoever the lands of Burncastle, with holdings, etc., half the great tenths (garbales), the tenths of wool and lambs, rectorial and vicarage, of the Church and Parish of Chingilkirk (possessed by the said Alexander) in the bailiary of Lauderdale and sheriffdom of Berwick, which lands the same Alexander, and which tenths (sometime part of the lordship of Cardross) John, Earl of Marr, with consent of Henry Erskine, his second son . . . resigned; and which tenths the King dissolved from the said lordship and united to the said lands inseparably—being held in blench firm: Returning for the lands two pounds of pepper; for the tenths, 40 shillings, as part of the blench firm due from the said lordship; and relieving the said Earl of half the minister's stipend at the Church of Chingilkirk, extending to 250 merks, and from other burdens," etc. . . .*

The full stipend in 1620 must, therefore, have been 500 merks. This was the minimum stipend which a minister might receive by the Act of Parliament of 1617, the maximum being 800 merks. Channelkirk stipend was thus, in curling phrase, "ower the hog," but no more. The "hog score" of the present time is £200; and, indeed, a considerable amount of laborious "soopin," in bazaars and other pursey places is necessary to effect this merciful result. Principal John Cunningham notes that in 1617, 500 merks was equal to 5 chalders of victual.† MacGeorge says: "At a period long after this (1595) the stipend of the first charge in Glasgow was 500 merks, equal, at that time, to only

* Great Seal.

† *History of Church of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 502. Second Edition.

£27, 15s. 6d."* The first charge of Glasgow and Channelkirk were thus, as far as stipend is concerned, on an equal footing at one time!

The Kers of Morristoun subsequently succeeded the Cranstouns in Channelkirk teinds.

Owing to the miserable condition into which the stipends of the ministers had fallen up till 1627, the King, on the 7th January of that year, issued a Commission to take the matter in hand, and have it settled once and for ever. Sub-Commissions were established all over the country to value the teinds and otherwise assist the High Commission, and between 1627 and 1633, when Parliament sanctioned these proceedings and made them law, good solid work was done, which was intended for peace. The fifth part of the rental of the land was declared to be the value of the teind, and so much of this was apportioned to the minister as the Commissioners of teinds thought sufficient.

The High Commission was composed of prelates, nobles, barons, and burgesses, and the Sub-Commissions of the leading men in their districts. The Sub-Commission to the Presbytery, for Lauder district, and which adjudicated in Lauder Tolbooth on Channelkirk teinds and stipend, comprised, for example, such names as Raulf Ker, who was Moderator, Robert Lauder of that Ilk, William Pringall of Cortelferrie, William Cranstoun in Morristoun, Robert Pringle, and Hugh Bell, with Gilbert Murray, officer, and Charles Singileir (Sinclair) Dempster. The Sub-Commissioners, who were bound to know the district best, were inclined to rate the stipend lower than the High Commission, who seemed to view the case not so much as what would actually "keep the minister," as what was due to his profession and social position. That

* *The Church of Scotland*, vol. iv., p. 55.

both were as scrimp as decency could permit proves that not the nobles alone were infected with the poverty-purity principle, but that the country lairds also were convinced of the salutary influence of poor stipends upon the morals of the Church.

In 1627 the various "rowmes" in the parish (with their names modernized), paid as under:—

	Stock.	Teinds.	
		Parsonage.	Vicarage.
1. Bowerhouses	300 merks	100 merks	£40
2. Collielaw	500 merks	100 merks	80 merks
3. Over Howden	600 merks	£100	100 merks
4. Airhouse	160 merks	£20	£20
5. Threeburnford	£160	£20	£20
6. Nether Hartside	600 merks	80 merks	100 merks
7. Clints	500 merks	£20	100 merks
8. Over Hartside	300 merks	20 merks	40 merks
9. Glengelt	1000 merks	£120	100 merks
10. Headshaw and Haugh	400 merks	100 merks	£40
11. Midlie	100 merks	20 merks	£20
12. Fairnielies	200 merks	£20	40 merks
13. Kelpope	300 merks	£20	£40
14. Friarsknowes	£80	£6	10 merks
15. Hazeldean	200 merks	20 merks	40 merks
16. Herniecleuch	£160	£10	20 merks
17. Hillhouse	400 merks	50 merks	50 merks
18. Carfrae Mains	500 merks	£100	£80
19. Carfrae Mill	300 merks	40 merks	20 merks
20. Nether Howden	600 merks	£100	£20
21. Wiselaw Mill	100 merks	10 merks	£4
22. Oxtou	900 merks	£100	£40
23. Heriotshall	£80	50 merks	10 merks
24. Kirktonhill	200 merks	80 merks	50 merks
25. Kirkland of Kirkhaugh	£40	...	...
Totals	{ 8160 merks plus £520	670 merks plus £636	760 merks plus £324

Taking the Scots merk equal to 1s. 1½d. sterling, and the Scots pound equal to 1s. 8d., the stock of the whole parish amounted to £492, 13s. 4d. sterling.

The parsonage teind equalled a total of £90, 4s. 5½d. sterling.

The vicarage teind amounted to £69, 4s. 5¼d. sterling.

The whole teind, parsonage and vicarage, of the parish, therefore, in 1627 amounted to £159, 8s. 10⅞d. sterling, according to the Rev. Henry Cockburn's statement. Of course, if he had pocketed the full teinds, as was his right, he would have been rolling in wealth, but his annual share was 500 merks, or £27, 15s. 6d., and this sum deducted from £159, 8s. 10d., leaves £131, 13s. 4d., which went annually into the purses of the Titulars. The last-mentioned sum was, of course, the unexhausted or free teind, from which subsequent augmentations were drawn or extorted.

The outcome of the valuations made by the High Commission about 1630-32 seem to have raised Channelkirk stipend somewhat, and also fixed a rule of conversion. It is set forth in these words: "At Halirud house the 25 March 1632 years. . . . Att which tyme, the valuation being perfectly closed and the kirk provided sufficiently, the saids Commissioners in presens of the sds parties compearand decerned the pryces of buying and selling of the parsonage teinds victuall within the said paroch (Ginglekirk) as follows, vizt., Price of ilk boll of bear, 5 lib. 6s. 8d. (£5, 6s. 8d.), pryce of ilk boll of oats, 3 lib. money." *

In 1691 an augmentation was obtained, and we ascertain from the copy of both old and new stipend of that date, preserved by Rev. David Scott in his Minute-Book, of date 1751, that the old stipend, previous to 1691, was £514, 11s. 6d.

* *Decreet of Locality*, p. 139.

Scots, or say £42, 17s. 6d. sterling. The minister had, as we have seen, £27, 15s. 6d. in 1627. About 1630-32 he seems to have received an augmentation equal to £15 sterling, or thereby, raising the total stipend to the above sum. An augmentation was again given in 1691, to the extent of £93, 19s. Scots, or nearly £7, 16s. 8d. sterling. This, added to the sum already stated, reached £608, 10s. 6d. Scots, or about £50, 14s. sterling. To this money payment it appears there was added 2 stones of cheese, 6 bolls of bear, and 10 bolls of oats.*

The Rev. David Scott began his ministry in Channelkirk in 1752, and he notes that his first year's stipend, independent of the above victual stipend, amounted only to £543, 1s. 10d. Scots, instead of £608, 10s. 6d. The defect is alleged to have been due to non-payment by the Titular, Ker of Morieston,† of 100 merks (£66, 13s. 4d.), of which emolument Mr Scott either seems to have been ignorant and never claimed, or that his predecessor and he conjointly had never claimed, until forty years had passed, and it was lost by dereliction. In his days began the long wars of heritors against ministers, and heritors against heritors, over the poor skinny gorb of Channelkirk stipend, the dust and din of which did not die away till almost our own time. Such despicable and unseemly efforts on the part of our Scottish nobility and landowners over the meagre pittance which was allotted to men who have never been otherwise than useful and helpful to their country, have necessarily planted a deep and heartfelt resentment against them in the bosom of the people, who naturally sympathise with the weaker side, and never fail to respect their ministers.

It would be more than a wearisome task to narrate

* *Decreet of Locality*, p. 234.

† *Ibid.*, p. 236.

the long scandalous story of lawsuits, decernings, recallings, and processes without number, which embittered the lives of three ministers of Channelkirk successively. Necessity was laid upon the incumbents to procure the means of existence, owing to the continued rise of the social standards of living. The middle of last century saw great changes in Scotland, changes which began much earlier and were chiefly due to the rise of the industrial spirit as compared with the theological spirit of the two preceding centuries. The Union of 1707 acted upon Scotland as the lifting of the sluice which levels the canal waters with those of the sea, and the disused, misused, and pent-up energies of the Scottish people rushed into new and ever-broadening channels of trading and manufacturing speculations. With England, with America, and the West Indies, Scotland for the first time could conduct something like business. Glasgow and all the towns of the West began to grow.*

With such immense advances the manners and customs of all Scottish life underwent a complete transformation. Land cultivation, housing, dressing, feeding, everything rose to higher levels. The morning of social happiness dawned upon the people. But while all this was taking place, and rents rose, and prices of markets grew higher, and land-owners saw their exchequers filling, and an eager class of husbandmen carving new farms for them out of moors and wastes, making two farms where there was but one, the minister's stipend remained unchanged, and he had to contend with a higher and dearer style of living with the old dole of money. He had no less nominally—his stipend as fixed was the same—but actually he was daily a poorer man, owing to his having to pay more for the necessaries

* See Buckle's *History of Civilisation*, vol. iii., p. 179.

and services of life. The rise of the national tide of prosperity rose above the rock he stood upon, and the logic of events clearly meant that unless the rock could also be heightened, he as minister must be swept into bankruptcy. David Scott saw this too plainly, but he bore it, and might have gone on to the end of his days in that way, if the effort to push him off his rock by the landowners had not fairly braced him to face the precincts of a law court in order to protect himself.

George Adinston came into Collielaw estate in 1757, hailing from Carcant in Heriot parish. He narrowly inspected his teinds, and discovered that a few shillings more were paid out of his land than seemed right. He took the minister, and the titular, and the patron of Channelkirk to law. He gained his case, and the few shillings were struck off the minister's dole. This cost him dear, for the minister in 1778 raised a process of augmentation, and Mr Adinston found his case upset, and a bitter fight in the Court of Session before him to prove even his heritable right to his teinds. In 1779 Mr Scott "obtained a considerable augmentation, though in consequence of the different disputes amongst the heritors, the Locality was not adjusted until the 21st January 1789," that is, ten years afterwards.

It is perhaps necessary to explain that "Locality" here is a technical term meaning the allocation to each property in the parish of that exact proportion of stipend which is due from it to the minister. As property changes hands and is increased or diminished in area, confusion often arises as to the exact sum due from each landowner, and this appears to have been the cause of the misunderstanding in Collielaw case. It was, however, only typical of many

other "cases" in the parish, all of which were disputed in the Court of Teinds. The confusion is well illustrated by the fact that the Teind Court changed its mind several times on Collielaw dispute, and Mr Adinston was never sure whether his case was finally settled or not! In 1779 he was rated at £27, 9s. 3d. Scots, plus 3 pecks, 3 lippies of bear, 3 pecks of oats, and £1, 1s. 5d. additional money. But a Rectified Locality, made up on 6th February 1788, made his share £27, 9s. 3d., plus 1 boll, 1 peck of bear, 3 firlots, 2 pecks, 1 lippie of oats, and £4, 18s. 8d. additional.

Never was there a better instance that "too many cooks spoil the broth." As already noted, when the King in 1627 appointed a High Commission to look into the whole question of teinds, a Sub-Commission was also created. This Sub-Commission acted independently of the High Commission, and valued the teinds of a parish according to its own judgment, and the High Commission in many cases refused to accept its valuations. In Collielaw case, the Sub-Commission valued the teinds at one amount, and the High Commission the year following valued them at another. Mr Adinston held by the Sub-Commission's valuation, and this was taken as a basis of settlement until the record of that of the High Commission was discovered. Then the Teind Court reversed its judgment, and decerned that the valuation of the Sub-Commission was null and void and wastepaper by the subsequent valuation of the High Commission, and although petition upon petition was brought before the Lords long after Collielaw had passed from Mr Adinston's hands (for the case was disputed from 1773 till 1820, more than fifty years), the final decree of the Teind Court, of dates 8th December 1819 and 8th March 1820, put the matter at rest on the valuation of the High Com-

mission of 2nd July 1631. This valuation was higher than that of the Sub-Commission. It was set down at 4 bolls of bear, 8 bolls of oats, and 12 lambs with wool, and at the last adjustment of the stipend in 1827 this amount is set down against Collielaw estate.

As remarked, the Collielaw dispute is typical of many others which transpired during the incumbencies of David Scott, Thomas Murray, and John Brown. The heritors fought with each other and with the ministers, and well may the ministers who have followed them in the office feel grateful to their brethren for their valiant contest with these starvationists, for had they not endured the miseries of law courts, and done battle for the bare necessities of life, the heritors to all appearance would have calmly seen the Church of Channelkirk rot into the soil, and its ministers along with it. Bowels of mercy in these grievous lawsuits are nowhere evident except in the law courts where one looks least to find them. Perhaps the Bench was more concerned to realise a common-sense estimate of what was due to the worldly position of a Christian gentleman, than to perpetuate a lean line of holy officials by the sanctified methods of diminished aliment.

The same reason that urged pious David Scott to entrench himself on his bit of rock, and, if possible, build a kind of Stylites pillar on it to keep his head somewhat above starvation level, induced his successor, Mr Murray, to adopt the same policy. Lord Lauderdale had brought a process of reduction of Locality in 1789, and was successful in getting some of his allocated portion of stipend shifted on to the shoulders of some one else—Mr Borthwick we learn—and as a consequence a new scheme of Locality of Stipend was made out in 1793. In this year Mr Murray entered

upon his ministry here, and thinking his feet too near the starvation water, he raised a new process of Augmentation and Locality, and on 20th May 1795 obtained his request to the extent of three chalders of victual, half meal, half bear, and £32, 6s. 8d. Scots.* But various heritors hauled him through the Teind Court again and again, and when 1808 came he was called to the highest Court of all, and left his Stylites pillar to be added to by his successor, Mr John Brown. All his days at Channelkirk manse must have been embittered with squabbles about his stipend. Burns laments the sad fate of him who "begs a brother of the earth to give him leave to toil;" but surely his lot is harder who, having begged long for leave to toil, is further refused a competent wage for the labour he performs.

In April 1811 the Rev. John Brown took up the common cause which Rev. Thomas Murray had let fall in death. These lawsuits were much complicated by (1) the two separate valuations of the Sub-Commission and High Commission of 1627-31, use and wont having settled upon the one in one set of properties, and upon the other in the other set, and thus overpayments and underpayments of stipend were alleged; and (2) by combinations or separations of properties since the time of such valuations. The latter set of circumstances, for example, produced confusion in the allocation of the teinds of Collielaw and Bowerhouse, Kirktonhill and Over Hartside, Glengelt and Mountmill, Ugston as two halves belong to separate owners, and Ugston as connected with Heriotshall. The teinds of Channelkirk parish are frankly confessed by those who had to deal with them in the law processes of this and last centuries as about as puzzling a question of teinds as could well be imagined.

* *Locality*, pp. 4 and 37.

It constituted a veritable sword dance, where laceration rewarded the performer's lack of skill and agility. The bowels of mercy on the Bench were often, happily, a place of refuge for the poor incumbent. Mr Brown, however, was a heaven-born warrior, and while watching heritor combat with heritor, was not slow to carry his cause boldly against their united forces. In 1811 he brought a new process, the fifth of such since 1773, of Augmentation and Locality. But a feature of the case presented itself which Mr Murray had to face, and died trying to remedy. There were no funds for a further increase of stipend! The bounty and blessing of the Stuart Kings, and of the Erskines, and the Cranstons, and the Commissioners, had fairly dried up! The pillar of safety could no further be raised! So, the first step in the new process of augmentation was to sist that process till the issue of a process of reduction could be effected, begun by Murray, and now to be carried on at Mr Brown's instance. This was accomplished on 17th January 1812. The reduction was favourable to the minister, and then, in 1814, he resumed proceedings in the augmentation. Mr Murray's augmentation began with the last half of the crop and year of God 1793, and now Mr Brown's drew back to the crop and year of God 1811. This Interlocutor of Augmentation was pronounced on 6th July 1814. Mr Brown's stipend was to be henceforth, "yearly, since syne and in time coming, fourteen chalders of victual, half meal, half barley, payable in money, according to the highest fiars prices of the county annually, with ten pounds sterling for furnishing the Communion elements." This judgment was petitioned against by heritors, and protests made, but it ultimately became the final judgment of the Court, and a final Locality was made out apportioning the amount

among the heritors, and it remains the stipend to this day.

We are now able to glance backwards and get a clearer view of the course of this Pactolus' stream of stipend, as it winds and widens in its golden affluence from the year 1567.

Circa 1567. NINIAN BORTHUIK serves Lauder and Channelkirk. Stipend = £51, 2s. 2½d = £4, 5s. 3d. stg. approx., plus his Bassendean stipend.

1615. FRANCIS COLLACE (1615-1625) (Channelkirk only). Stipend, £300 Scots = £25 sterling.

1620. FRANCIS COLLACE. Stipend = 500 merks = £27, 15s. 6d. stg.

1627. HENRY COCKBURN (1625-50). Stipend = 500 merks = £27, 15s. 6d. stg. Augmentation of £15 stg. or thereby, probably about 1632. Stipend = £42, 17s. 6d.

1632-1691. (HENRY COCKBURN: DAVID LIDDELL: WALTER KEITH: WM. ARROT). Stipend = £514, 11s. 6d. Scots = £42, 17s. 6d. stg.

1691. WILLIAM ARROT (received into Presbyterianism from Prelacy). Augmentation of £93, 19s. Scots = £7, 16s. stg. Victual was also added.

The stipend then = $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{£608, 10s. 6d. Scots} = \text{£50, 14s. stg. approx.,} \\ 2 \text{ stones of cheese,} \\ 6 \text{ bolls of bear,} \\ 10 \text{ bolls of oats.} \end{array} \right.$

The victual stipend was drawn from Nether Howden, Justicehall, Ogstoun, Mountmill, Kirktonhill, Hartside and Glengelt, "att the rate of 9 half fulls per boll, and all of infield corn." One stone of cheese came from Glengelt, and one from Headshaw.

Lammermoor bear, per boll, in 1691 = 8s.

„ oats, „ „ „ = 5s. 11d.*

Therefore, leaving out cheese, the total stipend was £613, 17s. 8d. Scots.

* Robert Ker's Report of the Agriculture of Berwickshire in 1813.

stipend was declared to be 14 chalders of victual, half meal, half barley, payable in money, according to the highest fiars prices of the county annually, with £10 sterling for furnishing the Communion elements. This was made into an interim Locality, and after petitions, protests, and new lawsuits on particular disputed teinds, the rectified Locality was finally made up on 20th February 1827. From 1776 "no final Locality had been in the parish." "Various interim schemes" had to do duty, and the minister dying in 1828, he may be said, like his two immediate predecessors, to have spent nearly all his years of ministry in Channelkirk bickering about his stipend.

If the stipend were calculated on the Merse fiars prices instead of the Lammermoor, as we have done, it would amount to a few pounds more, as the Merse prices were invariably higher than the Lammermoor. But there is reason to believe that the option of the Merse fiars prices was not made legal to Channelkirk minister till 6th July 1814.* On that date the Court of Session "decerned and ordained" the stipend to be paid "according to the highest fiars prices of the county." The Rev. John Brown understood this to include the Merse prices in its scope, but Lord Tweeddale, Lord Lauderdale, Mr Borthwick, and Mr Somerville, petitioned against his view, and urged that to take Merse prices, which at that time were higher than Lammermoor by seven and eight shillings, was unjust, and "*contrary to the practice of all the parishes in Lauderdale.*"† We are happy to say that the bowels of mercy on the Bench once more sustained the minister's reading of the law.

We now give a Table of Stipend of the year 1862, showing how the 14 chalders work out:—

* *Locality*, p. 28.

† *Ibid.*, p. 49.

CHANNELKIRK STIPEND.—CROP 1862.

	Bcar.		Value of Bcar.		Oats.		Value of Oats.		Vouage Total.		Money Payment.		Gross Total in Money.		Property Tax.		Net Share Payable.			
	Bol.	Fir.	Pks.	Lip.	£	s.	d.	Bol.	Fir.	Pks.	Lip.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1. Marquess of Tweeddale	18	2	2	24	18	13	8½	58	1	1	14	10	11	11	81	6	0	5	1	0
2. Sir Hugh Home Camp- bell, Marchmont												0	12	0	6	2	2½	6	14	2½
3. Mr Northwick of Craik- ston	16	3	1	14	16	17	0	33	2	2	23	5	10	11½	54	11	5½	1	18	7½
4. Mrs Niddrie of Over Howden	8	0	0	0	8	0	2	12	0	0	0	1	7	9½	19	15	11½	0	14	9½
5. Mr Parker of Justichall	2	0	0	0	2	0	0½	6	0	0	0	0	10	6½						
Less charged Marquess of Tweeddale												1	10	0½	0	13	5	0	4	11
6. Earl of Lauderdale	12	3	2	04	12	18	0	25	3	0	17	5	7	4½	40	12	2½	1	10	5½
7. Mr Erskine of Shieldfield	0	0	1	34	0	2	3	0	0	3	27	0	3	10½	0	8	11	0	7	9½
8. Mr Macon of Hertichall	1	0	0	0	1	0	0½	2	0	0	0	0	7	4½	0	7	4½	0	7	4½
9. Mr Taylor of Threaburnford	59	2	0	0	59	11	2½	138	0	0	0	26	2	0	9	10	7½	211	15	8
																		7	18	9
																		930	16	11

Highest Barley, 27s. 6½d. per Qr. = 20s. 0½d. per Standard Boll. Price charged, 20s. 0½d.

Highest Oats, 23s. 9½d. " = 17s. 4d. " " " " 17s. 4d.

* In Mr Northwick's Money Payment 12s. are by use and want given instead of 2 stones of Cheese.

† Total Stipend. To this add Manse and Glebe for "Living."

THE following gives the Imperial Measure in decimals, equivalent to Old Scotch Measures, of the Barley and Oats as stated above. Heritors' Agents are also given. The decimal equivalents are those the present Minister calculates his stipend upon, and the Agents are the gentlemen through whom his stipend is at present received.

HERITORS.	IMPERIAL QUARTERS.		AGENTS.
	Barley.	Oats.	
1. The Marquess of Tweeddale, Yester	18-59194 (6)	42-47483	P. B. Swinton, Esq., Gifford, Haddington.
2. John Borthwick, Esq., Crookston	12-25701	24-51405	Messrs J. & F. Anderson, solicitors, 48 Castle Street, Edinburgh.
3. The Earl of Lauderdale	9-38890	18-76780	Messrs Todd, Murray, & Jamieson, solicitors, 66 Queen Street, Edinburgh.
4. Mrs Niddrie, Comphall, Dromore, West Sligo	5-82512	8-73768	Messrs Romanes & Rankin (Geo. Rankin, W.S.), solicitors, Laurier.
5. Sir John Home Purves Hume Campbell of Marchmont, Bart.	Money	payment	Adam Deas, Esq., writer, Duiss.
6. Mrs Whiteford, and Mr Wm. Gilmore Mason, farmer, West Fortune, Drom	"	"	Messrs Romanes & Simson, solicitors, 47 Queen Street, Edinburgh.
7. Misses Parker and A. S. Parker, Esq., Orchards, Cheltenham	1-4562 (8)	4-96884	Thos. B. Clark, Esq., writer, 64 Queen Street, Edinburgh (late E. Erskine Scott).
8. Joseph Taylor, Esq., Opua, New Zealand	72814	1-45628	Messrs Romanes & Simson, solicitors, 47 Queen Street, Edinburgh.
9. Charles Erskine, Esq., The Priory, Melrose	98129	1-6883	Messrs Curle & Erskine, solicitors, Melrose.

For the whole "Living," as before, there must be added to the above Imperial Quarters—(1) Vicarage Teinds, (2) Money Payments, (3) Manse and Garden, and (4) the Glebe. Manse and Garden are rated at £20, and the Glebe is rented at £9, 10s. yearly. The stipend, crop and year 1899, from Barley, Oats, Vicarage Teinds, Money Payments, and Glebe, stood at £193. With Manse and Garden the "Living" for that year was £20 more, or £213. During the present Minister's incumbency the entire "Living" has been down to £206. He pays double taxes as proprietor and as occupier, and all other taxes save poor-rates. There are no Free Teinds.

The monthly Cess of Channelkirk (Scots money) 1750, A.D.
(From Rev. David Scott's note-book). The same total is
given in the Kirk Records as the monthly Cess in 1742:—

From the Titular Morriestoun	.	.	£1	10	4
Carfrae Barony teind	.	.	21	10	8
Kelphope	.	.	2	16	8
Hedshawe	.	.	2	19	10
Nether Hartside	.	.	4	4	2
Clints	.	.	3	3	2
Kirklandhill and Overhartside	.	.	4	0	8
Mathie's $\frac{1}{2}$ of Ogstoune	.	.	3	2	4
Somervail's $\frac{1}{2}$ of Ogstoune	.	.	3	2	4
Threaburnfoord	.	.	1	14	0
Overhouden and Airhouse	.	.	7	7	4
Netherhowden and Glengelt	.	.	12	10	8
Heriotshall	.	.	0	11	4
Collilaw	.	.	3	11	7
Overbourhouse	.	.	1	14	9
Netherbourhouse	.	.	1	13	8
Total,			<u>£75 13 6</u>		

CESS AND VALUATION ROLL OF THE COUNTY OF BERWICK, MADE UP TO
4TH OCTOBER 1853.

Parish of Chancelkirk.

Present Heritors.	Former Heritors, per last Cess Roll.	Lands.	Monthly Cess (Scots).	Valuation (Scots).
Marquis of Tweeddale	{ Marquis of Tweeddale .	{ Carfrae . . . Cranstoun's Teind . Nether Hartside . Over Hartside . Nether Howden .	£18 2 8 3 8 0 4 4 2 1 0 2 6 4 8 — £32 19 8	£1133 6 8 212 10 0 263 0 5 63 0 5 389 11 8 — £2061 9 2
Earl of Lauderdale	Earl of Lauderdale. J. and G. Robertson Society of Scots (Episcopal Clergy)	{ Over Bowerhouses . Teind do. . . Nether Bowerhouses Part Collielaw. .	£1 10 9 0 4 0 1 13 8 3 11 7 — 7 0 0	£96 1 10 ⁶ / ₁₂ 12 10 0 105 4 2 223 13 11 ⁶ / ₁₂ — 437 10 0
Sir Hugh Hume Campbell, Bart.	{ Sir W. P. Hume Campbell, Bart. .	{ Kelphope . . . Headshaw . . .	£2 16 8 2 19 10 — 5 16 6 — £45 16 2	£177 1 8 186 19 7 — 364 1 3 — £2863 0 5

CESS AND VALUATION ROLL OF THE COUNTY OF BERWICK.—*Continued.*

Present Heritors.	Former Heritors, per last Cess Roll.	Lands.	Monthly Cess (Scots).	Valuation (Scots).
John Borthwick, Crookston .	{ John Borthwick, Crookston . { Robert Sheppard .	Brought forward . { Clints . . . { Glengelt . . . { Kirklandhill . . .	£3 3 2 6 6 0 3 0 6	£197 7 11 393 15 0 189 1 3
Dr John Taylor .	James Justice .	Half of Ugston .	... 3 2 4	... 194 15 10
Dr Peter Niddrie .	James Justice .	Over Howden .	... 5 10 6	... 345 6 3
G. Adair Somerville	Geo. Somerville	{ Airhouse . . . { Half of Ugston .	£1 16 10 3 2 4	£115 2 1 194 15 10
Henry Ker Seymer, Esq. of Morriston	{ Maria Louisa Ker . Cardross Teind .	Cardross Teind .	... 1 10 4	... 94 15 10
James Taylor .	Geo. Home Falconer	Threeburnford .	... 1 14 0	... 106 5 0
Robert Mason .	John Mason .	Heriot's Hall .	... 0 11 4	... 35 8 4
TOTAL OF CHANNELKIRK .			£75 13 6	£4729 13 9

CHAPTER XII

SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

Education, Priests, Protestants, and Acts of Parliament—Knox's Dream—First Glimpse of Channelkirk Schoolmaster—Nether Howden School—Patrick Anderson—Hugh Wilson—Carfraemill School—Andrew Vetch—John Lang—Cess for Schoolmaster's Salary—Lancelot Whale—Robert Neill—Channelkirk School and its Furnishings in 1760—John M'Dougall—Removal of School to Oxtou—Nichol Dodds—Alexander Denholm—Alexander Davidson—Henry Marshall Liddell.

As early as 1496 the barons of Scotland were instructed to send their eldest sons to grammar schools at eight or nine years of age, and to keep them there until they had "perfect Latin." It is needless to say that the Roman Church previous to the Reformation kept the education of the people strictly in her own hands, just as her polity is the same to-day, and the priest was the medium of secular as well as of spiritual instruction. The Protestant Church was also as fervent in sustaining this scheme as was the Church of Rome, and has not relinquished it except under the strongest compulsion of law.

In 1567, seven years after the Reformation, a law was passed placing the schools of the country on a reformed basis. Teachers, both public and private, had to be approved by the superintendents of the Church. In 1633 an Act of Privy Council enacted "that in every paroch of this kingdom

a school be established, and a fit person appointed to the same, according to the choice of the bishop of the diocese," which was carried out by Act of Parliament in the same year. From which it is clear that Episcopalians were no less zealous than the Presbyterians in the matter of education. The latter came into power as a political force again, and so in 1646 another Act insures that a school be founded "in every parish" by advice of Presbytery. The heritors, moreover, are to provide a commodious house for the school, and to modify a stipend to the schoolmaster, not less than 100 merks, but not more than 200, or ranging roughly between £5, 6s. and £10, 12s. In the Act of 1658 it was enacted that the schoolmaster must not be a papist; in that of 1690, schoolmasters were taken bound to sign the Confession of Faith, to take the oath of allegiance to King William and Queen Mary, to be pious and "of good and sufficient literature," and to submit to the government of the kirk. In the Act of 1693 schoolmasters were declared to be subject to the Presbytery within whose bounds they were resident. The Act of 1696 was important. It provided that a school should be in every parish, and a salary for the teacher, as in Act 1646, paid half-yearly, in addition to the casualties which belonged to the readers and clerks of kirk-sessions. Tenants were to relieve the heritors to the extent of half the expense of settling and maintaining the school and the schoolmaster's salary.

Again, in the Act of 1700, we find the religious element emphasized, for papists are proclaimed incapable of acting as schoolmasters. The frequency of the religious clause shows how zealously the Kirk guarded the education of the young, and especially their religious education in school. The Act of 1803 provided that salary should not be under

300 merks Scots per annum, nor above 400 merks. The sum was to be fixed by the minister of the parish and the heritors, and at the termination of every twenty-five years the Sheriff had it in his power to determine the average price of a chalder of oatmeal, with a view to increasing, if it were necessary, the yearly allowance granted to the schoolmaster.

The Act of 1861 comes next in importance, perhaps. The trend of the century is seen in the twelfth section, which declares it unnecessary for any schoolmaster to subscribe the Confession of Faith, or to profess that he will submit himself to the government and discipline of the Church of Scotland. His tenure of office is virtually admitted to be *ad vitam aut culpam*.

A complete revolution arrived with the Act of 1872. The parochial system, so long an honourable one in Scotland, and which many yet regret, was abolished, and the system of School Boards by popular election set up in its place. All powers were vested in them ; and while the scholarship of the nation has not risen higher, the exasperation and friction between boards, teachers, parents, and ratepayers prove that neither has the sum of human happiness been augmented by the change.

We turn now to what concerns us more particularly in the fortunes of education, and those responsible for the same in our own parish, during the post-Reformation period.

It was long the proud boast of the parish schoolmaster that his pupils, when they passed forth from the village school, needed no "secondary" training in high schools or "colleges" to enable them to take front places in the universities. In the turbulent days of the Reformation, Knox and his coadjutors gave education the same place of

importance which is almost universally assigned to religion and the poor. God's kirk ; God's poor ; God's bairns : the "ministers," the "puir," and the "schollis," are the prime objects of Knox's dream of reform. The nation was sunk in ignorance, poverty, and immorality. Sound knowledge, sound health, and sound doctrine alone could save it. And like Pharaoh and Herod, though for salvation and not destruction, Knox began at the cradle. It must always begin there to be a permanency. But Knox, like a true educator, had no design of dividing the school from the Church. The one prepared for the other, like apprenticeship for journeymanhood. Like Guyau, he was convinced that "the morality of the race, together with its health and vigour, must be the principal object of education. All else is secondary. Intellectual qualities, for example, and especially knowledge, learning, and information, are much less important to a race than its moral and physical vigour." * "All must be compelled," Knox declared, "to bring up their children in learnyng and virtue." "Off necessitie thairfore we judge it, that everie severall church have a scholmaister appointed, suche a one as is able, at least, to teache grammer and the Latine tounge yf the town be of any reputatioun." "Yf it be Upaland," (in such places as remote as Channelkirk, for instance) "whaire the people convene to doctrine bot once in the weeke, then must eathir the Reidar or the Minister thair appointed take care over the children and youth of the parische, to instruct them in thair first rudiments, and especially in the catechisme," † that is, the Book of Common Order, the Shorter Catechism not yet having seen the light in Knox's day.

* *Education and Heredity*, p. 96.

† Knox's *Works* (*The Buke of Discipline*), vol. ii., pp. 209, 211.

As no minister existed in Channelkirk for many a year after the Reformation, the double duties of "Reidar" in church and teacher in school would be performed by the same person.

The earliest notice of schoolmaster, therefore, which we have in this parish, seems to be given under the year 1576, if we accept Dr Hew Scott's authority.* He is not mentioned, of course, under that designation, but as Reader, and his name is John Gibsoun. Nothing more is known of him, and we can only conjecture the career he fulfilled in that capacity from our general knowledge of his period. The church would naturally be the place of instruction as well as worship, and the course of education based for the chief part on religious lines. Readers had only £16 or £20 of stipend, with kirklands. The greed of the nobles made sure that both teachers and taught should learn first by the things which they suffered, a policy which extended well into this present century.

Our next glimpse of a veritable schoolmaster, whose occupation was apart from Church services, is in 1654.† Whether he was Channelkirk schoolmaster, however, is problematical. "July 20, delivered to a lame schoolmaster recommended by the Presbytery, 10s. 6d.," is the legend of the kirk books. Teachers were often peripatetic, and taught here and there without continued residence or fixed salary, in common dwelling-houses, after working hours, with bed and board from some kind householder as remuneration. This "schoolmaster" may have been one of this description, although we have merely conjecture to guide us. We are on firmer ground when we reach 1657, three years later. There is no mistake; it is "the schoolmaster,"

* *Fasti Ecclesianæ Scoticanæ.*

† Kirk Records.

but his name is not given, though we do not quite despair, for there is reason to believe it is given in 1662. The first appearance of a system of instruction existing in Channelkirk parish is as follows:—

"1657, Feby. 15.—Coll. 17s., qhilk was fully distribut to James Alan's two soon's to pay their quarterly stipend to the schoolmaster."

"1657, April 19.—Collected 13s. 6d. Distribut fully to Will. Scott's child for paying the schoolmaster's quarterly payment."

The poor schoolmaster gets what he can quarterly, and its precarious nature is evident.

The same year, in June 22, "having depursed to the schoolmaster four pounds."

1658. "Feb. 14.—The week-days' collections kept by . . . in Adam Somervell's hand did amount to three merks, which the minister, with consent of the elders, ordered to be given to the schoolmaster for 3 quarts. (payment). . . Will. Scott's daughter and Adam (Swinton's) 2 children." The same year, in March 23, "13s. given to the schoolmaster for Will. Scott's child's quarterly payment."

The following defective sentence is interesting as seeming to point to the original Oxtou School.

"1659. Adam Simmervell, boxkeeper, by warrant of the Sessione, depursed five pounds to Will. Milkum (Malcolm?) in Nether hudoun (Nether Howden) for (hire of) a house . . . for the schollers to learn in." This school in Nether Howden seems to have existed at least till 1728. They proceeded to build a new school shortly afterwards, presumably at Channelkirk village. On 25th November 1661, "The elders met and unanimously decided to pay the builder of the scole for that work." They seem to

have had in view a schoolhouse also for the schoolmaster. The whole cost appears to have reached £50, but "the Sessione thinks fit, when occasion shall offer, to use means that the heritors may refund the formentioned fiftie pounds to the Sessione again." These were the days when Kirk-Sessions believed in miracles.

1662, March 15.—"£5 given to the burser, and also 40s. given to the schoolmaster, together with the 23rd day's collection." It was Communion time, and the collections of the 15th, 16th, and 17th, together with that of the 23rd, appear to have been devoted to the Presbytery's bursar at the university, and the schoolmaster of the parish. The church, the university, and the school went thus hand in hand—just as it should be.

The schoolmaster's name comes to light in 1662. After notice of certain moneys given out of the Kirk-Session treasury or "box," we have "the rest of the sum distribut to Patrick Anderson, schoolmaster, James Black, Wm. Somerville in Glengelt, and James Knight, Ugstone."

1664. "The second of October, counted with Patrick Anderson, schoolmaster, that had the box and moneys therein committed to him from the first of November 1663 to the 2nd of October 1664." Doubtless he was Session-clerk, but was not an elder. "The box is put in the custodie" of him once more, "and the key delivered to Thomas Thomson in Hizeldean to be keepit by him." The teacher had the box, and the former, not an elder, kept the key; the division of responsibility in this way tending to the preservation of kirk property.

Mr Patrick Anderson, schoolmaster of Channelkirk, vanishes out of the records "the second day of Julie" 1665, holding the same honourable post of kirk treasurer. A

worthy man, doubtless. All that we know of him is good.

The schoolmaster who follows Patrick Anderson seems to have been Hugh Wilson. Eighteen years elapse after 1665 before he comes into the records, and even then he remains a very shadowy figure. In 1683, November 15, we have "given to schoolmaster £5," and three entries below, "More to Hugh Wilson in Ugston £2," as if a reference were made to "the schoolmaster." Again, under 1684, "Given to Hugh Wilson, in Ugston, £2," is immediately followed by "More to the schoolmaster, £1." There is, however, in an old fragment of a single leaf, lovingly preserved among the records, two entries which appear to set our minds at ease on the matter. Several notices here and there are given of "poor scholars' payments quarterly;" then under 1727, "Poor scholars at Hew Wilson's school, £5" is given, which cannot, it seems to us, on reasonable grounds, refer to any other person than the "Hugh Wilson" of the former date, 1683. This implies that he had been schoolmaster for forty-four years. Another entry given in the same year of 1727 says: "To poor scholars at Netherhowden School, £6," which takes us back at once to the year 1659, when the Kirk-Session gave Will. Milkum in Netherhowden £5 "for a house for scholars to learn in." Two distinct schools must have existed, therefore, in the parish at this period, viz., Hugh Wilson's "in Ugston" or Channelkirk, the latter place most likely, and that at Nether Howden.

The Scottish Parliament, in 1696, passed a law imposing upon heritors of every parish the duty of building a school and maintaining it, and also providing a salary for the schoolmaster. Needless to say, this law was frequently evaded. The schoolmaster would have fared but sparsely if

he had had no other means of living than accrued to him from his teaching. Kirk-Session contributions of a varying kind, surveying farmer's fields, putting wills together, Session-clerk's remuneration, precentorships—these, and similar perquisites enabled him to live decently. The heritors seem to have shamefully traded upon his necessities wherever they could venture it, and cut down his school salary, which alone they had any right to consider, to fit into these perquisites. The law compelled them to provide a school and give a sufficient competence to a schoolmaster in every parish, but that burden was for most part shovelled into the laps of his perquisites, and what should have been to him comfortable advantages over and above his fixed salary, became sources of anxiety and worry, for he was never certain when his perquisites might fall away, and himself be left to the tender feeding of the heritors' poorhouse dole. The Kirk-Session seems to have looked primarily to the fact of education being carried on in the parish, and contributed to a school or the schools in it with equal hand, content if the good work were done. The school, therefore, which seems to have begun at Nether Howden about 1659, received its help from the church equally with the parish school at the village of Channelkirk. It is almost certain that as we find both schools existing in 1728, the Nether Howden School gradually became Oxtoun School, and through varying fortunes and changing habitations, continued so to be until the School of Channelkirk merged into it, and it became the parish school in 1854. This seems evident, for after 1728 there is no more mention of "Nether Howden School," but from 1735 the new designation "Oxtoun School" comes frequently into view. There is also a natural reason why a school should

have existed near or in Oxton for so long a time, apart from the parish school at Channelkirk village, for its centrality of population and easier access would recommend this course in the children's behalf. The same reasons apply to "Carfraemill School," which would be more convenient for the children of Carfrae, Hillhouse, and the places to the south of it than either Lauder or Oxton schools. "Carfrae Mill School" was a "Side-school or "subscription school," and Gordon Stewart was its schoolmaster some time before 1817.* He is then called "the late schoolmaster in Carfraemill."

Hugh Wilson was succeeded by Andrew Vetch, but at what particular date we are unable to affirm. He is preserved from oblivion by a single reference in a sasine dated 23rd February 1725, given in favour of the Rev. Henry Home regarding his possession of Kelphope teinds. Vetch comes into the sasine as witness. "These things were done upon the grounds of the lands of Kelphope, betwixt the hours of three and four afternoon, day, month, year of God, and of His Majesty's reign as underwritten, before and in presence of John Henrysone of Kirklandhill, Andrew Vetch, schoolmaster in Channelkirk, George Hall, tennant in Kelphope, and James Miller, indweller, these witnesses." He is never anywhere again mentioned by name as far as we have been able to discover. In the kirk accounts from May 1704 till 1741, there are items such as, "To the schoolmaster," "To the schoolmaster and beadle," but no name is given. The schoolmaster who follows Andrew Vetch is John Lang. He passes his trials before the Presbytery in 1742, and receives testimonials of his sufficiency, and in the same year the heritors meet to fix his salary at Channelkirk.

* Heritors' Records.

As the following extract from the Kirk Records gives us a clear view of this process, together with the parish's property divisions, and landowners in 1742, we give it in full:—

“At Channelkirk this fifteenth day of October 1742 years, We, Mr Henry Home, Minr., Mr James Justice of Justicehall, William Henryson of Kirktownhill, being appointed to Divide and Locall a Sallary for the Schoolmaster, in terms of Act of Parliament 1696, unanimously agreed upon and modified by a full meting of the Heritors of this parish legally called for that effect upon the 23rd day of Sepr. last, and our Schoolmaster having produced an Extract of his being tryed and approven by the Presby. of the bounds, and finding that a month cess of the parish amounts to Seventy and five pound thirteen shilling and 4 penies, out of which Sixty and six pound thirteen shilling and four penies being deduced there is of overplus nine pound, which is the eight part of the monthly cess of this parish: So that each Heritor is assesed and hereby appointed to pay seven parts of eight yearly of his months cess to the Schoolmaster for his Sallary, and is hereby Divided and Localled as follows:—

1. Barony of Carfrae, belonging to the Marquis of Tweed-			
dale	£19	3	2
2. Headshaw, belonging to Earl of Marchmont	2	11	6
3. Kelphope, belonging to Mr Henry Home, Minr.	2	10	4
4. Clints, belonging to John Borthwick of Crookstoun,			
Advoc.	2	15	6
5. Justicehall, belonging to James Justice, a principal Clerk			
of Session	2	14	4
6. Over Howden, belonging to James Justice (Scots money)	5	0	0
7. Airhouse & Oxtou Mains, belonging to James Somerv-			
vaill	4	6	8
8. Collela, belonging to James Fiergrive	3	2	0
9. Bourhouse, belonging to Charles Binning, Pilmuir,			
Advoc.	2	16	6
10. Threeburnford, belonging to John Cumming, Minr. at			
Humbie	1	8	10
Carry forward,	£46	8	10

	Brought forward,	£46 8 10
11.	Glengelt and Netherhouden, belonging to Wm. Hunter's (Merchant in Edinburgh, deceased) Heirs	11 0 2
12.	Cardross Teinds, belonging to Ker of Morrieston	1 10 0
13.	Heriotshall, belonging to John Murray	0 10 2
14.	Nether Hartsyde and Over Hartsyde, belonging to Alex. Dalziell	4 12 0
15.	Kirktownhill, belonging to Wm. Henryson	2 12 6

Amounting in all to Sixty and six pound thirteen shilling and four penies.

Which yearly Sallary is to be payed to Mr John Lang, present school-master, at two terms in the year by equal proportions."

The total is actually £66, 13s. 8d.

The terms are Martinmas and Whitsunday, and the same arrangements are to hold good "to his successors in that office," on their producing sufficient testimonials from the Presbytery of the Bounds.

Mr Lang is found Session-clerk in 1744; and again in 1753, at a joint meeting of heritors and elders, and a committee of Presbytery, he is chosen to the same office. The purpose of this meeting was to inquire into the administration of the kirk funds, which, during far too many years of the Rev. Henry Home's incumbency, had been misappropriated to a considerable extent.

"The Committee proceeded to inquire into the management of the poor's money since the death of Mr Home, which happened June 16th, 1751, find that Mr John Lang, Schoolmaster of Channelkirk, had received," from various sources, the sum of £95, 11s. 3d. Lang is charged with this sum, and after deducting certain moneys they find him indebted to the Kirk-Session to the extent of £41, 16s. 3d. Scots. In the year 1754, on 20th May, at a meeting of Kirk-Session, "Mr Lang's bill this day granted and payable against Martinmas next for £30, 10s. 3d.

Scots." But Martinmas comes and Martinmas goes and the bill remains unredeemed, and on 10 March 1755 he dies, and his successor has written in the Records the following sibylline legend. (We omit the copperplate penmanship and all the embroidery):—

1755

March 10.

MR JOHN LANG

Schoolm^r. Deceased

A G——t B══r & D——r.

We humbly interpret the last part to mean "A Great Beggar and Debtor," with reference, perhaps, to his having been unable to pay back the poor's money which he had used out of the kirk treasury. At the foot of this memorial, his successor in the same handwriting puts his name as—

LANCELOT WHALE

$\frac{14}{3}$ 1757

Poor Lang had been hard pressed for the kirk money it seems. "George Sommervail has Thomas Trotter's bill" (another delinquent!) "in his hand, and Mr Lang's bill was given to Mr Robert Henderson, writer in Lauder, to procure payment!" It was jail for debt in those days, as Burns's father dreaded a few years later. But Lang was safe from all manner of law processes, though we find his bill carried on through the books till May 7, 1760. On that day we have it minuted, "The Session think it quite needless to carry on Trotter's and Lang's bills in their

accounts, as it's not likely they will ever be paid." Not likely! So Lang's debts sink into the tomb with his harassed bones, there to await the final account and reckoning of all. There are touching notes here and there concerning monthly donations given from the poor's box to his widow, Mrs Lang, till August 1757, when they, too, cease. As late, however, as 17th May 1759, four years after Lang's death, there is this suspicious entry—"Received from Mr Dalziel of Hartsyde for Mr John Lang, a year's salary." Can it be that this item, £6, had been held back or neglected in Lang's lifetime? Mrs Lang is receiving alimony in 1755, and it is only surrendered by Mr Dalziel in 1759, two years after she seems to have either died or left the district. Mr Dalziel may have suspected that Lang was keeping up the poor's money, and hesitated to give him more!

In such gloomy circumstances does John Lang, schoolmaster in Channelkirk, disappear from time.

Lancelot Whale seems to have become his successor. His name is written very pompously on the Records, but extremely little more is recognisable of him. He gives his date as the 14th day of March 1757. There is no mention of his entering upon his duties, but the kirk accounts up till 7th August 1757 are clearly in his handwriting, though the usual notice of moneys given to the teacher for "Session-clerk and poor scholars" keeps back his name. We have, however, the following—"20th December 1758. To Lancelot Whale his dues preceding Martinmas last, £4." But on 5th March of the same year there is in different handwriting—"To an advertisement in ye news papers for a Schoolmaster, £2, 2s." This may mean a belated payment for the advertisement to which

he himself responded. But it is more likely that he had left or was dead, as the school appears to be vacant. On 4th March 1759, little more than a month after Poet Burns's birth be it observed, this remark occurs — "To George Henderson for presenting while we had no Schoolmaster, £3." Mr Whale had, as was customary, led the psalmody in the church. He thus seems to vanish altogether from the scene. Robert Niell succeeded.

On the 28th May 1759 Robert Niell is Session-clerk, and receives of kirk money for the "poor scholars'" education the usual sum of £4.

Mr Niell is also precentor in the church:—"To the Schoolmaster for presenting, £2," is set down under 20th August 1759. He is married in June 1762, having had a new schoolhouse built previously, and, of course, a school also, which was usually a room within and above the schoolhouse premises. The following tells the tale:—

"Channelkirk, Nov. 17th, 1760." Session meets and arranges poor's money. "After this Mr Scott" (Rev. David) "represented that upon his application to a general meeting of the heritors of this Parish of Channelkirk held here on the 17th day of May 1759 years, they did then grant and allot ye Hundred merks of vacant salary that fell due at Martinmas 1758, for building a new schoolhouse, and empowered Mr Scott to uplift said salary and find out a proper situation for the house. They also recommended it to Mr Dalziell of Hartside and Mr Scott to meet with James Watherstone of Kirktownhill anent the stance of said house. Which accordingly being done, the said James Watherstone was prevailed on to gift to the Kirk-Session and Parish of Channelkirk that spot of ground for the stance of said house lying immedi-

ately on the west end of the yard presently possessed by the schoolmaster, and frankly consented that said schoolhouse should be built, and stand there rent free in all time coming, the schoolmaster being only obliged to pay yearly one shilling sterling for said kail yard. In consequence of which the Session gratefully acknowledge their obligation for said gift, and order this to be insert in this day's Minute."

Well done Kirktonhill Heritor! one is delighted to find a green spot among such extensive waste land of Sahara Heritordom. The 100 merks lay conveniently to hand because no schoolmaster was in the parish to receive it. The schoolhouse and school had been, as usual, at the lowest condition of decay, dirt, and inhabiteness, but not a heritor would stir to mend matters till the parish suffered in its children's education for a season, and the little rill of grugged and compelled money from the heritor reservoirs dammed up into a dub big enough to float the village school and schoolhouse on. How pathetic the passionate gratitude of the Kirk - Session, too, for such unheard-of beneficence! But, alas, the 100 merks, superlatively abundant as they were, came short in meeting the extensive wants of this village school. "The Session considering that another table and two seats for the scholars would be wanting to furnish said schoolhouse; and well knowing that the forsaid Hundred merks would not be sufficient to answer all these purposes, Did therefore resolve to supply what might be further necessary out of the remainder of the two months' cess mentioned as given in by Mr Scott in the foregoing minute; that so useful a work and so conducive to the public good might not be retarded."

The two months' cess had been asked by the Session from the heritors to relieve the poor with oats, meal, etc., "during the late scarcity" (minute of date 7th May 1760), but which fell short after all, and one heritor in Justicehall, Cunningham, writer to the Signet, ashamed, it appears, of the scrimp measure, gave a half-guinea out of his own pocket rather than see poor folk starve! If we are not mistaken this "Cunningham" was Alex. Cunningham of Lathrisk, Fifeshire, third son of Ninian Cunningham, writer in Edinburgh. He died 17th August 1780.

Good Rev. David Scott! He strives hard to get his people's stomachs filled, and also pang them fu' o' knowledge. He feels, however, another strait place. "Mr Scott further represented that he had collected only the sum of sixty-five pds. two shillings and ten pennies Scots, there being a deficiency by the Titular's refusing to pay his part of the salary ever since its first erection into a legal salary." The Titular was Ker of Morreston, in Legerwood. But the minister continues the good work. "Mr Scott by ye help of the parish having carried on ye building of said schoolhouse, and it being now finished, did therefore lay ye whole charge before the Session amounting to the sum of one hundred and four pounds twelve shillings and six pennies Scots, including the price of ye table and two seats for-said."

Here is the "furnishing" of a school in the middle of the last century. "At ye above date ye Session likewise thought proper to record that now there belong to ye schoolhouse two new tables, one of them measuring ten foot, and ye other eleven foot in length, as also two old seats measuring ten feet per piece, and two new seats measuring ten feet and a half per piece. Besides a good new lock and key for the door, and a pair

of new tongs for ye hearth—and all ye glasses in the four windows are whole." Viewing the whole in table form we get :—

2 tables, new combined length, 21 feet.

2 seats, old, " 20 "

2 " new, " 21 "

1 new lock.

1 " key.

1 pair of tongs.

4 windows, or say "boles," 1 pane each ! and "all whole," thus bearing testimony to the boys' good behaviour then.

Reckoning by the seat-room (the desk-room is about half), and allowing 1 foot, or thereby, to every scholar, we get an approximation of the number attending the school to be nearly forty. In such severe circumstances, and with such drawbacks without and within his little thatched school, Robert Niell continued to develop the intellect of the rising generation around him; the Kirk-Session adding what driblet of help it could from kirk offerings for poor scholars to the cess laid on the heritors, and receiving for his own behoof a mite now and then for "presenting at the sacrament," he being a bit of a singer, no doubt. In December 1770, he receives his last mention in an entry giving him £4 from the kirk treasury, "for Session-clerk and poor scholars," doubtless, and then in August 4, 1771, the minute: "To Margaret Niell for poor scholars and Session-clerk for half a year preceding Whitsunday 1771 years," tells the remainder of his history. He had been schoolmaster in Channelkirk for twelve years. How long his wife Margaret survived him we have now no means of knowing.

In the year 1771, on the 29th day of March, at Channelkirk: "The school in this place being just now vacant by the death of the late schoolmaster, it was therefore thought proper to take the usual steps for the election of another."

Accordingly, the intimation from the pulpit "on the 17th day of this currt." calls a general meeting of the heritors—non-resident heritors, always a large quantity, being informed by letters. On the 29th "the heritors of the Parish of Channelkirk, and all others concerned being call'd at the most patent door of the kirk at one o'clock post meridiem—there compeared" three heritors and the minister and a few proxies, "and coming to the business," and "to a vote, unanimously made choice of John M'Dougal, the teacher of Mr Thomson's children and others in Burnhouse," near Fountainhall, parish of Stow. Mr M'Dougal was well known to Mr Borthwick, Crookston, who could not attend the meeting for the distance, but who writes the minister to say that he looks upon John M'Dougal "to be a very discreet young man," and "hopes to hear of their fixing upon" him. Another meeting is called on the 11th June 1772, to consider the repairing of school and schoolhouse. Tweeddale does not appear, nor Lauderdale, nor the lairds of Bowerhouse, nor Nether Howden, nor Marchmont, nor Threeburnford, nor "the rest," but "although the rest of the heritors did not subscribe the agreement, yet they paid their respective proportion of the three months' cess for the above reparations." It was the customary way. One or two did the "appointments" and thatching or patching, and the rest being comfortably out of the parish pocketing its rents, paid their share to have quit of the bother. What were a few hundreds of people, and a schoolmaster?

Worthy and "very discreet" John M'Dougal, therefore, walks on to the treadmill, and dutifully and patiently grinds out his scholars creditably to himself and the parish that owned them. A man for whom we have the highest respect. He has always the good of the children in view, and as we

learn from an aged living authority, whose boyhood was directed by him, he was esteemed and loved by them. Born in 1743, he was a young man of twenty-eight when he became Channelkirk schoolmaster. He married Margaret Smibert, and had a family, and the routine duties of school, Session-clerk, heritor's clerk, etc., filled in an uneventful life till he reached the long age of eighty-six. His tombstone, which stands a few yards south-east from the church door, declares that he faithfully discharged the duties of his office for fifty-nine years.

During such a prolonged official reign, several changes necessarily transpired, though none, perhaps, were of more than local interest. Both on account of the hill on which the school was built, and the long road which in winter could not be traversed by children, he had come to the conclusion that the removal of school and, of course, schoolhouse was imperative for the good of the parish. Accordingly, on 9th October 1789, he desires the heritors, in a letter to them, to have these "removed to a more central and convenient place" (Oxton was in his mind, no doubt) "for accommodating the parishioners in sending their children to school." The heritors, by a majority, concur in the view, but decide nothing. Borthwick objects. The proposal naturally fell asleep for another six years. Mr M'Dougal's next move was both educational and pious. In the church, 14th May 1791, the heritors "being informed that said John M'Dougal has for some time past examined his scholars in the church publicly every Sabbath when there was sermon, and being willing to encourage such practice in stirring up emulation among children under his charge, do therefore order him ten shillings and sixpence sterling yearly after this date for his trouble, during his giving proper attention to said work and

satisfaction to the residing heritors." A pleasant item this, and creditable to all parties. .

In 1795, the schoolmaster's plan to have the school shifted from Channelkirk down hill to Oxtoun village realised itself in a thoroughly practicable way. The 9th day of June of that year the heritors at a meeting "Did and hereby do resolve to change the situation of the school and schoolmaster's house from Channelkirk to Ugston, and resolved to take in plans upon that idea." Borthwick still protested. Six years of meditation had not staled his purpose. The school and schoolhouse were to be one building, the school on the basement and the schoolhouse in the upper storey, and the whole structure 28 ft. long, 18 ft. wide, and 17 ft. high. It still stands in the village, and is now the schoolhouse, a new school having been built later in its neighbourhood and not in the best situation.

Early in 1796 the schoolmaster must have removed to Ugston. He is in the old schoolhouse on 22nd January, but on 20th May declares himself satisfied in his accommodation respecting a school and schoolhouse. The schoolmaster's house at Channelkirk was sold to Borthwick, 19th February 1796, for £16 sterling. We presume its "stance," which Mr Watherstone, Kirktonhill, gifted in 1760 to the Kirk-Session and Parish of Channelkirk, had been quietly swallowed down by the heritors in the good old way that most of Channelkirk kirklands were wolfed in earlier times. In 1803 an Act of Parliament stirs up heritors to "make better provision for the parochial schoolmasters." High time, too. Few important and national institutions have had a more disgraceful history. But until the national mind awoke and its voice became heard in Parliament, the people had no help from the upper powers, and so had to

do its best with its handful of oatmeal. Mr M'Dougal had his salary fixed under this Act at 350 merks Scots. He must have been too happy. Actually £19, 8s. 10½d. sterling annually! Fancy a man undergoing the drudgery of school life with the weight of such wealth upon him. But this was not all. The school fees fairly flooded his "hugger."

For reading	1s. 6d. per quarter.
" reading and writing	2s. 6d. "
" reading, writing, and arithmetic	3s. "

Perhaps he had, in all, £50 sterling a year. Another school is mentioned in 1818. One William Stirling, a boy, is on the Poor's Roll, and on 1st May 1818 is continued by the heritors "upon the understanding that he should immediately look out for a situation, and with the assurance that he would not on any account be continued longer upon the roll than till Martinmas first. The meeting, however, agreed that he might go to Mr Paterson's school, and get such education as Mr Paterson should be willing to teach him." Let little Willie Stirling take that! But where "Mr Paterson's school might be—in Oxton, Nether Howden, or Carfraemill—it seems now impossible to say. Mr M'Dougal had his rivals, evidently. Perhaps it was a matter of indifference to him. The world was now becoming grey around him, and the shadows of age were casting their gloom over his path. The sad and tragic fate of his brother in Edinburgh must have deepened the waters of life for him, he having undergone the lethal extremity of the law. At anyrate, on the 30th April 1819, he applies for an assistant, owing to age, infirmity, and late sickness. His letter of application, we are told, was "heard with deep regret."

Heritors accept the inevitable and appoint an assistant. Mr M'Dougal receives the salary, house and garden, and the assistant is to get the school fees and the perquisites usual to schoolmasters, such as clerkships, precentorship, etc. Heritors "thank him for the great attention he has paid to all his duties as schoolmaster, heritors' and Session clerk, for these forty-eight years past." The school fees are also raised—these came out of the parishioners' pockets—in order to make "the situation," as it is graciously said, "as respectable as possible." The heritors make up other ten pounds to the fixed salary. The fees, to be paid in advance, were :—

For English	.	.	.	.	.	2s. per quarter.
„ writing	.	.	.	.	.	3s. „
„ arithmetic	.	.	.	.	.	4s. „
„ Latin and French	.	.	.	.	.	6s. „

"To teache Grammer and the Latine tounge yf the town be of any reputatioun," said Knox. Here we are to have not only Latin but French, and we are not a town but an ordinary village. It is a sure sign that the nation is awakening. It is 1819.

Eight candidates sit to be examined by the ministers for this assistantship, and Nichol Dodds from Edinburgh comes out victorious. He enters upon his duties, and is so successful that to contain the increase of scholars the schoolhouse is enlarged by the cubic area of an adjoining coalhouse which is then included, and a new coalhouse added on Dodd's suggestion.

Years roll past, and Mr M'Dougal enjoys his *otium cum dignitate* till the 11th day of October 1829, when we have in the Kirk Records, "Mortcloth for Mr M'Dougal, schoolmaster, 6s." He died on Thursday, 1st of October, and

was buried on Sunday the 11th, having, as we have noticed, attained the advanced age of eighty-six. His wife survived him more than nine years, and died at Pathhead Ford, 1st January 1839, having reached the great age of ninety-eight. A sturdy, thrifty, patient couple we can imagine them to have been, entertaining gods unaware like Philemon and Baucis, though denied their request at last. A contemporary informs us that M'Dougal was a notable personage in the parish. He was middle-sized, hard-featured, and wore his grey hair long behind. He always wore knee-breeches and rig-and-fur stockings, which came down over his shoes. He was an inveterate snuffer, and was often treated to an ounce by his scholars when they wished to mollify him. For he was a rather sharp disciplinarian, but a good teacher, though he had not "the langidges," and was warmly beloved by his pupils, old and young. A custom prevailed of "locking him out" of school on the "shortest day," which he accepted good-naturedly. One of the good old stock of parochial schoolmasters evidently, and in sympathetic touch with all sections of the community, yet neither oppressively the dominie nor pompously the gentleman, carrying himself with respect in his school and esteem in his church, and making himself useful and necessary in both official and social spheres.

His chair and ferula fell in due course to his assistant and successor, Mr Nichol Dodds. Mr Dodds' salary stood now at £30 sterling, and the school fees were to remain as fixed on 14th May 1819. He was, it would appear, a native of Smailholm (born in 1793, and was twenty-six years old when he came first to Channelkirk), young, tall, and stoutly built. It is jokingly told that when he entered on his school duties, the then parish minister, the Rev.

John Brown, commended him from the pulpit to the warm sympathies of the people. He was young, he is reported to have said, he was clever, and had all the gifts of a good teacher, but he was not sure if he was gifted with a big purse, and advised the people to be as kind to him as possible. He was notable as a capital teacher and a hard worker. He taught "the langidges," and was very strict in discipline. From a boy, like Samuel, he had been set apart by his mother for the ministry. The woman was worthy to have such a noble purpose. Her husband was killed by the fall of a tree just at the time when her son was born, and with a lion's heart she faced the struggle that lay before her in bringing up her family. She did this, as many a Scotch mother has done it before and since, by her own hard work, tending her garden and cow, her churn and her poultry, and driving her "shelty" herself to Kelso from Smailholm with the produce. Alas! at the end of it all was disappointment too, as the humble exchequer did not prove equal to a minister's curriculum, and so the son was devoted instead to the teaching profession. Perhaps the knowledge of this had something to do with that sternness in him which almost reached the level of harshness on occasions. But he accepted his lot, went through the usual training, settled in Channelkirk parish, as we have seen, and remembering his mother's devotion, brought her to his house in Oxton village to keep his home for him,—no wife, it appears, having ever been thought of. There the stream of life carried them forward, through deep and shallow, calm and storm, till all ended, and the shadows shut them in for ever.

We gather from a Presbytery examination of the school on 2nd September 1823, that "seventy-five children were

present, the average number attending the school being eighty-five; that the branches taught are English, Writing, Arithmetic, Practical Mathematics, and Latin."

The old custom of "locking out the maister on the shortest day" he rather resented, and a "scene" between him and his "big" scholars on that account is yet remembered with mixed feelings. Saturday "half-day" was "revisal day," and usually the hardest of the week. On one occasion one of the scholars was "kept in" for not giving satisfaction, and as the teacher lived above the school and the rest of the scholars played in its immediate vicinity, after an hour or two, a natural desire was expressed by a few to "gang round tae the back" to see how it fared with the prisoner. On going round, the prisoner was seen suspended, half in, half out, over the window-sill, he having attempted to escape, liberty being sweet, but had found himself caught by the down-coming sash, and so hung with his head and hands within and his body without. He would certainly have soon died, and was only rescued in time. He left the school for good.

Dodds seems to have been a "religious" man, and an elder, though he liked a glass of toddy in the old-fashioned way. He was never married. He did a good deal of the farmers' business after school hours, and was much in company with them. His portrait gives his personal appearance as in harmony with all we know of his character. A man of middle height, clad in immaculate though not uncreased broadcloth, with clear, piercing, rather small eyes, lofty forehead, with the scant locks of hair curved forward over each ear; firm shut lips, following, nevertheless, Hogarth's line of beauty; strong cheekbones, prominent enough to cast shadows beneath them and over the

melancholy droop of the lips below; a rugged Roman nose indicative of much, and a chin like the peak of a Phrygian cap turned upwards, as if making reconnaissance of it. Not a hair is anywhere visible on the face, eyebrows and eyelashes excepted, and the whole head is poised upon a prim stand-up collar, with its strength of starch still further strengthened by a band of black silk neckerchief, whose carefully-tied knot is somewhat awry. His whole appearance is formal in tone, as if he were conscious of his dignity, and the mouth has just that rigidity of aspect which is thoroughly Scotch, and which, it is said, is acquired by too much inward brooding over the solemnities of life, and especially the Sabbath day, and repeating too often the Shorter Catechism.

While in Oxton his peculiarities did not escape observation. As precentor in the parish church, it was noted that he had great facility of musical improvisation, and with "Coleshill" as his theme or "motif," could stretch its notes, prolonged or abbreviated, over every kind of verse in psalm or paraphrase. To a precentor with limited selection of tunes this is a saving gift, and dexterously enables him to surmount obstacles, turn corners, or bridge gulfs, which to a man of less genius prove fatal. Mr Dodds' gift of prayer was also much admired. His foes declared, however, that a little stimulus of *aqua vite* was necessary to sustain or rouse the full unctuous "flow." He always upheld the now almost obsolete custom of family worship at night. But stern in principle, he was also stern in manner, and it became awkward when, just at "prayer-time," he would drop off into a sound snooze by the fire. There sat the "congregation," patiently waiting till he was pleased to awaken, no one daring to disturb his repose, though all the

younger members were nodding to be in bed. For we must explain that besides his mother, his young nephew, afterwards Mr Dodds, teacher in Gordon, and others stayed under his roof, and received their education from him.

The event of his Oxton career was when the year of 1843 gave the Scottish Kirk a "shog," and rent a large portion of its membership after the Free Church. He became a strong Disruptionist, and gave practical illustration of it by severing himself from the parish church. This, of course, was tantamount to rending himself from his place as parish schoolmaster, and from the various perquisites which it yielded. He had been Session-clerk since 1823, and had acted as an elder since 1829, although not properly ordained till 1833. He was very anxious, in 1837, that the parish should be divided into elders' "districts," so that each elder might superintend his portion of church members and "use means to induce the people to attend the church more regularly," but got no support. But on 5th November 1843, he himself is declared to have stayed away from church "for some months," and loses thereby the post of Session-clerk. A more serious loss, however, was pending. "At Lauder, the 2nd day of April 1844 years, which day and place the Presbytery of Lauder being met and constituted with prayer — *inter alia* — Mr Dodds, schoolmaster of the parish of Channelkirk, having been summoned *apud acta* at the meeting of 5th December last to attend the meeting of Presbytery in April; compeared personally, and also by Mr Cunningham as his agent; being asked if he was a member of the Established Church—made answer that he declined to answer that question; being further asked if he was a member of any other church—declined to answer that question; being further asked if he adhered to his former declaration that he would not sign

the formula of the Church of Scotland without explanation—declines again to sign the formula, seeing there was no law requiring him to do so. The Presbytery having considered this painful case, find that Mr Dodds, by his refusal to sign the formula of the Church of Scotland, has disqualified himself from holding the office of parochial schoolmaster of the parish of Channelkirk, and hereby declare accordingly that the said office is vacant from this date, and appoint the minister of the parish to intimate the same in the parish kirk next Lord's Day."

And so poor Mr Dodds was cut adrift from his means of livelihood and his status as schoolmaster. To fall among the wheels of the ecclesiastical Juggernaut is to be crushed to death. The laws of churches are nearly all begotten of bigotry, nursed in intolerance, and administered in spite. Few of them but have passed, or are passing, through the cycle of pious power, sanctimonious tyranny, and contemptuous expulsion and disgrace. It will never be otherwise until a legal training is given to those who would usurp a legal authority over others. The root principle assumed in Church law is "compel them," and the purpose is not that they may "come in," but that they may go out. The ideal wheels round with Eden's sword. Dodds was only a little in advance of the age which saw education lifted above the sandy bickerings of Presbyteries, and one regrets that he and so many others should have had to suffer so much in temporalities to satisfy the cruel maw of so-called spirituals. But a vast deal must be endured to reverence formulas, God wot!

In the year previous, his school and schoolhouse had been insured against fire for £200. It is a pity the ecclesiastical fires cannot be insured against also. Nevertheless,

although he was thrust out, he did not lose heart. Calmly he set to work and manfully built a new school for himself in the village—the same building which is yet used as a storeroom by the principal grocer—and being a first-class teacher, he drew away almost all the children, and left the parish school rather high and dry for many a day. In 1853 we find him far from being rooted out of Channelkirk; rather he roots himself more deeply in it, for in August 4th of that year we find him (Sasines, 569) seised in “5000 square feet of the lands of Heriotshall, on the north side of the road from Ugston to Wideopen Common—on feu-contract between Rev. T. Murray and Andrew Reid Smith, Ugston, March 24th, 1848, and Disp. and Assig. by him, June 5th, 1848.” A man who compelled his circumstances, evidently, and was not driven before them. A brave, enduring man. All honour to him. The sturdiness and self-reliance of the Scotch nature were strong in him,—albeit, also, the old Celtic heat and impetuosity; but so long as the steam drives in the right direction we do not despise the steam. He continued to thrive till the end of his days. He joined the Free Kirk of Lauder, was an elder and Session-clerk in that denomination, and died 2nd May 1863. The Records of that church say:—“At Lauder, 17th May 1863 years.—The Kirk-Session record their deep regret at the somewhat sudden and unexpected death of Mr Nichol Dodds, on the second day of this month. They record the high estimation in which he was held, for the simplicity of his character and great Christian worth. He was the last of the Disruption elders who belonged to this Session.” So another good man passed to his rest, and the echo of his worth yet sounds in Channelkirk parish. A man, truly, who carried his head and heart above the level of bread and butter, and deemed it better to

suffer in his social and official comforts than bear the inward snubs of an accusing conscience. As to the lasting wisdom of the movement which whirled him upwards—or downwards—on its wings, we have no remark to make, but the worth of Nichol Dodds remains all the same, and his humble mission in Channelkirk had a special value beyond the area of his schoolroom, and adds new lustre to the character of its schoolmasters. He was buried in Smailholm churchyard, and his tombstone notes that he was aged 70, and was forty-four years a zealous and successful teacher in Channelkirk.

The school which was begun by Nichol Dodds, and which was known as the “Free Kirk School,” or locally, the “Side-School,” was carried on after his death by Alexander Denholm. He was born at Tynemount, in the parish of Ormiston, Haddingtonshire, on the 26th September 1842. He was educated at the Free School, Ormiston, and went from there to the Free Church Training College, Edinburgh, on January 1863. He married Margaret Edgar in Tranent—born at Greendykes, Gladsmuir, September 1865—and shortly after came to Oxton Free Church School. He did not teach many years there, and left Oxton to take up residence in Hillhouse as shepherd. He died on 14th December 1895, regretted by all the parish, and is buried in Channelkirk churchyard. A most lovable man, genial and hearty in all his ways, a fine singer, a faithful servant and a staunch Christian, and interested himself in all that concerned the well-being of the parish.

When Nichol Dodds was deposed in 1844, he was succeeded in the parish school by Alexander Davidson. We believe he was a native of Sprouston, having been born there in 1812, and he obtained the situation in Channelkirk

in competition with other three candidates. He had been a teacher for some time in Mowhaugh, and was 32 years of age when he came to us. He does not seem to have been so markedly "religious" in his ways as his predecessor, but was a good man notwithstanding. He was never married. He was a keen fisher, and every opportunity was embraced in summer nights to ply the gentle craft. Not being very robust, the habit was not always in his favour, as he was consumptively disposed, and ultimately succumbed to phthisis. He is remembered as a strict disciplinarian, but had "ways" of getting the scholars into proficiency. A new school was built in his time.

The Presbytery, in 1847, respectfully drew the attention of heritors to the necessity for a "suitable building" for educational purposes. In the usual way the building was allowed to lapse into a wretched condition, and heritors were indifferent till cajoled into taking cognisance of it. But six years between a proposal and the action taken upon it is not an uncommon occurrence in Channelkirk. So it was not till 1853 that the heritors, having examined the building, naively acknowledge that "the schoolroom is at present in a state of considerable disrepair; the floor, internal fittings, and windows are all in a dilapidated condition." The ceiling is 7 ft. 7 in., and far too low. The schoolhouse is confessed to be damp also. Therefore, with some grudgings and protests, it is agreed to build a new school, and turn the old one into a more commodious residence for the schoolmaster. Consequently, the stance on the Bowknowe—the present site—was procured, and a school begun. It was unfinished in the last days of December of 1854, to the heritors' regret.

Considering, also, that the price of the chalder had fallen

for some time back, and thereby Mr Davidson's salary had suffered, it was decreed that he receive the maximum allowance of two chalders of meal, with a small compensation of money sufficient to level it up to the £30 sterling. But this arrangement was then upset by a new Act of Parliament anent the salaries of parochial schoolmasters, though not till 24th October 1859 was it known that the schoolmaster was to receive £34, 4s. 4d.—the odd pounds being compensation in respect that the garden ground was less than the statutory extent. A great deal of interest in schools and schoolmasters must have been felt at this time in Parliament, and another Act moved the salaries in the right direction in 1861. On the 2nd November 1861, heritors "after due deliberation resolve to fix the schoolmaster's salary, in terms of the above recited Act (24 and 25 Vict. cap. 107), at the sum of £40." This may have pleased the heritors, but it did not satisfy the minister, Mr Rutherford. On 12th February 1863, the heritors meet to consider among other things "the following report of the parish school made by the late minister of this parish to the Lord Advocate—'The school is, and has been ever since the present teacher was appointed, very well taught, and he ought to have the encouragement of a higher rate of salary than that which has been fixed by the heritors.'" The minister died in 1862, and this must have been among his last acts. The heritors, however, say not a word of all they considered.

The barometric pressure on heritors still continued in the schoolmaster's interest till, in 1864, Mr Davidson's salary was raised to £50. With a new school to enter in 1855, and a new schoolhouse somewhat later (albeit the old schoolhouse had just absorbed the school below it), and his salary at £50, the schoolmaster must be looked upon as then a prosperous

man. All this luxury was not enjoyed long, for in 1866, on the 29th April, he paid the debt of nature in his fifty-fifth year, and passed from Channelkirk school for ever. He was an elder in the parish church from 1845, and seems to have been highly esteemed by the minister and congregation. He sleeps in Channelkirk churchyard, where his tombstone still preserves his memorial.

The schoolmaster who came in his room is the present official, Henry Marshall Liddell.

Mr Liddell was born at Strathloanhead, in the parish of Torphichen, Linlithgowshire, on 27th January 1839, and was educated at the parish school there; he afterwards studied at the Church of Scotland Training College, and at Edinburgh University. He holds a first-class certificate from the Education Department. The degree of Fellow of the Educational Institute of Scotland was conferred on him in 1871.

At a very early age he started teaching, and was successively in charge of four other schools previous to his appointment to Channelkirk, which took place on 2nd July 1866. He has been teacher here for thirty-three years. He has always taken an interest in educational matters, and has been secretary of the Lauderdale Local Association of the Educational Institute since its formation in 1877. He was elected a member for three years of the General Committee of Management of the Institute for the South-eastern Counties, and was president of the Burgh and Parochial Schoolmasters Association in 1898-99. During his residence in this parish, he has filled the various offices which usually supplement that of teaching, viz.,—poor inspector, rates collector, registrar, and heritors' clerk. He was also Session-clerk from 1867 to 1875, and again from 1885 to 1895. Since 1872, when the School Board system was instituted,

he has been clerk and treasurer to the School Board of Channelkirk. He is secretary and treasurer to the Oxton Bivial Society, and held the presidentship of the same for sixteen years. From this Society, and from his pupils and friends in the parish at various times, he has been the recipient of valuable gifts. He is married and has family.

Mr Liddell is much esteemed in the parish, is kind and obliging, is a good "business man," drills his scholars well, and is most exemplary in his attendance at church.

The number of scholars enrolled in 1890 varied between 120 and 130: in 1898, between 90 and 100. The children in general are cleanly and well-dressed, but timid in manner, and give their answers, if at all, in monosyllables. The external evidences of politeness, as in most rural districts, are nil, but the children are not on that account rude. On the contrary, the blate smile and hanging head are to us far more eloquent of respect than the straight neck and the "cap" or "kirtsey," and perhaps more sincere. A number of children go from Oxton to the school at Lauder, and a few are taught privately.

CHAPTER XIII

THE BARONIES

OXTON

The Name, Origin, Meaning, and History—The Proprietors—Oxton "Territory"—Kelso Abbey—The Abernethies—The Setons—Home of Herniecleuch—Ugston and Lyleston—Heriots of Trabrown—The Templar Lands of Ugston—James Cheyne—James Achieson—Division of Ugston Lands—Wideopen Common—Inhabitants of Oxton—Trades in 1794 and in 1900—Gentry, Tradesmen, Merchants, etc., in 1825 and in 1866—Oxton Church—Societies.

OXTON village is the only considerable centre of population in this parish. It lies in the form of a cross along the two roads whose intersection at its heart shows that they must have practically directed its conformation. It is a pleasant, sequestered little place, 21 miles from Edinburgh and $4\frac{1}{2}$ from Lauder. Situated on the right bank of one of the tributaries of the Leader, commonly called Mountmill Burn, but formerly "Arras Water," it contains 154 inhabitants. It never can have been large, though its prospects in this respect are now brighter. If it be regarded as the central feature in the landscape, and taken with a mile radius, it is seen to be picturesquely environed by Airhouse Hill on the west, Soutra and Headsnaw Hills on the north, the Fells of Carfrae on the east, with the beautiful expanding valley of the Leader stretching away towards the south. When the springtime brings the opening bud and the sportive lamb, or when



DISTRICT AROUND OXTON VILLAGE (FROM THE WEST)

[face page 354]

autumn brightens the natural pensiveness of the Lammermoors with purple heather and sweeping uplands of waving corn, it were difficult, perhaps, to imagine a more peaceful scene than that in which it reposes.

It would appear that "Oxton" as a place-name came into regular use about the middle of the present century. Ugston is the name which is commonly found in the Parish and other Records, and on the tombstones in the churchyard; and it seems to have been the general form of it for several hundred years. It must be kept quite distinct from the "Uxtoun" of Pont's map and the Exchequer Rolls, near the Braid Hills, Edinburgh, and which now appears to be called "Buckstone"; and also from the "Oxtoun," or Ugston, in Haddington district. The Rev. James Rutherford, minister of the parish, writing in 1834 for the *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, says that Oxton was frequently set down as Agston. We have never met it in this dress save in his own pages. But it points to the fact of change being at work in its spelling at that time. In the "Roll of the Male Heads of Families," the parish schoolmaster, who was also Session-clerk, puts it down in 1837 as Ugston. Uxton as a variant is sometimes met with, but in the Exchequer Rolls, the Great Seal, the Retours, the Sasines, and similar sources, the name appears as *Ugstoun*, *Ugstone*, *Uggistoun*e, and such like approximations.

The Rev. Henry Cockburne, minister of the parish in 1627, declares that there are "twa husband landis in Huxtoun" which are kirk lands. He also writes it Huxstoun. But the "Ugston" model is most general, although we find it as *Uxtoun* on Pont's map in Blaeu's *Atlas*. King James III., for example, at Edinburgh, as far back as 1464, confirms to Sir William Abernethy in Rothymay, among many other lands, "the lands of Lilestoun

and Ugistoun." It appears occasionally in such deeds as "the barony of Ugistoun," or "the territory of Ugistoun."

When we leave secular ground and enter the ecclesiastical domain, we find that the name undergoes astonishing transformations.

In the *Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh*, Charter No. 292, which refers to the lands held in the interests of the diocese of St Andrews, the following passage occurs:—"And the tenths of the Mill of Newton and Nenthorn, and two marks by gift of Sir William Abernethy from the Mill of Wlkeston." This "Wlkeston" is our Ugston, or Oxtou. The charter is dated *circa* A.D. 1300.

We get from the monks of Dryburgh the forms Wlkeston, Ulkeston, and Vlkylston. Their brethren, the monks of Kelso Abbey, seem to have been even fonder of varying the spelling, and, singularly enough, came closer also to the original form. The reason why Oxtou is mentioned in their Register is because Kelso Abbey for long drew revenue from the lands of Oxtou territory, a connection which appears to have held good till 1647, when by Act of Parliament it was separated "from the said sometime Abbacy of Kelso and Priory of Eccles."*

In the Kelso Register, we find the name set down as Vlfkelyston, Vlfkeliston, Vlfkiliston, Hulfkeliston, and ulkilleston!

Now, at first glance, it does not seem credible that this Gargantuan "Vlfkylston" can be the ancient representative of the modern "Oxtou." But there is no doubt of it. Both designate the same place. In a charter from Dryburgh Register, No. 312, about 1380, the "Mill of Ulkeston" is said to be in the "Valley of Lauder." This connects

* Acts vi.

“Ulkeston” with Lauderdale, and is so far satisfactory. The charter itself was originally found in the charter chest of Thirlestane Castle. This connection is still further confirmed and carried up into the Parish of Channelkirk by a charter in the *Liber de Calchou* (Kelso). In Charter No. 245, Alan, son of Roland of Galway, Constable of Scotland, gives to God and the Church of St Mary at Kelso five carucates of land in Vlfkelyston in Lauderdale, with easements, as a composition for revenues which Kelso monks held in Galway in the time of his ancestors, in free and perpetual charity. The boundaries of these five carucates, or 520 acres, Lord Alan says, “I myself have walked over.” This method of measuring land by perambulation was then a common one, and they are defined as beginning “from the head of Holdene (Over Howden); descending by Holdene Burn to Derestrete; then northwards from Derestrete by Fuleforde and Samson’s Marches to the Leader; from the Leader to the eastern head of the same village of Hulfkeliston; from the eastern head of Ulfkiliston by a straight road through the south village, ascending as far as Derestrete; thence stretching to the tofts and crofts of William of Colilawe and of Richard, son of Ganfred, and so by the same way south to a cross, and thence towards the west as the crosses are placed, and so to Holdene.” This description is quite conclusive. For those who know the ground, this rugged outline has considerable interest, and Lord Alan must have been fairly tired when he finished his walk round it, “reddin’ the marches.” Five carucates were five ploughgates, or five times a hundred and four acres, and our view of the scene is sufficiently clear to show us that this ancient Hulfkeliston or Ulfkiliston must have been the venerable ancestor of the present Oxtun. All this perambulation took place about the year 1206, and as we

look down Oxton Street to-day and watch in fancy that spectral procession of nearly seven hundred years ago approaching and passing on, wending its way towards Over Howden, many feelings crowd upon us. The past never ceases to be wonderful. Over Howden and Over Howden Burn, the Leader, and the village are still with us, and a part of our common life, but Fuleforde, Derestrete, and Sampson's Marches have grown dim in the lapse of time. Fuleforde may have been a ford over the Leader near Carfrae Mill; Derestrete is Deirastrete, the road to Deira, once a province of Northumbria, and believed to have been the Roman road; but Samson's Marches are obliterated beyond even vague conjecture. They may have been the west boundary of Addinston property. But one thing is clear, viz., that the present Oxton is the only place that can fit into the "Ulskiliston" of the boundary which Lord Alan of Galway personally walked over.

Again, in the *Liber de Dryburgh*, No. 185,—“Thomas, the writer, son of William of Colilawe, prompted by divine charity, and for the salvation of his soul and the souls of his ancestors and successors, gives and concedes and confirms to God and the Church of Saint Cuthbert at Channelkirk, eight acres of land, four arable, and four meadow, viz., the haugh under Langsyde *in the territory of Ulkilston*.” This again connects Ulkilston with Channelkirk, and it is a reasonable conclusion that these acres were identical with those that formerly made a part of the glebe in Mount Mill Haugh, and which were excambed a few years ago for some acres nearer the manse.

The identity of Oxton with this ancient Hulfkeliston of the charters is admitted by the Rev. J. Morton in his *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, and by Dr J. Anderson

in his *Diplomata Scotiæ*. In Kelso Charters, No. 246, we are told, moreover, that William of Hartside is to pay to the monks an annual rent of 8s., to be paid out of certain land in Ulkiliston which belonged formerly to Gillefalyn in that place, and the contiguity of Hartside to Oxton is another though indirect proof that the present Oxton is meant by the Ulkeliston of the charters.

Having now assured ourselves that Oxton, Ugston, Uxton, Huxston, Uggistoun, Ulkiliston, Ulfkylston and Hulfkeliston, are all designations of one and the same place, we may pass on to show that they all spring from one source. Dr Anderson, in his *Diplomata Scotiæ*, has this comment on the name "Ulkilstun": "Town of Ulfkill, now contracted Uxton in Lauderdale regality in the Merse." "Ulfkill" is undoubtedly the principal part of the name, and the "tun" or "fence" the other. Who, then, was this Ulfkill? Can we reasonably assume that there was a person with such a name actually located so many hundred years ago in the village now called Oxton, who laboriously lived, fought, sweat, and ploughed by the meandering rivulet of Clora? There is a charter which Russell, in *Haigs of Bemersyde*, assures us with reasons (p. 30) must belong to the period 1162-66 A.D., wherein "William of Ulkillestun" is a witness to the sale of two families by Richard de Morville to Henry de Sinclair (Carfrae), serfdom being prevalent among the working classes of those days. Here we see that, so early as this time, Ulkillestun is well established, and gives territorial dignity and status to its proprietor. It seems, however, that there need be no timidity in assuming that such a person of the name of Ulfkill must have settled in Upper Lauderdale much earlier even than

the twelfth century. Peculiar as it looks to us now, the name of Ulfskill was not at all rare in either Scotland or England at that time. For instance, our saintly King David the First (1124-1153) grants to the Church of the Holy Trinity at Dunfermline his three thralls or serfs—Ragewein, Gillepatric, and *Ulchill*. *Ulfschill*, son of Merewin, is mentioned in a charter of the same king, giving certain favours to the Church of St Mary at Haddington. Also, in one of his charters in connection with Melrose Abbey, concerning the Grange lands of Eildon and Gattonside, one *Ulfschill*, son of Ethelstan, is mentioned as a witness. Still earlier, in one of the charters of Edward, King of Scots, one *Ulfskill* is named as having the nickname Swein. At that period, indeed, the name Ulfskill seems to have been quite a common one. From its association in the last instance with Swein, the name of the father of our Danish King Canute, it is easy to surmise that Ulfskill is Norse in origin. In fact, the name is Norse, and nothing else. But it turns out to be a contraction of the full name "Ulfscytel." This name, it need not be said, brings us at once into the full light of history, for the great hero Ulfscytel must have been as renowned throughout East Anglia and the North, at the commencement of the eleventh century, as Sir William Wallace was at the close of the thirteenth. Under the date A.D. 1004, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* tells the story of the incursion of the Danes upon Norwich, and how Ulfscytel, though of Danish origin himself, gallantly withstood the hordes of spoilers that burst over East Anglia, joining battle with them, and putting them to such hazards that they themselves said, "they never had met a worse hand-play among the English nation than Ulfscytel had brought to them." "In him,"

says Freeman,* "England now found her stoutest champion in her hour of need." And analogous to the "Ulfkillston" of our charters, it may be noted here that East Anglia is at that time sometimes called in honour of him "Ulfkelsland." He is described, indeed, as ruler of the whole north of England in the beginning of the eleventh century. His name, also, was contracted even then to the form with which we are familiar, for the Danes in their sagas speak of him, as William of Malmesbury does, by the term Ulfkill or Ulfkell.

This would seem to give us the right suggestion as to who this Ulfkill of Lauderdale should be, and how he came to settle in Channelkirk parish. True, we have not a shred of further historical ground which is firm enough to bear us beyond the valley of the Leader in order to satisfy our natural curiosity as to whether he was British born, though of Danish descent, or had come red-handed as a plundering sea-rover to the coast of Northumbria, ultimately finding a home under the shadow of the Lammermoors. But the turmoil and displacement of peoples at that period render his appearance at the place, now called Oxtan, perfectly rational and probable. This conjecture is further strengthened when we reflect that all over Northumbria, which then included Berwickshire, though not by that name, the Norse element was a predominating one, and that from 1017 to 1041, the very throne of the nation was in possession of the Danes. The name of *Ulfcytel* was in this country as early as the ninth century, and those who are interested in this matter have the time between that period and A.D. 1100, roughly, in which to fix the original settlement of Oxtan. Neither is it im-

* *Norman Conquest*, vol. i.

probable that a Dane should quietly submit to the drudgeries of cultivating the land which he had entered upon at first as a spoiler. The *Saxon Chronicle* tells us that in the year 876, Halfdene, who with his Danes had often carried fire and death into Northumbria, apportioned its lands out among his followers, "and they thenceforth continued ploughing and tilling them." Turner includes Berwickshire in this statement when he says, "Halfden having completed the conquest of Bernicia, divided it among his followers, and tilled and cultivated it." * Perhaps this requires qualification, for on this point the author of *Scotland under her Early Kings* has received praise from Freeman in his *Norman Conquest*,† for fully establishing that "Deira only was actually divided and occupied by the Danes." If Bernicia had been included in this Danish division of lands, we might have had strong historical grounds for assuming that Ulfskill came into Lauderdale with that influx of Norsemen, seeing that Berwickshire was included in Bernicia, which then stretched up to the Forth. Still, it is not denied by Freeman that Bernicia was then brought under some degree of subjection by the Danes, although he is convinced that it yet remained essentially English in occupation and ruling. However we may regard it, there is further evidence in another place-name just outside this parish in Lauderdale which shows a decidedly Danish settlement. This place is called Lileston. Singularly enough, the two names "Lilestoun and Uggistoun" are often conjoined in property deeds at a very early date. "Lileston" is a corruption of "Ilifstun," the town of "Ylif" or "Olaf," a famous name

* *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. ii., p. 164. By Sh. Turner.

† Vol. i., Note kk., p. 659.

in Danish victories of the ninth and tenth centuries. It was one of that name who in 854 blighted with desolation East Anglia, and carried his ravages throughout all the region bordering on the Forth. In such a raid it is not likely that Lauderdale would be overlooked. In A.D. 941 also, an Olaf was chosen King of Northumbria. He died after having laid waste and burnt the Church of St Balthere at Tynningham.* About the end of the twelfth century we know that one "Ilif or "Ailif" held property near Oxton, which was heired by his son Roger, and it is not improbable that this Ylif may have become possessed of, and given his name to, the place now called Lileston.

Both Roger and his father Ailif or Olaf seem to have planted their names firmly in the Lileston district, for as late as 1725 we find on Mole's Map of Lauderdale, *Rogerslaw* and *Eylston* neighbouring each other. In any case, the Danish settlers in Upper Lauderdale have place and name in an unmistakable manner at a very early date, whether or not they came into it in the ninth, tenth, or eleventh centuries. Other evidence also exists. (See "Hartside" account.)

It will also now, perhaps, be admitted that we are somewhat justified in believing that the Norse name *Ulfcytel* is the root of all the other designations which have been given to our village, and that, to the discerning, however the consonantal bones of it may be crushed and contorted, it is yet evident throughout the representative catalogue—*Ulfcytelstun*, *Ulfkillston*, *Hulfkeliston*, *Ulkilleston*, *Uggistoune*, *Huxston*, *Ugston*, and *Oxton*.

It will also now be apparent how far astray the name has wandered. How melancholy that the heroic Norse name

* *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i., p. 360.

"Ulfskill" should be turned into an "Ox"! "To what base uses we may return, Horatio!" If the initial "U" had but been spared!

We shall now try to trace the changes which the village has seen in bygone days with regard to its proprietors. Perhaps these may be as interesting as the fortunes or misfortunes which have overtaken its name. And here preliminary notice may be taken of the circumstance that the village was divided in its earlier periods into two sections, a hint of which is given us in Lord Allan of Galloway's gift to Kelso Abbey of the five carucates of land mentioned above. The boundary is spoken of there as passing through the "south village." This is about 1206 A.D., and as late as about 1567, or seven years after the Reformation, Kelso Abbey is said to draw revenue from "Ugstone, Ewer (Over) and Nether," to the extent of £26, 13s. 4d. *

Coming now to the early proprietors, we may reasonably regard the Norseman Ulfskill or Ulfsctyl to have been its earliest owner within the historical period, although it is beyond our knowledge to fix any precise date when first he lived in the body there, and gave to it his name. Oxton, however, at the earliest time of its mention in Records, was more than a village; it was an estate or territory, and must have embraced a considerable area of ground between Over Howden Burn and Mountmill, that is, between one of the marches of Allan of Galloway's five carucates and the place which was called Oxton Mill or Mill of Ulfskilston. Oxton "territory," indeed, seems (*cir.* 1200) to have included all the land which at present lies within the bounds which follow Mountmill Haugh and Burn down to the meeting of the latter with Kelphope Water at Carfraemill, thence across

* Kelso Register.

the intervening hills to where Carsemyres stood at the junction of Over Howden Burn with the highway, up Over Howden dean to Over Howden, on and over the moorland lying behind as far as to the burn which passes Inchkeith Farm and the Farm of Threeburnford. Thence from Threeburnford, following the Mountmill Burn, down to Mountmill makes a circle which girdled Oxtan "territory"; for there are indications that Airhouse Lands were also included within it. It had also rights, apparently, in a wider tract of land, which came to be called Wideopen Common later.

But while the "territory" of Oxtan retained these dimensions, during the reign of Allan of Galloway over Lauderdale, there is evidence that it was being broken up into sectional properties. The reason for this is evident. One strong hand seizes the whole land, then portions it out on conditions to his followers. These again find it convenient to do the same on conditions to others standing farther away than themselves from the fountain of authority. We have in Lauderdale, for example, David I., then from him Hugh de Morville, then from him his sons, then their favourites, the Church, and others, all possessing land. About 1213-14 A.D. William of Hartside is drawn upon by Kelso monks to the extent of 8s., which he pays out of the land which Gillefelyn of Ulkilleston held. This land was by certain evidence what is now called Heriotshall. Moreover, a croft and toft in the east part of the same village is given to them by Allan of Galloway, and we are also told that Roger, son of Ailif, had right to these moneys formerly. The lion's share of Oxtan territory had already gone to Kelso monks, with an offer also of Oxtan Mill which Dryburgh influence, exerted through some local magnate,

seems to have been strong enough to prevent their obtaining, and now the names of Ailif or Olaf, Gillefalyne, and Roger, as representing landed interest in and around Oxton, point to the initial divisions which ultimately broadened into Justicehall, Heriotshall, and other places, such as Langsyde, which have passed away.

The thirteenth century was one which saw great changes in Scotland, especially towards its close, in the uprising under Wallace, and the struggle for the Scottish Crown. Balliol, as representing the Earls of Galloway, received the superiority of Lauderdale when Earl Allan died in 1234, but little change seems to have taken place with regard to Oxton village or lands during the time of turmoil ensuing on Edward's invasions of Scotland in 1296 and 1298; and the Kelso monks still held their lion's share of it at the opening of the Scottish era of independence. In the Kelso Rent Roll, which, it is shown, must have been written before 1309, it is stated, "Habent in valle de Lawedir villā diam de ulkillestun^a q^c sol r^d der p añ xx. marc," or, "They have in the valley of Lauderdale half the village of Oxton, which is wont to return per annum twenty marks." Regarding the proprietors of the other half, which may have been either the Over or the Nether Ugston noticed above, we have no record. The Mill of Oxton comes under our observation in 1273, when Sir William de Abirnithy gives the monks of Dryburgh Abbey two marks out of its revenues. Regarding the origin of the Abernethy interest in Oxton territory, we are left in much uncertainty. They were anciently connected with the Macduffs of Fife. Lord Salton hazards the following explanation. After lamenting the meagre information available, he says,* "All record of the means by which

* *Frazers of Philorth*, vol. ii., pp. 28, 29.

the Abernethies acquired 'the Estate of Salton in East Lothian, or of the date at which it came into their possession, has unfortunately perished. But they appear to have held it before the time of this Sir Wm. Abernethy, and he probably obtained, as well as Glencorse (which had belonged to his elder brother Hugh), Ulkestone or Uggistone, in Berwickshire, as his appanage. In the beginning of the twelfth century Salton was part of the vast estate of the powerful family of de Morville, and probably the Abernethies were their vassals for it, but in process of time freed themselves from the superiority of that family, as of their successors."

In whatever manner the Abernethies came into Upper Lauderdale, the Mill of Oxtun was in 1273 part of their estate, and perhaps also all the Oxtun territory which was not held by Kelso and Dryburgh Abbeys. Their name comes into prominence in connection with this mill in the years 1220, 1273, and about 1300 and 1380.* During the thirteenth century their name was notorious enough. The Sir William Abernethy who gives in 1273 two marks to Dryburgh monks out of Oxtun Mill was the reputed instigator of the murder of Duncan, Earl of Fyfe, one of Scotland's guardians during a period when the country was in crises from Norse invasions, disputed succession, Papal impositions, Wallace risings, and English tyranny. But Lord Salton is convinced that Sir Hugh de Abernethy, Sir William's elder brother, was the real instigator, he being the head of the house at the time. Both brothers were probably confined in Douglas Castle, he thinks, although Douglas in his *Peerage*, p. 467, mentions Sir William only. At Potpollock (Pitelloch), in September 1288, Sir Patrick

* *Liber de Driburgh*, Charters Nos. 237, 175, 291, 292, 312.

Abernethy and Sir Walter Percy murdered the Earl of Fife, while the astute Sir William, the mover of the plot, lay in wait to intercept him if he had gone another road. Sir William and Sir Walter Percy were apprehended; Sir William to languish in Douglas Castle till his death, while Sir Walter suffered execution. This Sir William of Ulkilston was descended from Sir Patrick, who was the son of Laurence de Abirnithy, whose father was Orm. Orm is said to have given his name to Orm-iston, which was probably included at that time in the Salton estate of the Abernethies. Orm was descended from Hugh, who flourished in the reign of Malcolm IV.

There are glimmerings here and there that Lauderdale magnates were somewhat hopeless of Scotland's resistance to English aggression, and, like most of the Scottish barons, were not disinclined to submit. Munderville of Glengelt and Sinclair of Carfrae seem to have actually submitted, and Abernethy's murder of Scotland's principal guardian in the north may have had other aims behind it than mere private revenge. Lauderdale as a district, indeed, has always had stronger leanings towards kings than towards the people, whether the result might be for freedom or oppression. Sir William certainly swore fealty to Edward. But, in justice, it must be said that when Wallace's noble initiative in 1296, and Bruce's final achievement of Independence in 1314, made Scotland's position invulnerable, and when there was no doubt that the people of Scotland would retain their kingdom intact, then the barons, with Lauderdale magnates among them, moved forward in 1320 with their solemn address to the Pope, the duplicate of which may yet be seen in the hall of the Register House, Edinburgh, declaring that "so long as there shall but one hundred

of us remain alive, we will never give consent to subject ourselves to the dominion of the English." Better late than never, and we are pleased to see in the list of signatures those of James Douglas, Lord of Lauderdale, Roger de Mowbray, who may be the progenitor of the Mowbrays who held Kirktonhill near the close of the fifteenth century, Henry St Clair, Carfrae, and William de Abernethy.

It is in the time of King Robert the Bruce that we first hear of the House of Seton being connected with Channelkirk parish. About 1327, Allan de Hertesheued (Hartside) grants to Sir Alexander Seton, the father, Lord of that Ilk, a toft and croft and two oxgates of land (26 acres) in the territory of Ulkiston. The Setons were thus among the oldest proprietors of land in Upper Lauderdale, and they soon deepened their worth in it, as a reference to the account of Hartside will show.

The Setons do not appear to have retained their Oxtou property for any great length of time, and relinquished it in favour of the Abernethies. Before 1461, Laurence, Lord Abernethy, was possessed "as of fee" in the lands of Lyelstoun and Uxstoun, with their pertinents. On the 30th day of April of that year, an inquest was held at Lauder before Sir William de Cranstoun of Corsby, Sheriff Depute of Berwick, by Allan de Lauder, of that Ilk, in which it is shown that William Abernethy is lawful and nearest heir to his father Laurence in the lands of Lyelstoun and Uxtoun.* By the Exchequer Rolls of 1461, we ascertain that sasine of these properties was granted to the said William Lyelstoun, is then of yearly value 100s., and Uxtoun lands are valued at the same yearly price.

"The said lands are held in chief of the King, giving

* Original Charters, vol. iii., Register House, Edinburgh.

annually for Lyelstoun 1d. of silver at Whitsunday. Uxtoun is held by ward and relief, giving yearly common suit at the courts of the said constabulary (Lauderdale), and said lands are now in the hands of the King, by the death of the said Laurence and the failure of the true heir to prosecute his right to the same by the space of twenty weeks or thereby, before the date of said inquest." Three years afterwards, in 1464, King James III. confirms to him the lands of Rothymay, Redy, Dalgathy, Dalders, Glencorse, Saltoun, all in different counties, and Lielstoun, and Ugistoun in Lauderdale.*

At Edinburgh, 10th January 1483, the King confirms all the above lands to Lord William, "which he creates and incorporates into one free barony of Abirnethy. James, Lord Abernethy, is served heir to Lord William, his brother, and enters upon his estates 10th October 1488, when we note among his possessions, Lyelstoun and Ugstoun." Both are now worth, yearly, 20 merks, and in time of peace £10. In 1492, on the 9th of March, they pass to Lord James's son and heir-apparent, Alexander.

In the same year, 1492, James Abernethy, son of "George Abernethy of Uggistoun," witnesses a charter by the Earl of Huntly, and this gives us the individual owner of Oxton at this date. No doubt he held of his lordly relatives. On 23rd June 1482, "George of Abirdnethy of Ugstoun ordains John Baty, burgess of Edinburgh, and his heirs and assignees, his lawful bailies of all and sundry his lands of Ugstone, with pertinents, lying in the bailiary of Lawdyr for twenty-two years." He signs "Gorg of Abyrnethy vyt myi awn hand."†

* Great Seal.

† Original Charters, vol. iii.

On the same day of the same year he acknowledges to have received from the said John Baty and Isabel his spouse, the sum of £40 Scots (£3, 6s. 8d. sterling) "of the mail of the three first years of the tack of his lands of Ugstoun set to them for 19 years." In four years more John Baty becomes possessor of Heriotshall, as we ascertain from the following:—"10th Nov. 1486.—Charter whereby George Abernethy, lord of certain lands of Ugstoun, sells to John Baty, burgess of Edinburgh, those two husband lands with the pertinents, lying in the town and territory of Ugstoun and sheriffdom of Berwick, then occupied and possessed at rent by John Wod: To be holden *de me* for payment of 1d. Scots yearly at Pentecost on the ground of the said lands in name of blench-farm, if asked only. At Edinburgh, 10th Nov. 1486." This George Abernethy of Uggistoun comes into prominence in another way in 1491, the year probably of his death. On the 9th of February of that year, the lords decree* "that James Sinclare, and Christian of Cockburn his spouse, sall freith, releif, and keep scathless George Abernethy of Oxtoun, at the hands of Gilbert Fordice, of the payment of fifteen pounds, usual money of Scots, of the rest of a mare (more) soume aucht be him as borgh for the said Christian, to be paid Gilbert for the marriage completit between the said Gilbert and Margaret Abernethy, the dochter of the said Christian, becais they feilzeit in their preif the time assignit to them, and ordains that lettres be written to distress the saidis James and Christian their landis and gudes for the said soume of fifteen pounds, and mak the said George Abernethy be content, and pait fred thereof."

There is documentary evidence that the Abernethy

* *Acta Dominorum Auditorum*,

name was linked with the lands of Oxton through the years 1527, 1528, 1531, and 1557, for the Sheriff of Banff accounts on these dates for the rents of the Abernethy estates, and £3, 6s. 8d.—the same sum John Baty pays in 1482—had been received from the “*firmis terrarum de Ugstoun*” in Lauderdale.*

George, Lord Salton, has sasine of the lands of Lielston and Wgstoun as “son and air to umquhile Alexander, Lord Salton, his father, conforme to a precept of the Chancelrie, 1st June 1587.”† The change from the name Abernethy to that of Salton is explained by the fact that William, second son of Sir Patrick de Abernethy, became first Lord Salton. Alexander, ninth Lord Abernethy of Salton, sold the Salton estates to Sir Andrew Fletcher in 1643. He died without issue, 1669, and his title devolved on the heir of line, Sir Alexander Frazer of Philorth.‡

While these great names are so prominent at this period in the history of Oxton, we are not to suppose that as individuals their fortunes reflected much of the actual life of the sequestered and remote village by the river Leader. But the village life was very real all the same, and a short peep into it is given us by an excerpt from the “Privy Council,” which we quote:—

“1580.—Mr Johnne Knox, minister at Lauder, was assaultit bet. Cowdoun and Dalkeith by David Douglas in Oxton, with ane drawn quhingear, for refusing baptism to a child born in fornication.”§

It is just possible that this “Oxton” may be the place given in Pont’s map as being near the Braid Hills—Buckstone, now, we believe—but the “minister at Lauder”

* Exchequer Rolls, Appendix.

† *Frazers of Philorth*.

‡ Acts of Parliament, vii., p. 154.

§ Privy Council, vol. iii., p. 290.

points to the refusal having been given in Lauderdale. The village, no doubt, had its scandals in those days as well as now. Channelkirk had no minister at this time.

It must not be forgotten that we have hitherto been dealing with that part of Oxtan territory which was separated from the other part held in gift by the Kelso Abbey, who held of Lord Allan of Galway. This part was quite distinct from the possessions of the Abernethies, Setons, and William of Colilaw, and passed under the title of Kelso Abbey lands, as late, it seems, as 1646.* These Kelso lands were Over and Nether Howden, which embraced within their area the more modern farms of Burnfoot, Carsemyres, and perhaps Wiselawmill, Oxtan Shotts, and probably some acres nearer Oxtan which are not so clearly distinguishable. They naturally fall to be treated in the notices of Over Howden and Nether Howden.

In 1610 the town and territory of Ugston once more changed owners. Before 1605, Lord Salton, for reasons known to himself, found the accumulation of his misfortunes too heavy for the stability of his estates, and instead of judiciously seeking remedies, he rashly contracted more liabilities, until between the years 1609 and 1612 he was compelled to lighten ship in order to weather the storm, by parting with some of his properties. Of all the lands he sacrificed we are interested in Ugston and Lialston only. On 24th July 1610,† the king confirms the charter of John, Lord Salton, in which he sells to William Home of Harnycleuch, servitor to Alexander, Earl of Home, Lord Jedburgh and Dunglass, the town and lands of Ugstoun, with the pendicle called Luckenhaugh, with the exception of rights, should there be any, made by

* Great Seal.

† *Ibid.*

Lord Salton's predecessors to the late (Jas.?) Heriot. William Home also obtains that part of Ugstoun "now occupied and tenanted by William Heard and John Caldcleuch," 22nd December 1609. This property is known always as the Forty-shilling lands of Ugstone. In the Appendix to Dryburgh Register it is mentioned at various periods between 1535 and 1580 as paying forty shillings to Dryburgh Abbey. John Caldcleuch is first mentioned as paying forty shillings for the "fewe lands of Ugstoun" about 1580. But about 1620 he only pays four capones. In 1630 we find John before the sub-commissioners of Earlstoun Presbytery giving evidence regarding the teinds of Channelkirk parish. He is said to be then sixty years of age or thereby, and resides in Braedistie. This may have been the old name of the property known now as Ugston Mains.

It is with a certain sentimental regret that we have to record here the separation of Ugston from Lyleston, twin places which held together from the beginning, at least, of the twelfth century. They are linked originally in the Norse nationality of their owners, Ulfskill and Olaf; they journey together as possessions for five hundred years, and are then sundered in the rending of Lord Salton's fortunes. In 1612 Lyalstone is found in the hands of Lord Cranston; the Countess of Glencairn has it in 1614.* She gives it to her son, James Preston of Craigmillar, in 1624, and from Robert Preston of Preston and Craigmillar, John, Earl of Lauderdale, obtains it in 1630. We observe, in passing, that "Rogerslaw" is said to be "in Lyalstone" in 1362, and it will be remembered that Roger is said to be the son of Ailif or Olaf, from

* Great Seal.

whom Lyalstone obtained its name, and it is probable that "Rogerslaw" was named after the son who would inherit his father's estate in that place. Both names are Norse.

It must have been some time prior to the breaking up of Lord Salton's estates that the Heriots of Trabroun found possession in Channelkirk. Their connection with Ugston begins about 1610. They appear to be relatives of the same family which gave the scholarly George Buchanan his mother, and which found an honourable homeland in Gladsmuir parish,* and gave to Edinburgh the celebrated George Heriot, who founded Heriot's Hospital there. Their memory is yet retained in Channelkirk parish by the farm now called *Heriotshall*. In the same way that the Abernethies were strengthened in Lauderdale through their marriage connections with the more powerful House of Douglas and Angus, so the Heriot family seems to have entrenched itself within the walls of the rising House of Maitland. The relationship of the Heriots with the Maitlands appears to have been consummated in a contract of marriage in 1560, the memorable year of the Reformation. James Heriot was proprietor of Airhouse in Channelkirk sometime before this year, and perhaps had received his interest in it in succession to David Hoppringle of Smailholm. And accordingly in 1586-7, on the 20th January,† the King confirms the charter of the late James Heriot of Trabroun, Lauderdale, whereby he sells Airhouse, in liferent, to Isabella Maitland, who is contracted in marriage to James Heriot, jun., son and heir-apparent of the above James Heriot, who had, as we learn elsewhere, in 1558 married

* *Earls of Haddington*, vol. i., p. 34, note.

† Great Seal.

his daughter Elizabeth to Thomas, first Earl of Haddington.* The Heriots seem to have been early established in Lauderdale, as one James Heriot is mentioned in Lauder deeds in 1418, and no doubt was a progenitor of the above Jameses. There is a John Heriot, vicar of Soutra, in 1467. By the time we reach the year 1610 it is a Thomas Heriot who dies then possessed of Airhouse estate, and leaves it to his heiress and grand-daughter, Janet Heriot. Sometime before this he seems to have acquired property in Ugston, for she is also served heiress to her grandfather in "the two merk lands of Ugston, commonly called Pickilraw, in the village and territory of Ugstoun." She holds Pickilraw for twelve years, when William Home, who in 1610 obtained the "Forty-shilling lands of Ugston," takes into his sole right, 15th February 1622, from the King, the village and the lands of Ugston, the pendicle of these called Luikin-hauch, the two merk lands of Pikilraw, "which were occupied by the late George Fyffe." He also obtains the **TEMPLAR LANDS** of Ugston.

As Ugston Templar Lands are frequently mentioned after this date, perhaps we may be allowed to interpolate a few digressive sentences here, explanatory of Templar lands in general. "The Templar Lands of Chingilkirk" are mentioned as early as 1588† as being in the hands of James Cranstoun, son of Robert Cranstoun of Faluodscheills, but further light upon either these or those Templar lands of Oxton does not appear to be procurable, and the origin and previous record of both seem to be enshrouded in the impenetrable darkness which has enveloped so much else that refers to Templar history. We take the following extracts from a paper read before

* *Earls of Haddington*, vol. i., p. 18.

† Great Seal.

Hawick Archæological Society in 1887 by Mr Nenion Elliot, Teind Office, Edinburgh, which puts the matter as clearly and as satisfactorily as it is possible, perhaps, to have it :—

“The Templars came into Scotland in the reign of King David the First, who reigned from 1124 to 1153, and became so prosperous that there were few parishes wherein they had not some lands or houses. It may be here mentioned that the principal residence of the Knights Templars in Scotland was at Temple, near Gorebridge, Edinburgh, while that of the Hospitallers or Knights of St John, who also came into Scotland in David's reign, was at Torphichen, near Bathgate. Temple was founded by King David himself. The village of Temple is one of the oldest in Scotland, and still retains the name of Temple, as does also the parish in which the village is situated. This establishment was originally called Balantradock, and described in ancient documents as *domus templi de Balantradock* (now Arniston).

“In the year 1563 Queen Mary granted to James Sandilands, Lord St John, the last head of the Order of the Knights of St John or Hospitallers, a charter of certain baronies and of all the Temple land which had belonged to the Preceptors of Torphichen as the head of the Knights of St John. This grant by Queen Mary to Lord St John did not include all the lands in Scotland which had at any time previously belonged to the Knights Templars, some of these having been alienated to other parties before the suppression of the Order, and others during the time they were held by the Preceptors of Torphichen. By this charter the whole of the subjects conveyed were erected into one great barony, to be called the barony of Torphichen, at the manor-place of which, according to the old practice, Sasine was to be taken.

“On 9th July 1606 an Act of Parliament was obtained ratifying a contract made betwixt James Sandilands of Calder, Lord Torphichen, on the one part, and Mr Robert Williamson, Writer, and James Tennant of Lynehouse, on the other part, by which Lord Torphichen (in 1599) sold to them All and Sundry Temple lands and tenements pertaining to the said Lord Torphichen, either in property or tenandry, wherever situated, with certain specified exceptions.

“On 4th December 1607 Lord Torphichen granted a charter in favour of Williamson, in terms of the above Act of Parliament, but excepting from it certain lands in the counties of Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Lanark, and others. Sasine followed in favour of Williamson, and this title was confirmed by the Crown.

“The preceding narrative indicates generally what became of the

Templar property situated in Scotland. In one of the writs mentioned in the lawsuit, certain Temple lands are said to be within the counties of Fife, Kinross, Clackmannan, Perth, Forfar, Kincardine, Banff, Nairne, Inverness, Elgin, Ross, Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness, and Orkney. Another writ includes lands in Roxburgh, Selkirk, Kirkcudbright, Stirling, Dumbarton, Lanark, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Peebles, Wigtown, Renfrew, Dumfries, Berwick, and Ayr, and the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. These serve to show that the estates were scattered over the whole country."

There is little doubt that the leading men in Lauderdale from the earliest period had a close relationship to the interests of the Templars. In June 25, 1213, at Rutland, "Helen de Morville, daughter of Richard de Morville, was attached to show why she kept not the fine made in the King's Court by chirograph, between her said father and the master of the soldiery of the Temple, regarding 123 acres of land in Wissindene."* We also learn that the brethren had charters from Allan de Morville (Galloway), son and heir of Helena, to the same effect. Reference is also made in the extracts given above to James Tennent of Lynehouse, who received part of the Temple lands belonging to Lord Torphichen in 1599. There is a probability that this Tennent was related to the John Tennent, who in 1539 received a grant of Over and Nether Howden from King James V. This John Tennent was said to be "of Listonschiels." And in Torphichen Chartulary James Tennent is mentioned as "receiving a gift of escheat of all goods belonging to Robert Adamson of Listonschieles. Edinburgh, 11th January 1597." That is, they reverted to him. He was probably John's son, and enjoyed once more the paternal heritage.

The rest of the history of these "Tempellandis" is

* Original Charters in Register House.

soon told. James Tennent sold his moiety of them to the Robert Williamson above mentioned, and Williamson obtained a charter disjoining his purchase from the Barony of Torphichen, and erecting it into the "Tenandry of the Temple Lands." Williamson then sold the "Tenandry" to Lord Binning, afterwards Earl of Melrose and Haddington, who got these Temple lands erected into the Barony of Drem.

The Barony of Drem went to the Hon. John Hamilton, Advocate, who left no son. Robert Hill, Esq., acquired it, and the greater portion of it, up to the year 1845, belonged to John Black Gracie, Esq., W.S. *

There is no mention of the Temple lands in Chingil Kirk, either those of "Chingil Kirk" or of "Ugston," in the Berwickshire list in the Register House, or in the Torphichen Chartulary, and they must have been overlooked, for their existence is undoubted, and the references to them in the Great Seal and the Sasines are very frequent. They must have been long in the hands of the Saltons, and, no doubt, in those of the Abernethies before them. †

The Homes were at one time so powerful in other parts of Berwickshire, and so numerous, that we are not surprised to find their progeny flowing over into Lauderdale, and even into such remote corners of it as Herniecleuch. William Home, who added Oxton in 1622 to his other lands in this district, was married to Isobella Frazer, who may also have been a member of the Abernethy-Salton-Frazer family so conspicuous at the same period. ‡ Contemporaneous with the Homes of Ugston there was a

* See Maidment's Account in the *Spottiswoode Miscellany*, vol. ii., pp. 20-32.

† Great Seal, 5th February 1644.

‡ *Ibid.*

John Home in Over Shielfield, Lord Home of Polwarth held Headshaw, and half a century later a Home was ordained to the church and parish as minister, and was proprietor of Kelphope. For nearly two centuries the name of Home was a prominent one in this parish.

We have no means of knowing the exact date of William Home's death. On 2nd August 1622 he and his son John produce their sasine of the Forty-shilling lands of Ugston; on 7th Jan. 1623, he, his wife Isabella Fraser, and son John, the sasine also of the village and pendicles held of King James. John (or James, by one authority) hands them over to Abraham Home * of Home and Kennetsydheid, and to his wife Anna Home, on 3rd February 1640; who both in turn assign them to James Cheyne, W.S., Edinburgh, on 1st February 1643. The Forty-shilling lands, and perhaps all Ugston, had meanwhile been taken over about 1630 by Walter Riddel of the Haining, Selkirkshire. Dryburgh Abbey claims from him, then, on account of the Forty-shilling land, 35s. 5d., and in 1634, 43s. 4d., six poultry, and . . . "capounis."† As late as 1664, Alex. Home, son to Wm. Home, draws an annual rent furth of Oxtou.

But in 1644 the whole lands of Ugstoun—village; pendicles; mill; Forty-shilling land "sometime pertaining to the Dryburgh Monastery, and which the Earl of Mar and Lord Cardross, his son, held for a time"; and the Temple lands, "sometime held by John, Lord Salton"—all came into Cheyne's possession together.‡ He pays a yearly

* Sasines and Great Seal. † *Liber de Dryburgh*, p. 378.

‡ In the *Deepect of Locality of Channelkirk*, June 30th, 1827, it is said, p. 241, that "James Skeyne" had the lands of Ugston in July 1632. This is, no doubt, the same person designated James Cheyne, but it is not so clear that he held Ugston at that date.

return for the Temple lands of 3s. 4d., and 2s. of augmentation; and for his Forty-shilling land, the same as Walter Riddell in 1634, and for the other lands "customary rights and services."

We are tempted to pause a little here on the character of this James Cheyne, and append a few notes illustrative of his career in Edinburgh. When our account is so much engaged with mere property and its dues, a biographical variation may be, perhaps, all the more welcome.

His father, it seems, was Walter Cheyne of Tillibui,* who apprenticed his promising son to Robert Pringle. He it is who writes, about 1638, a charter by John, Archbishop Spottiswoode, St Andrews, confirming the lands of the late Lord Borthwick to Thomas Dalmahoy. He appears as "witness" in 1653, and as "notary" 26th June 1654.† In due time James blossomed out into a W.S., about two years previous to his becoming possessor of Oxtan lands and village. It does not appear, however, that he always kept the law which he professed to know so well, and had sharp and irascible ways. On 16th March 1659, "Mr James Cheyne and Mr David Watsoun compeared to answer to a charge of 'minassing' one another." They confessed to "discord betwixt them in William Dounie's chamber!" "Filling up a blank paper" was the *casus belli*. The case could not be settled at once, however, as the Commissioners "could not sitt any longer by reason of their uther urgent effeirs." But the scales of justice weighed out in a few days, "for the discord aforementioned," £20 each of a fine to "the box," and suspension till it should be paid. James sniffs at the whole concern, and does not deign to compear. Next month, on 5th April, the fine is modified to 20 merks

* *History of Writers to the Signet.* † *Calendar of Laing Charters.*

to be paid betwixt them. James is then graciously "re-admitted," to all appearance, although the minute of it is not given. We hear no more of him till four years afterwards, when he is found, in 1663, complaining that Robert Alexander dares to act as a W.S., notwithstanding that he was "at the horn"—no joke in those days—"and unrelaxed 'for this many years.'" Robert has "other faults," too, which have not escaped the sharp eye of Mr Cheyne. But when Robert Alexander, W.S., compears, subsequently, to answer the bill of complaint given in by Mr James Cheyne, the latter does not attend, and again proudly sniffs at the whole affair. Mr James, by-and-by, is the culprit himself, "for writing a bill and letters of horning," etc. James denies subscribing the letters, but seems, notwithstanding, to have written them. After due trial the letters are found to be "unformall"; but he still persists that he never subscribed them. On 30th January 1671 he is suspended a second time "for subscribing letters to unfreemen," and James Allan gets a warrant to subscribe letters for him during the time of his suspension. The professional atmosphere was growing black around him, and out in remote Oxton, long before this, property matters were no brighter. All through the year 1671 his star seems to have shone through clouds, even though he was "reponed" in February, for on 18th November 1672 "Mr James Cheyne being complained upon for writing letters to the Signet for agents and unfreemen, his letters are ordered to be stopped until he "make his appearance" to answer for his transgressions. Ten years go past, but he does not seem to have improved. On 6th November 1682 "the treasurer is ordained to 'settle Mr James Cheyne in some honest house quhair he may be alimented, and this without delay.'" 27th April 1683—"Approbation is given

to the treasurer for the sums paid to him to . . . Mr James Cheyne. . . .” The Commissioners, considering that Mr James Cheyne is in the exercise of his office till Whitsunday, find that till that time he ought to have no allowance from the box as pension, yet the treasurer is allowed “to give him in smalls two dollars betwixt and Whitsunday.” 7th May 1683—Mr James Cheyne is allowed £100 yearly, in quarterly payments, “in case he goe off the citty and forbear the exercise of his calling.” On the 15th June of same year he is due £20 to a Mrs Currie, cook, which the treasurer pays “off the first end of his pension.” The treasurer also is appointed to speak with Mr Duncan Forbes, the under-clerk, to know on what terms Lamertoun’s bond in his hand is granted to Mr James Cheyne. And the last view we have of him before he sinks beneath the waves of oblivion is in keeping with all the rest. 20th October 1684—“Mr James Cheyne having drawn a bill on the treasurer for £6, payable to John Sandilands on order, the treasurer is authorised to pay it, although there was not so much due of his allowance. The treasurer is recommended to advise him to draw no more till it be due!” A man of furious life evidently, and clearly indebted to kind friends, whose names are not revealed, for being kept from utter prodigality and dissoluteness. Thirty-one years before this last sinister notice of him in 1684, viz., in 1653, we find that his Oxtan property was not large enough to supply his exchequer, and had to be bonded. He had held it nine years at that date. He then wadsets it to John Home of Aitoun and Hutton, and his second wife, “in an annual rent of 300 merks Scots yearly, to be uplifted from the Ugston lands, mill, and mill lands.” Sasine of the same is granted to his son and heir, Alexander Home, in 1664, by precept of clare constat from

James Achiesone of Howdoun, hereditary proprietor of the lands of Ugstoun, mill, and mill lands thereof.*

James Achiesone was not a newcomer to Channelkirk parish when he got the lands of Ugston, for he had been established in Nether Howden "in fee" in 1647. His father, John Achieson, advocate, held the same property in liferent at the same time, although the Channelkirk *Locality* † dates it at 1632. A doubtful statement. The Achieson (or Aitchison) family, who may have descended from the Achiesons of Edinburgh, so long connected with the Mint, kept long their connection with Nether Howden, although in January 1681 we find that John Ker gets sasine of the lands of Ugston and Ugston mill (Mountmill).‡

The Kers, so famous in Border story, long held most of the teinds of Channelkirk parish. In 1631 the Kers of Morriston are said to own the "two husband lands of Ugston." § These are now called Heriotshall. The Kers held them throughout the greater part of the seventeenth century. In 1687, 13th January, John Ker of Moristoun, heir of Andrew Ker, his brother, who was in 1676 served heir to Mark Ker of Moristoun, his father, enters into possession of the "two husband lands of Ugstoun" (Heriotshall). He also held at this time Collielaw and Bowerhouses, as also half of the teinds of almost the whole parish, bequeathed to him from his ancestors. These, we need not say, were only part of great possessions which the house of Moriston, now so humble, then held in Lauderdale and throughout Berwickshire.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the lands of Oxtou appear to have become separated into several distinct

* *Calendar of Laing Charters*, No. 2587.

‡ Sasines.

§ *Locality*, p. 243.

† Pp. 237-41.

Retours.

properties, each having its special designation. In various deeds and charters these figure as *Pickleraw* ; *Luckenhaugh* ; *Ugston Mains* ; *Temple Lands* ; the *Two Husband Lands* ; and *Forty-shilling Lands*. Over Howden and Nether Howden, which originally were included in the "barony" or "territory" of Ugston, were quite distinct from all these.

Pickleraw has a descendant surviving among us to-day which is called Pickieston, an abbreviation of Pickleston or Picklestoun. Pickleraw was originally known as the "Two Merk Land of Ugston."* Luckenhaugh (Look-in-Haugh) has also its surviving relative to-day in the "Luckencrofts" field near Oxton Cross, now included in Nether Howden Farm. Ugston Mains is yet a fine flourishing farm of 100 acres, and seems to have been the "Forty-shilling Lands of Ugston." Forty-shilling Land was Three Merk Land in the East of Scotland,† and it appears that Oxton Mains answers more to the size of the "Forty-shilling Land" of the past than any other piece of ground known to us in Oxton vicinity. The "Temple Land" does not seem to have been defined at any time, and is always spoken of as "*lying among* the lands of Ugston." Perhaps Heriotshall and Ugston Mains may have swallowed it between them, seeing that all three appear to have been contiguous to each other. Heriotshall is now 13 acres, or an oxgang (that is, half a husband land), larger than its original size of two husband lands, and Ugston Mains is 22 acres larger than its original dimensions. From both we get 35 acres, or in old measurement nearly three oxgangs ; and these three oxgangs may probably have been the original Temple Lands of Ugston. The "Two

* Great Seal, 1622 A.D. ; Sasines.

† *Celtic Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 226.

Husband Lands of Ugston" were Heriotshall, which obtained this latter designation from the Heriots of Airhouse about the beginning of the seventeenth century.

When, or from whom, the Somervilles may have obtained Heriotshall we are not quite clear, but it was no doubt purchased from the Kers of Morriston, and it must have been at some considerable time prior to 1727. We know that John Murray of Ouplaw (Uplaw, or Wooplaw), on the 2nd September of that year, had that property conveyed to him from Alexander Somerville, mariner in Chatham, the son of Alexander Somerville, writer in Edinburgh, then deceased, who was the eldest son of the deceased George Somerville and Alison Bathgate of Heriotshall.*

In 1742 Oxtan Mains belongs to James Somerville of Airhouse,† John Murray still holds Heriotshall, and Lucken-haugh, or Justicehall, is the property of James Justice, "one of the Principal Clerks of Session." These had been disposed to Mr Justice by Thomas Mathie, 15th June 1739.‡ This brings Oxtan lands clearly under one view, although they have now got divided among different owners.

The lands of Ugston having thus distinct bounds and separate appellations, viz., Heriotshall, Justicehall, Ugston Mains, not to mention Over Howden and Nether Howden, these may perhaps be more conveniently treated under their different designations, to which the reader is therefore now referred.

There is, however, one property that calls for mention here and which was closely associated from time immemorial

* *Acts and Decrees*, vol. 597 ; Mack.

† Kirk Records.

‡ *Locality*, p. 168.

with the existence of Oxton, and as a burning interest in it was evoked twenty years after the time (1742) which we have last recorded, it may appropriately be discussed in this place. We refer to the Common called "Wideopen."

Before the days of modern land-hunger, "commons" were prevalent over all the country. But, as may be conceived where every one had rights, and where all could claim liberty to pasture cows or whatever stock they chose, the burden upon such common spaces would become very great, and, in individual cases, the abuse of greedily putting so many cattle on them would be too apparent to escape the reprobation of the general community. These troubles, therefore, rose on many occasions, and the common benefit soon became a common nuisance, and lawsuits were frequent anent the quarrels that ensued. The thirty-eighth Act of the Scottish Parliament of the year 1695* dealt with these "commons," and power was given whereby such commonties might be divided at the instance of those whose properties and rights were involved in them. This facility was taken advantage of in the case of "Wideopen" by Robert Scott, Esq. of Trabrown, "late of Madeira, now of London," in a process at his instance against the Earl of Lauderdale and others interested in it, which, begun in 1762, did not quite close till 1769. Difficulties had arisen on every side, and "Wideopen" being contiguous to the properties of three parishes, many jealousies were stirred, and evidently Mr Scott had determined to bring the whole matter to something like a clear understanding on a legal basis, and have the disputes allayed for all time coming. He raised the case to have the commonty divided and parcelled out

* *Acts and Decrees*, vol. 597 ; Mack. Register House.

among the various proprietors who had the right to pasture cattle on it. These were:—

1. EARL OF LAUDERDALE, for Whitelaw.
2. ADAM FAIRHOLM, banker, Edinburgh, for Pilmuir barony, which included Upper Sheilfield, Pilmuir, Blackchester, Midburn, Haverlaw or Halkeslaw, Wiselaw-mill, etc.
3. SIR JOHN PATERSON of Eccles, for Kittyflat.
4. MISS CHRISTIAN HUNTER, for Nether Howden.
5. ROBERT SCOTT of Trabrown, pursuer, for part of Trabrown barony, with the New Mill.
6. JOHN CHRISTIE of Baberton, for Meikle Catpair.
7. JAMES JUSTICE of Justicehall, for the lands of Ugston, Over Howden, and Upper and Nether Carsemyres.
8. JAMES MURRAY of Uplaw, for Heriotshall in Ugston.
9. JOHN THOMSON, for Nether Bowerhouse.
10. JAMES SOMERVELL, for Arras (Airhouse) and Ugston Mains.
11. JAMES WATHERSTON, for the lands of Haugh.
12. ALISON WATHERSTON, widow of Wm. Cuthbertson, portioner of Trabrown, and ——— Cuthbertson in Trabrown, for their respective interests of liferent and fee, for parts of the lands of Trabrown.
13. JANET, ISABEL, and MARGARET WATHERSTONS, children of James Watherston, deceased, portioner in Trabrown, and Janet Watherston, his widow, for part of Trabrown lands.
14. JOHN WATHERSTON, for acres in Trabrown belonging to his father, Simon Watherston of Netherfield, deceased.
15. JAMES WATHERSTON, for Netherfield or House-in-the-Muir.
16. THOMAS MURRAY, baxter in Edinburgh, for Mitchelson and Gilmerton.
17. JOHN CUMING-RAMSAY, for Threeburnford.
18. GEORGE THOMSON, Lasswade, for Burnhouse.
19. GEORGE ADDISTON of Carcant, for Colielaw.
20. JAMES HOG, for Longmuir lands.

In the valuation of Wideopen Common, taken in June 1762, the following places are mentioned as lying on its boundary line:—Gilmerton, Cokim, Gilmerton Moor, Howbogs, Kameknow, Know-canny, The Burn, How-slack, Rowantree-law, Longmoor-burnfoot, The Fluther, Gorieford,

Threeburnford, Arras-burn, The Slack, Meikle Dodhill, Turnercleuch, Fairnedoup, Howdenhill, Hemphillhouse, The Dod, Hiseldean, Birniehill, The Kairn, Pate's hag, Tathlaw-know, Ugston, Edinburgh Road, Hairlaw, Broad-bog. The Dass, Wardlaw Moor, Turnerford, Graysbarns, Rashie-cleuch, Kippit-hill, Wideope-green, North Grain, Pilmuir Road, Litler Kairn, Willie-Struther-bog, The Tongue, Falside-road, Sandwell-syke, Meikler Kairn, Middle Rig, Long-slack, Inchkeith, Trabrown Road, Blackchester-lair, Mitchelston Road, Weatherlaw, Horse-bog, Frekles, Deanburn-brae.

These give a general idea of its great extent, and of the importance attached to it. But the confusion that was likely to arise becomes evident when over such an area "each of these tenements and possessors of the same have an universal right over the whole common," "which right they have been in use to exercise at pleasure, by pasturing what number and kinds of cattle they thought proper," "without restriction or limitation, or being any way confined as to place of pasturing, or the number, quantity, or kinds of beasts"; "they also cast and win peats in the moss, cast turf, feal, and divot in the muirs at pleasure, without the least restraint or restriction." In short, the common, from originally being a place of common benefit, became an object of common plunder, and great heartburning as usual was generated throughout the three parishes. Mr Dalziell, Hartside, "quarrelled" Mr Cumming's rights and titles with reference to Threeburnford, and an Archibald Smith, who once lived at Collielaw, "one morning, when he came in from the common, where he had gone about sun-rising, told that William Murray's "herd" had his sheep of Easter-town in the common, and he, Archibald

Smith, had turned the sheep off the common, and told the herd (shepherd) if ever he brought them there again he, Archibald Smith, would put them into the house; and further, he went along with William Murray's sheep till they were quite off the common, where William Murray met him, and they had a long dispute about the matter." These were the days when the hillsides and even the fields were entirely free from fences, and the innocent sheep might stray far and wide, and crop any spot they might deem sweetest. With what result we see, in growling Dalziels and threatening Archibald Smiths!

The case was contested sharply, and many adjustments and re-adjustments were proposed and pleaded. Finally the Commissioners advised, and the Lords of Council and Session approved, that the common be divided among the several parties having interest therein "in proportion to their respective valued rents, quantity and quality considered." They therefore found "that the whole surface of the said common is exhausted," and eighty separate sections on a plan showed the various plots in colours into which it was divided. The case came up first before Lord Barjarg on 25th February 1762, and the division was to take effect on Whitsunday 1764. But there were several discontents who petitioned against the arrangements, and the case was remitted to Lord Barjarg once more for the purpose of calling and hearing parties. George Somerville, Airhouse, and James Murray, Heriotshall, were defenders among others. It was alleged that the division as allocated would not meet their wants with regard to other properties. Walker's Croft in Oxtou, for example, was shown to be isolated, and many other murmurs were bruited, but the Commissioners, after repairing to the

common personally, and examining it all over *de novo*, found it impossible to make any alteration.

There was one important provision made, viz., that *"the loans, highways, and roads be left open through the common for common passage and travelling as formerly."**

It strikes one as strange that the common, which is called by the name of Oxtan in several charters, should not have had retained within it somewhere some privileges for Oxtan villagers. No doubt, at a very early date, such advantages would exist. It seems reasonable to think so. But indifference to their own rights, perhaps, and possibly the encroachments of surrounding "territories," "baronies," and "estates" of various denominations, quietly, in course of time may have dispossessed them; and when the land came to be allotted, Oxtan inhabitants would have no claim in law. Airhouse, Justicehall, and Heriotshall properties must be responsible for this, or perhaps the "laping" took place at an earlier time than when these divisions became definitive.

In this condensed and necessarily formal account of the village we regret that we have been unable to say more regarding the people who have lived and died in it, and given it continuity of existence during so many hundred years. So far as we have been able to discern, no one of any remarkable name has risen from that ground. There are, of course, many references to Oxtan people in the Kirk Records and other sources, but these are chiefly in connection with matters peculiar to such documents, and do not flatter any one in particular. The poor, the Sabbath-breaker, the misfortunate, the frail,—each has his or her special niche in that "Temple of Fame"; but this is

* *Acts and Decrees*, 597, p. 148.

a distinction which is shared by the same classes in a similar manner in almost every village and parish in the land. Lower down than the Kirk Records, in the realm of hearsay and tradition, we encounter weird and harrowing accounts of men and things which it may be charitable to forget. Beyond these sources all is silent, and the notables of Oxton, if there were ever any such, must remain unchronicled as well as unsung. We are not greatly surprised at this paucity of talent. Rarely have villages situated so far from the stimulating influences of life as Oxton is, produced full-grown greatness, or greatness remarkable in any sense. There is a necessary debility and enervation in village environment which acts upon human nature like the stone above the blade of grass. The seed is there planted, but it is in a pot; the bird is nurtured in a cage. There is a lack of stimulus and expansion, and the "noble rage" is repressed and the "genial currents of the soul" frozen. If the villager rises above the level of the village, he must seek his leverage outside of it. For it is not true that a man endowed with talents or genius will in any circumstances or place make his mark. A too hard shell will kill the chick, let the egg be of the noblest.

So far as we have been able to estimate village character as it grows in Oxton, we do not think it differs in any respect from other villages of a like size and with similar disadvantages. Human life flows on its ordinary course between sunrises and sunsets, with but little variation from year to year. There are births, joyful or sad; there are marriages, happy or miserable; there are deaths, lingering or sudden. The three piers, Eat, Sleep, Work, carry the span of existence from the cradle to the grave. In the interstices and

intervening spaces are packed the ordinary brick and rubble of the threescore years and ten. There is the usual quantum of interest in each other's affairs ; the usual hopes and fears of the term day ; now and then a dispute must be quieted in the Sheriff's court-room, which for a time creates vicious manners between the litigants and the rest of the inhabitants, who invariably take sides in the contest ; a political election, a school examination, a concert, a ball, a runaway horse, or such like, sends thrills more or less shocking through the body social which lies between the two "toon ends." Work is far from exacting, and as each is, as a rule, alone in his shop or workroom, he has the regulation of his rate of labour in his own hands. But although the work may be done with many restings, it is seldom altogether shirked for indulgences of a questionable nature. Few if any of the villagers throw down their work in a fit of wantonness to take up tankards and glasses in bibulous bouts during the day. Oxton is a village freer from cases of inebriation than any the writer has ever known. Sobriety, indeed, is characteristic of the whole parish. This does not mean, however, that it is totally free from vice. It has a bad reputation for certain forms of sin. We cannot place its moral tone very high, although it has its due share of true Christian worth. There are "wantons," and lapsers from church and school ; and too many "cases" which have to stand rebuke in the Kirk-Session.

Apart from these defections of character, the people in general are industrious, frugal, respectable, and self-respecting. Many kind hearts are in the village, and, without mentioning piety, there are noble instances of a self-denying, Christ-like life. Several are the owners of their shops and dwellings, and can boast of a tocher in the bank. The working men — and the village knows no other class — are

remarkably intelligent and level-headed. They all read, and they reflect upon the matter they read. The newspapers are eagerly perused, some taking in a "daily"; but many add more permanent literary treasures to their mental stores, and the Bible-class "essay," or the "paper" and "speech" at the Literary Society, amply prove that with favourable auspices and a higher ambition, any of the learned professions might be attained by them with ease and distinction. Perhaps their lack of aspiration to higher things is the characteristic most to be regretted. This is fostered, no doubt, by the spirit of hopelessness with which village lads usually regard the world beyond them. Going to strange homes, among strange people, to pursue a fortune never before attempted by his forbears, is a prospect which daunts the young heart, be it ever so brave; and when his village shyness, and modesty, and clumsiness are brought alongside of the airs and appearance of some townified acquaintance, and he hears also the repeated fears of his parents dinned mournfully in his ears, together with the knowledge of a limited supply of money at his command, there is little wonder that any latent spark of ambition in him should be extinguished, and that instead of walking the stately corridors of the University, he is found whistling all his days at the plough, turning out wheel-barrows and cart-wheels, or thrashing tackets on a stool.

The social side of life is one fairly well cultivated, although this is largely shared with the farm people in the surrounding district. Farm "hands" have no "harvest homes" or "kirns" in the parish, and duller farms, socially or convivially, it would be hard to find, and consequently the lads and lasses from the farms are always included in invitations to "social" meetings, and they steadily avail them-

selves of these. No cold exclusiveness exists between the "metropolis" and the "provinces"! The behaviour at gatherings of this kind is excellent. By mutual arrangement, "socials" are conducted "on teetotal principles," as it is termed, and thus there is nothing more exhilarating than dances and refreshments of a substantial nature to arouse latent differences into flame, even if these actually existed. There is no distinctive market or fair, annual or otherwise, held in the parish, nor can any trace of such be found in the past. The burgh of Lauder has always been the centre of attraction in matters of this kind, and it is yet the rendezvous for them twice a year at least.

What, perhaps, helps to keep the sociable element specially active in the village, is the return, on occasions of such meetings, of the young folk who have had to seek employment beyond the bounds of their calf-ground. The sight of home and home faces naturally exalts the spirits of the "exiles," and their gaiety communicates itself to the rest, and renders these "socials" very hilarious indeed. But this evokes once more the regret that all the young people should require to seek the "distant scene" in which to earn a crust of bread. The young people are the life of a parish and district, and when they have to abandon their homes, they leave behind them faces graver because of their absence, and, for many, a grey seriousness hangs like a pall over hill and holm till they return. Were there a class of wealthy people, this condition of things might have some compensations. The lack of some class to respect beyond themselves is always hurtful to working people. They see no one to emulate or follow, the interest in their similar soon loses edge, and scorn of pretension and low pride is, of course, the reward of him who ventures his head out of the common

ditch. All the heritors and all their representatives live out of the parish, and take small interest in its human affairs beyond drawing the rents. Rents of farms, rents of houses, and such like, become drained away, and the people derive no benefit from either the persons or the purses of those who partly live by their labours. There is consequently little circulation of money. This is rendered still worse by the fact that the wealthiest farmers follow the landlords' example. The poverty of the parish, in this way, soon stares at every one, as a consequence, in neglected, dreary farm-steadings, unslated and unwashed; and when workpeople have to labour and live amid such dismal surroundings, under the commands of an inferior, they are apt to lose respect both for themselves and their place.

It is a sunny spot, in the gloom of these circumstances, to see the strong attachment to their village shown by the youths who have been shoved out of their valley by "man's inhumanity to man." They return at "social" times as lively as swallows in summer, and renew friendships with deeper zest. They seem to forget all the causes of sundered homes and parted hearts, and it is only when graver episodes, such as sickness and funerals, call them to serious reflections, that the "absentee landlords," "led farms," and such like "grievances" come up, among much else, for disapproval and reprobation.

In 1794 the Rev. Thomas Murray, minister of the parish of Channelkirk, wrote an account of it for the *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, which was set agoing by Sir John Sinclair, but he mentions nothing specific regarding Oxtoun worth quoting. Neither does the *New Statistical Account* give more particulars. Nearly all the trades set down there may, however, be reasonably regarded as those of

people living in Oxtan. In 1794 there was one weaver and six tailors, two shoemakers, two smiths, one wright, three masons, and one gardener. Two of these occupations have vanished—the weaver and the gardener. There are three millers mentioned then, whose trade has also become a thing of the past.

The trades actively represented in it at present are : Grocers, two ; blacksmiths, two ; tailors and clothiers, two ; shoemakers, two ; drapers, two ; joiners, one ; confectioners, one ; dressmakers, one ; bakers, one ; dykers, one ; roadmen, two.

There are, moreover, several tradesmen who have abandoned their regular calling for labouring work, and several journeymen are employed in the shops enumerated in addition to those given. Several ploughmen, vanmen, mole-catchers, lodgers, etc., make up the rest of the village industries. The teacher is the sole representative of the professions, and the constable keeps all in awe of the majesty of government.

The following lists may interest the present inhabitants :

*Resident Gentry in 1825.**

Capt. JAMES SCOTT, R.N., Channelkirk.

GEORGE SOMERVILLE, Esq., J.P.

Capt. JAMES SOMERVILLE, of Airhouse.

Merchants and Tradesmen, etc.

JOHN BELL, shoemaker, Ugston.

MALCOLM McBEAN, shoemaker, Ugston.

GEORGE MITCHELL, shoemaker, Ugston.

DAVID SCOTT, shoemaker, Ugston.

ANDREW CAMPBELL, draper, Ugston.

* Pigot & Co.'s *Directory*.

WILLIAM DALGLEISH, tailor, Ugston.
 JOHN MURRAY, tailor, Ugston.
 ROBERT GLENDINNING, flesher, Ugston.
 JOHN MCDUGAL, master of the Parochial School, Ugston.
 NICHOL DODDS, assistant master, Parochial School, Ugston.
 THOMAS DONALDSON, baker, Ugston.
 JAMES HOWDEN, cartwright, Ugston.
 GEORGE MITCHELL, innkeeper and grocer, Ugston.
 JAMES LYALL, innkeeper and grocer, Ugston.
 JAMES TURNBULL, innkeeper, Carfraemill.
 JAMES WOOD, senr., grocer, Ugston.
 JAMES WOOD, grocer, Ugston.
 WILLIAM LINDSAY, grocer, Ugston.
 ANDREW REID, blacksmith, Ugston.

In 1866, the trades, etc., in Oxton were as under : *

<i>Bootmakers</i>	. . .	JOHN BELL. DAVID SCOTT. THOMAS SCOTT.
<i>Cartwrights</i>	. . .	WILLIAM BELL. JOHN CAMPBELL. ROBERT WATSON.
<i>Grocers</i>	. . .	JAMES MATHEWSON. ROBERT MACINTOSH. ANDREW CAMPBELL. ROBERT WALKINSHAW (also a spirit dealer).
<i>Milliner</i>	. . .	MARY ANN FORREST.
<i>Blacksmiths</i>	. . .	JOHN MURRAY. ALEXANDER REID. JAMES N. REID.
<i>Tailors and Clothiers</i>		WILLIAM WADDELL. ADAM RICHARDSON. JOHN WADDELL.
<i>Drapers</i>	. . .	JAMES SWAN. ADAM WATSON.
<i>Baker</i>	. . .	JOHN SCOTT.

One or two things connected with the village might be considered worthy of perusal. And first, as to religion. Dissent once flourished in Oxton, and had its "church,"

* Rutherford's *Southern Counties' Register and Directory*.

and passed through the usual period of struggle and martyrdom. Some one has said that Presbyterianism is never happier than when in a condition of distress and wringing of its hands. There was in 1751 a zealous band of anti-burghers in Oxtan belonging to Stow congregation. They petitioned the Presbytery of Edinburgh for a separate "supply of sermon," and this was granted. They then worshipped in the open air, and in barns as "painfully" as possible, for, as a rule, the more gruesome the circumstances of worship, the deeper the conviction obtains that "this is none other than the house of God!" Ultimately, it appears they became decently housed in the two-storey building adjoining Mr Alex. Reid's smithy, to the west, at the top of the village, and there "protested" to their heart's content. This Shiloh was not very well supported by Oxtan inhabitants by-and-by, and soon the majority was observed to be mostly composed of people from Lauder and its vicinity, who on reflection thought they might sensibly spare both their zeal and their legs if they built a "meeting house" there. This was done in 1758, and the Oxtan congregation, which had hitherto been under the wing of Stow, from this date became changed to that of Lauder. Oxtan, therefore, can boast of once possessing a "mother church!"

"Oxtan Friendly Society," established in 1801, for meeting the exigencies of sickness and death among the working people, and "Oxtan Total Abstinence Society," instituted in 1840, have both lapsed for many years. This must also be said of the "Parochial Library" located in Oxtan, and more recently extinct.

Another institution which has had a more permanent life than the above is Oxtan Friendly Bovial Society,

which held its first meeting on the 11th of May 1839, and still continues to flourish. It was formed for the laudable purpose of mutual assistance in case of loss of cows from disease or accident. But it has often served the purpose also of social celebrations, and in uniting classes of men in pleasant reunions whose interests and occupations keep them apart, and pleasant memories and merry associations are often recalled in connection with it.

So much for the past. At present high expectations are being fostered that a new era is at hand for the ancient village with the advent of the railway. The old order must change, it is felt; and few will regret to have it so. The locality is one which is much appreciated by summer visitors, and even with the present difficulties to encounter, is taxed to find accommodation for those who come. With travelling facilities on a level with modern comforts, and with a new water-supply now in process of construction, there is little doubt that building will increase, population multiply, and trades expand, and perhaps the whole face of the valley as well as of the village undergo a complete transformation in the coming generations. We feel confident that the knowledge of its early history will not detract from, but rather enhance, the modern amenities of the old place, for although it has given no great name to the world, and written no bold letters on the page of history, it is yet intimately associated with the interests and fortunes of some of Scotland's most memorable families. "History is made up of what is little as well as of what is great, of what is common as well as of what is strange, of what is counted mean as well as of what is counted noble."* One has sometimes beheld a tiny stream wind

* Flint's *Philosophy of History*, p. 8.



DISTRICT AROUND OXTON VILLAGE (FROM THE NORTH)

[Face page 400

a not uninteresting course through a broad plain, whose noble beauty and varied expanse almost prevented the eye from seeing the silvery band of soft meandering water; so the dim annalistic course of our little village has flowed onwards through the wide vista of national history, unobtrusive and chequered, yet now and then throwing up its bits of clear light, and here and there casting back some broken reflection of the images of men who were moulding in the impassioned spheres of human life and sorrow the stern character of their time and country.

CHAPTER XIV

THE BARONIES—*Continued.*

CARFRAE

The name "Carfrae"—Ancient Boundaries of Carfrae Lands—The Sinclairs of Herdmanston—Serfdom at Carfrae—Division of Lands—The Homes—The Maitlands—The Haigs of Bemersyde and Hazeldean—The Tweeddales and Carfrae—Tenants—Robert Hogarth—The Wights—Headshaw—Herniecleuch—Hazeldean—Friarsknowes—Fairnieles—Hillhouse—Kelphope—Tollishill.

CARFRAE is in some respects the most notable place in Upper Lauderdale. It has always preserved in its name and situation a certain distinction both with respect to its strategic importance as a stronghold in ancient times, and its territorial connection with the proudest names in Scottish history. All other landed properties in Channel-kirk parish have, with the passing of the centuries, slowly declined from the gilded levels of aristocratic possession to the less lustrous, if more practical, regions of the commoner; but Carfrae, undoubtedly notable when the Brythonic Ottadini entrenched themselves on its woody heights, before Roman, Saxon, or Dane had visited the sources of the Leader, has never, since the era of record, brooked a humbler name on its charters than those which belong to the nation's oldest families and are impressed on many a page of its political annals.



RUINS OF CARFRAE PEEL

[Face page 402

When its position is considered as commanding the only two reasonable passes from Upper Lauderdale into Lothian by way of Glengelt and Kelphope glens, and its height on the promontory of land at their junction, it is not surprising to find its history, long before it is chronicled in records, to have been a warlike one, or to discover this belligerent character as clearly written in its camp or camps, as it is deeply stamped upon its name. Two ancient camps stand boldly out almost within arrow-flight of each other, on steep heights that must have rendered them formidable places of defence in those far-away days of barbarous conflict; and whatever date may be assigned to their construction, there can be no doubt as to their hostile purpose, and the name still further bears witness that Carfrae was originally a place of "derring doe," and doubtless the scene of many a bloody encounter.

The earliest form of the name is *Carfra*. It is Celtic. Carfrae is probably *Caer* and some name which cannot be identified, but also, probably, Brythonic (Welsh) rather than Goidelic (Gaelic). The earliest known inhabitants of our district were Otadini, a Celtic people of the Brythonic* or Welsh branch, speaking the Welsh dialect in contradistinction to the Gaelic; and *caer*, in Welsh, means *fort*, or, according to Camden, "a fortified place or city." As Carfrae is perhaps the only place in Lauderdale which by its name is distinguished as a Brythonic stronghold, so we may likewise, perhaps on that ground, assume that it is also the oldest. For similar ancient "camps," "forts," or strongholds scattered throughout the dale denominated "Chester," are not by that name considered as pointing to a Roman, but a Saxon origin, and therefore several

* *Celtic Britain*, p. 221.

centuries later than the earliest mention of the Brythons in the Leader district, who were the inhabitants conquered by both. "‘Cester’ was thoroughly established among the Saxons in England at a very early period," says Dr Christison, and he is of opinion that they, and not the Romans, introduced it into Scotland.*

Carfrae comes first before us historically in a charter granted (*cir.* 1196) by William de Moreville, Lord of Lauderdale, to Henry de Saint Clair, of the lands of Carfra. The boundaries given are now of course very dim on account of the place-names which define them, being all but obliterated. We give the Latin description as follows :—

"Sicut Langilde se jungit ad Mosburne et illinc descendit usque ad Ledre et ex superiori parte sicut Mosburn ascendit usque ad Venneshende et de Venneshende usque ad Sumuindnight illinc per descendum usque ad viam de Glengelt et illinc usque Ledre." This may be Englished—"From where Langilde (now Langat) joins itself to Mosburn (now Kelphope Water), and thence descends to the Leader. And on the upper part, from where Mosburn ascends to Venneshende, and from Venneshende to Sumuindnight, thence by descent to the road from Glengelt, and so to the Leader." The starting-point of the description is the place nearest Carfrae which had a distinct locality and character. "Langild" turns up in several old charters. The ruins of it still stand, or recently were standing, not many years ago, and the mimulus from its garden yet grow luxuriantly by the stream which swept them out on its way to join the Kelphope Water (Mosburn). From Langat the boundary follows Mosburn (Kelphope Water) clear down to the Leader, that is, to Carfraemill, or to the Leader's banks.

* *Early Fortifications*, pp. 105-6.

Instead of continuing round by Glengelt, the opposite course is now pursued. In actual fact, we are to suppose that the boundaries are declared by De Morville himself standing at Langat with his Sheriff, Henry de Saint Clair, and their retinues, and pointing first one way to the left and then to the right. All marches in those times were perambulated personally. Consequently, after showing the march from Langat to the Leader on his left hand, he begins again at where he is standing, and describes the "higher part" (*superiori parte*). From Langat the march follows Mosburn as it goes up (*ascendit*) to Venneshende. Venneshende may have been a place near Friarsknowes, or more probably towards Lammer Law, for in a later confirmation of this charter by Roland, Lord Galloway, the march is described as proceeding "from the head of Langat to the boundaries of Lothian, towards Lamberlawe" (*de capite de Langild usque ad divisas de Laodonia versus Lamberlawe*). Venneshende, therefore, may have been a place much further "towards Lamberlawe" than Friarsknowes. Thence the march of Carfrae lands proceeds to another unknown place called, strangely enough, Sumuindnight. It is distinguished from the other places mentioned by the absence of "ascending" or "descending" joined to it, phrases which suit exactly the nature of the ground in the other cases. We therefore surmise it must have lain to the west of the Lammer Law in the direction of Huntershall, or the Den, across a comparatively level expanse of hilly moorland. From this place, the march now "descends" to the road from Glengelt, or Glengelt Road, and so following Glengelt Road down to the Leader or Headshaw Burn.

The outline, although somewhat vague, is yet clear enough

to define the lands of Carfrae, which to-day do not differ far in essentials from the description given in De Morville's charter. This was to be expected on account of these lands having so seldom changed owners during 700 years. Headshaw was thus included in Carfrae boundaries, and all the land on the east of Headshaw water. Glengelt estate never seems to have crossed that stream at any time within the view of history, though it gave its name for long to the hills extending from Carfraemill to Lammer Law.

Carfrae estate as thus bounded was given about and before the year 1196, "to be held from me (William de Moreville) and my heirs, by him (Henry de Saintclair), and his heirs, in fee and heritage, in land and water, in meadows and pastures, and wood and plain, and without the forest, freely and quietly, for the service of one knight."

"I concede likewise to him, as in his fee, his mill (Carfrae Mill) held without multure.

"I concede to him that no one shall use his land or pasture or his wood unless he permit, yet at the same time that we shall mutually use the common pasture-land of our dominions."

This charter was afterwards confirmed by Rolland, Earl of Galloway, who married the granter's sister Ellen, and got Lauderdale lands with her, to Allan de Saintclair of Carfrae, who was married to Mathilda of Windesour; and in 1434 "ane instrument" of it is taken by John Saintclair of Hermiston.

Herdmanston came into the hands of Henry de Sinclair in 1162 by charter from Richard de Morville, Lord of Lauderdale. The Morevilles had acquired vast possessions in Lothian, Lauderdale, and Cunninghame, and Sir Henry, Sheriff to Richard, seems to have been a favourite. The Sinclairs of Herdmanston, and later of Carfrae, "are thus

entitled to be considered as the first family in point of antiquity in the county of Haddington."

The fortunes of Carfrae were henceforth bound up in those of the honourable family of Herdmanston, and its lands do not seem to have been separated in any way until, perhaps, the close of the fifteenth century.

From the fact that John de Sauncler received liberty to build chapels at Hirdmanston and Carfrae, and to have private chaplains at each for behoof of his own people, we surmise that Carfrae must have long been a residence of the Sinclairs. That Sinclair of Carfrae was also the Sheriff of the High Constable of Scotland would give the place both social and political pre-eminence over the other residences of Upper Lauderdale. But it would be difficult to say at what particular time this John de Sauncler lived, and consequently the time when Carfrae was at its best. There is a John de Sinclair of Herdmanston in the Arbroath charters, of date 1248, who succeeded to Allan de Sinclair in the estates, and who may be identical with the above, but there is a John of Herdmanston, also of date 1296, who does homage to Edward I., and yet another of 1542 who witnesses in the Roslyn charters. We are inclined to accept 1248 as the period when Carfrae rose to highest importance as a residence, although this seems to have been sustained to a much later time when it received the status of a barony.

As far back as the years 1162-66, there is a charter which gives a pathetic insight into the conditions of peasant life then prevalent in Lauderdale.* Richard de Moreville sold to Sir Henry St Clair, Edmund, the son of Bonda, and Gillemichel, his brother, their sons and daughters, and all their progeny, for the sum of three merks (40s.), and it

* *Diplomata Scotiae*, p. 75.

is also stipulated that if St Clair ever parts with them willingly, they are to return to the overlordship of De Morville.

Perhaps this serfdom was not actually so debasing in practice as it seems to us now, viewing it from our nineteenth century heights of freedom and rights of contract. The advantages of defence were then likely to be more valued than freedom to wander anywhere and work to any master. By being thirled to the land, the lord of the barony stood pledged to defend his *nativi* with all his power; and the picture of the strongly-defended castle surrounded with its wooden huts and occupying bondmen, bound to common interests and mutual protection, has a certain air of communal association which is neither harsh nor tyrannical. Guizot declares, regarding the feudalism which prevailed from the tenth to the thirteenth century: "It is impossible to mistake the great and salutary influence exerted by it upon the development of sentiments, characters, and ideas. We cannot look into the history of this period without meeting with a crowd of noble sentiments, great actions, fine displays of humanity, born evidently in the bosom of feudal manners."*

From the above names, Edmund (Saxon), and Gillemichel (Gaelic), we might be led to infer that intermixture of the races had begun. We are told that Simeon of Durham, who died in 1130, narrates that the Scotch made inroads upon the English and made slaves of them, "so that even to this day, I do not say no little village, but even no cottage, can be found without one of them.† The ancient race, native to the land, was also enslaved by the Saxons, and thus the

* Guizot's *History of Civilisation*, vol. i., p. 81. Bogue's European Library.

† *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i., p. 422.

intermingling of Saxon and Gaelic names among Carfrae bondmen becomes clear to us.

Sir William Sinclair of Herdmanston was distinguished for great gallantry on the field of Bannockburn. He then conducted himself so bravely as to earn the high admiration of King Robert the Bruce. The King presented him with a sword with the words engraved on it: "La Roi me donne, St Clair me poste"—"The King gives me, St Clair carries me." He fell fighting the Moors in Spain, while accompanying the good Lord James, Earl of Douglas, who bore the heart of his royal master to the Holy Land.

About the year 1380 Sir William de Abernethy bequeaths the Mill of Ulkeston (Oxton) to the Abbey of Dryburgh, and among other witnesses to this charter we have the name of "Adam, Milneknave of Carfrae."* The mill-knave was under-miller, and as we have seen the Mill of Carfrae about the year 1196, the first sight of one of its millers nearly two hundred years afterwards is not without interest. We conclude that Milneknave is not a surname, though surnames are given to some of the other witnesses, because he is styled "de Carfrae," and such territorial designation could not have been given to any one except a Sinclair.

A change seems to have taken place about the middle of the fifteenth century, which had the effect of narrowing the lands hitherto denominated "of Carfrae." Sir Patrick Home of Polwart, second son of David Home, younger of Wedderburn, had an elder brother George, who was retoured heir of his grandfather in that barony the 12th of May 1469. These two brothers, George of Wedderburn and Sir Patrick of Polwart, married two sisters, Marion and Margaret respec-

* Dryburgh Register, No. 312.

tively, who were daughters of Sir John Sinclair of Herdmanston and Carfrae, and who likewise were the co-heiresses of their father's estates in at least Polwart and Kimmerghame. When Sir John died, apparently in 1468, strife broke out between (his son) William Sinclair and the two sisters, wives of Wedderburn and Polwart, and the case in 1471 went to law.* They accused him of wrongous withholding of certain charters and evidents of the lands of Hirdmanston, Carfra, and Pencaitland, Templefield, Polwarth, and Kymmerghame, and a reversion of Hateschaw (Headshaw), and Medil (Midlie), and of withholding of certain goods of heirship pertaining to them. Being a case of fee and heritage, it was referred to the Lords of Parliament.

In 1494 we ascertain from another lawsuit, which concerns Headshaw more particularly, that Headshaw was in the superiority of the above George Home of Wedderburn, husband of Marion Sinclair of Herdmanston, and Headshaw being within Carfrae territory, had evidently gone to him as his wife's share in the estate.†

At Stirling, 27th June 1545, Queen Mary confirms to John Sinclair of Hirdmanstoun and Margaret Sinclair his wife, the home lands of Hirdmanstoun, two parts of the Mains of Pencaitland called Coddikis, etc., etc., and two parts of the lands and steading of Carfray and Mill in Lauderdale, and by annexation within the barony of Hirdmanstoun.‡ The other parts of Carfrae are evidently at this time separated from the Sinclair interest, and presumably these were Headshaw and others which were in the hands of the Homes.

* *Acta Dominorum Auditorum.*

† *Acta Dominorum Concilii.*

‡ Great Seal.

In 1567 the above John Sinclair seems to be dead, and Sir Wm. Sinclair enters upon possession, but Margaret Sinclair, who was joined in the feu with her husband, retains the two parts of Carfrae and Mill as above. *

Carfrae in 1569 comes under the influence of a name which was destined to rise high in the political offices of the nation. In that year, at the city of St Andrews, on the 16th of May, the young King James confirms the charter of Sir William Sinclair of Hirdmestoun, in which, for a sum of money paid, he sold to Mary Maitland, daughter of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington (now Lennoxlove), the annual income of 110 marks (£75, 6s. 8d.) from his barony of Hirdmestoun, viz., from the lands of Hirdmestoun, the home lands, the mains and mills of the same, the lands of Wester Pencaitland with woods and mill, as well as from the lands of Carfray with mill, in the bailiary of Lauderdale, but within the sheriffdom and constabulary of Edinburgh by annexation, holding from the King by the said Mary and her legitimate heirs, whom failing, by the said Richard and his heirs. †

The Maitland family have slowly crept into the place and power in Lauderdale which were anciently held by the De Morvilles, and in thus, in a sense, returning to them, even though as bond, Carfrae was, as it were, coming back to the original status which it enjoyed before the Sinclairs of Herdmanstoun possessed it. This also appears to be the first time that any Maitland obtained a landed interest in Channelkirk parish.

The above Sir Richard Maitland, father of Mary, is well known for his honourable connection with poetic literature. He is the "Auld Lettingtoun," "the old Larde of Lething-

* Exchequer Rolls.

† Great Seal.

toun" of Knox's *History*.^{*} He was a worthy descendant of the "Auld Maitland" of the thirteenth century, who defended his castle so doughtily, and who was as devout as he was brave. Robert Maitland, descended from the "grey-haired knight," appears to have acquired the lands of Lethington about the close of the fourteenth century from the Giffords of that Ilk. From Robert, in successive generation, there were William, and from William, John, and from John another William who was the father of the poet, Sir Richard, "the old larde," born in 1496.

Sir Richard was married about 1530 to Mary Cranston, daughter of Sir Thomas Cranston of Crosby, a younger branch of the Cranston House, and had seven sons and four daughters. Mary, who obtains from Sir William Sinclair the annual return of 110 merks from his estate, as above, was Sir Richard's third daughter, and was married to Alexander Lauder of Hatton.

At Hirdmanston, on the 20th March 1580, Sir William Sinclair grants to Lady Sybil Cockburn, his wife, in liferent, his lands of Carfrae, with manor, mansion, homelands, mill, and Rigside, with privilege of Carfra Common. This is confirmed on 17th February 1593, with some other favours. Carfrae, with mill and all pertinents, is again, on the death, evidently, of Sir William, conveyed in 1629 to Sir John Sinclair of Hirdmanston, and Elizabeth Sinclair, his future wife (who was daughter of John Sinclair of Stevinstoun, merchant and bailie in Edinburgh), in conjunct fee, and to their heirs legitimate. In 1590 Murray of Blackbarony was security in 5000 merks that the Laird of Philiphaugh would not harm Sir William Sinclair of Hirdmanston. In 1641, on

^{*} Vol. ii., p. 403 ; vol. i., p. 97. See also Ballad of "Auld Maitland," and Scott's *Marmion*, notes.

15th November, the King confirms and *de novo* gives to Sir John Sinclair (among others) Carfrae lands, with manor place, mill, holdings, etc., in Lauderdale, in the barony of Herdmanston.

Returning for a little to the year 1632, we learn from the Decreet of the High Commission of that date that Sir John Sinclair of Herdmanston held, in this parish, Carfrae and Midlie, Fairnlees, Hillhouse, Hirniecleuch, and Carfrae Mill, and mill lands.* One place, Hizildans, originally in Carfrae lands, and from which the minister at that time drew stipend, is not mentioned as being Sir John's. The reason is that Hizildans was then in the possession of the Haigs of Bemersyde. Thus the Homes had cut Headshaw out of the estate on the west, and the Haigs had sliced off Hizildans on the east. In 1617, on 17th December, James Haig of Bemersyde is retoured heir of Robert Haig, his father, in the lands of Hissildans, in the barony of Hermestoune, lordship of Carfra.† Sir Henry Sinclair of Carfra had a daughter, Ada, who married (about 1200) Peter de Haig of Bemersyde, the second of that name. It is curious to find this early interest in Carfrae still clinging to the Haigs of the seventeenth century, four hundred years later. Hissildans was then "of 10s. taxt value, auld extent; and 40s. new extent." This James Haig, heir of Hissildans in 1617, is notable in his way. Fierce and headstrong during his reign in Bemersyde, he gave ample proof that a man may maintain his rights without help from any laws except what reside within his own stout heart and arm. He ran away with the Laird of Stodrig's daughter to begin with, for which he just escaped his father's dagger. He did not, however, escape the old man's curse, "which followed him to his grave." Indeed,

* *Decreet of Locality*, p. 239.

† Retours.

the advent of James on the historic scene was, to all appearance, the beginning of the declension of the house of Bemersyde. Contracts and agreements had no reverence for James when they thwarted his wishes, and having braved all public respect, and deranged the peace of his father's house, to quarrel also with his neighbours was almost inevitable. Haliburton, the Laird of Mertoun, and he, had their properties joining in the vicinity of Bemersyde Loch, and the watery marshes, instead of imparting a cooling atmosphere to the two boundaries, became, ultimately, a veritable calorific geyser, which spouted such intolerable hot waters over both the houses of Bemersyde and Mertoun as literally to stew them alive. We shall leave it to Anthony Haig to tell the story. The little touches of old Adam are peculiar to the days. He was the grandson of James Haig of Hissildans. After describing the disputed boundaries, and showing us that they are yet "visiably merched with ston," he says:—"It will not be amise to show you what onc pased betwixt my guidser and the Laird of Marton then liveing. Marton wold faine have stolne a prevelidge beyound those march stons, and for that end caused on of his men com upe and cast some diffits beyound the march. My grandfather, hearing thereof, cam to the fellow, brock his head, toke from him his spade ; at which Marton was greatly offended, and on day going to Coldenknowes with on Thomas Helliburton with him, he bravadingly crost the rigges befor the Laird of Bemersyde's door, which he seeing, told him he would be in his comon (would be so obliged to him!) if he would com that way backe againe. He said he would, and accordingly did so ; whom, when my grandfather saw, caled to his son James to bring him his gune, which the boy did—cam out, and ther pased some words

betwixt them, upon which Martone did bid my guidshire in derision shott at his a—e with drops, and held it upe. He had no soner spak the word then he shott him with the wholl grath in his a—e ; upon which he fald of his horse, and the uther Helliburton coming upon with his sword to him, he tourned about the but end of his peac, and struke him doune, so that he was forced to send them both home cared (carried) in blankets. But this proved noways advantageous to the 2 families, for ever after ther remained heart-burnings betwixt the two houses, so that the countrie people observed it layed the foundation of runeing of both the families.”* They were merry in those days!

Carfrae lands seem to have passed from the Sinclairs of Herdmanston to the Maitlands of Lauderdale between 1641 and 1650, at which latter date they again passed finally into the Tweeddale family. This appears from a Charter of Resignation and Novodamus under the Great Seal, in favour of John, Lord Hay of Yester, and his heirs male, and of tailzie, specified in the infestments of the lands of Yester, dated 24th June, and sealed 2nd July 1650. This charter bears to proceed, partly upon a Procuratory of Resignation contained in a Disposition by John, Earl (afterwards, in 1672, Duke) of Lauderdale, eldest son and heir of John, Earl of Lauderdale, in favour of Sir Adam Hepburn of Humble, dated 27th May 1650, and partly upon an apprising, dated 26th March 1650, against John, first Earl of Tweeddale, at the instance of Dr Alexander Ramsay, physician to Charles I.

Carfrae lands still remain in the possession of the Tweeddales. We find them denominated in 1676, “the lands and *barony* of Carfrae,”† and Carfrae is frequently so designated

* *Haigs of Bemersyde*, p. 476.

† *Retours*.

after that date. Before that time it is spoken of as "the lordship of Carfrae."

The earliest mentioned tenant in Carfrae is James Somerville in 1714. He acquired Airhouse estate at this time. There seem to have been Somervilles tenants in Carfrae onwards till 1771. George Somerville was tenant there in 1744, and perhaps for some time previous to that year. He assigned, in 1758, one-third of the farm to his son Alexander, on his marriage with Janet Stevenson. The son of this couple, Simon Somerville, was of some note in his day. He was their eldest son, and was born at Carfrae in 1767. Taught at Channelkirk parish school, and then at Duns, he studied for the dissenting ministry in Edinburgh, and was licensed in 1790. He was called to Barrie in 1791, and to Elgin in 1805, where he originated the Elgin and Morayshire Bible Society about 1820. He died in 1839.* His father, George Somerville, would appear to have removed to Kirktonhill Farm about 1771, as in this year we find Robert Hogarth "tenant in Carfrae." Mr Somerville was "made an elder" in Channelkirk Church in 1744, and was for long the treasurer of the Session's funds. He died in Kirktonhill in 1779.

Much interest attaches to the tenancy of Carfrae by the above Robert Hogarth, as his coming to the parish created something like a revolution in the methods of farming in the district. Writing in 1794 for the *Old Statistical Account*, the Rev. Thomas Murray says regarding him:—"Agriculture has made wonderful progress within these last twenty years in this parish. This has been chiefly owing to the skill and attention of one individual, Mr Robert Hogarth, tenant in Carfrae. He came twenty-five years ago from East Berwick-

* *United Secession Magazine*, April 1840.

shire. At this period our farmers were total strangers to the turnip, and very little acquainted with the lime and sown-grass system. He introduced turnip and clover, and succeeded. It is now very general to grow turnips, and in no part of Berwickshire is it in greater quantity, or of better quality, on the same extent of land. He also introduced the white-faced, long-wooled sheep from Northumberland, and they promise to answer well." Mr Hogarth is also credited with the introduction of the potato into the district, but this was later, about 1780. Bruce, in his Appendix to Lowe's *Agriculture of Berwickshire* (July 1794), notes that Robert Hogarth, in Carfrae, "has made astonishing changes upon a large tract of very high wild country."

We have heard it said that he was of the family of Hogarths which gave Charles Dickens his wife, but we have been unable to verify the assertion. The Parish Records of his time show him to have been a man of influence and leading among his class, although not always amenable to counsel from the kirk. He is reputed to have been a strict manager on his farm, but not quite competent to combat the ways and wit of some of his ploughmen. It is related that one of his "hands," who loved his "miry beasts" as dearly as men are enjoined to love their neighbour, believed that the allowance of corn granted by Hogarth was insufficient to meet their wants, and he was in the habit of purloining extra quantities when an opportunity served, to make up the rather scrimp measure. Hogarth resented this as wanton insubordination and waste, and repeatedly cautioned the ploughman to desist, else worse would befall him. But the affection of the hind for his horses was stronger than his dread of "the maister," and he continued pilfering the forbidden "heapit stimpart." Hogarth was

just as determined to "put him down." One day while this spirit of dog-watch-the-cat prevailed, the farm hands were all set on to thresh the stacks through the mill. Accordingly, sack after sack of oats was filled and set past, and the ploughman, seeing the abundance, remembered his starved horses, as he believed, and resolved to abstract one of the sacks to the loft above the stables where the hinds of those days were wont to sleep at night. He communicated his design to the two women workers who were assisting in storing the sacks, and implicated them so far in the felonious act by obtaining their help to shove the sack on his shoulders from behind, as he carried it upstairs to the floor above. But the loft door was narrow, and the ploughman and the sack rather bulky, and, moreover, the more haste produced less speed, while in the midst of the tugging and shoving of the bag by the man above and the women below, who should come into the barn but the farmer! The women thus caught slunk away abashed, and Mr Hogarth, rejoicing in his opportunity, stepped forward into their place and began to push up the sack which the ploughman, all unaware of the substitute, was in vain struggling above to extricate from its tight fittings. The women below dared not reveal to him the altered condition of things, and he, supposing the farmer to be far afield, exhorted them vociferously "Shove, ye deevils; shove up! the auld skinflint 'll be in an' catch us. Lord's sake, shove, can ye no!" The extra pressure was soon applied by the farmer, and the sack was victoriously deposited in the loft. The consternation of the ploughman may be conceived when the actual circumstances stood revealed to him. "Ye're in for't this time," quoth "the maister"; "I'll 'skinflint' ye, an' no mistake. Ye'll gang

afore the Shirra for this, sir." And Mr Hogarth kept his word. The summons was served, the Court day at Lauder arrived, and the two parties prepared to "gang before their betters." But unconcernedly the ploughman was seen out in the field ploughing as usual, and Hogarth, thinking his man had forgotten the exact day, went across the rigs to remind him. "Oh, I'm mindin' weel aneuch," quoth the ploughman, "I'll be doon in time, nae fears." It was six miles to Lauder Burgh Court-room, where the trial was to be held. How he was to walk there in time was a puzzle to the farmer, but he himself deemed it his duty to appear at the bar, and hurried off afoot. When about half distance he heard a great clattering of horses behind him, and, turning round, beheld his man riding his "pair" at a fast rate. "What's this o't?" inquired the master. "What use are the horses in the case? They should have been resting now in the stable instead of racing in this daft manner. What do you mean?" The workman's wit was equal to the occasion. "I wad consider, sir," said he, "that the horses are resetters in this thievin' business, and the Shirra may need to examine them as weel's me. The resetter's as bad's the thief, ye ken!" The farmer, who had really intended to give John but a "scare," grasped the humour of the situation and bestrode the other horse, encouraging John to keep his seat, and together the belligerents rode on to Lauder. But they did not enter the Court-room. They were seen going to an inn, and in due time men and horses were being regaled with the best fare it afforded. On coming home at night the rumour went abroad that the case had been "a hard yin," and the sentence "heavy," and "the Shirra jist terrible," but the "resetters" knew for certain that they had carried home to Carfrae the "thief"

and "the maister" as merry as two men could possibly be. It is handed down that Mr Hogarth often afterwards related this incident at social parties with great delight.

In 1816 he heads the petition to the Presbytery by the parishioners to have the church removed to some place near Oxtou. Two brothers, named Milne, followed him in the tenancy and held Carfrae till 1839. In this year, Mr William Wight, father of the present tenant, obtained the lease and held it till his death in 1868. George Wight, his son, began his tenancy then, and still farms Carfrae. We cannot refrain from remarking that the name of Wight is one of the oldest in Upper Lauderdale, and it is also one that in no instance is found with a shadow upon it. In 1650 William Wight was "elder and deacon" in Channelkirk Church. So also at the same time was Robert Wight. The former was probably the "tenant in Glengelt," who died in 1682, and whose tombstone stands in the south-west corner of Channelkirk churchyard. There is a George Wight, "elder," here in 1744, and probably the same person who became tenant in Stobshiel Farm, and was buried from there in this churchyard in 1756. The name has continued in Upper Lauderdale to the present day, and has always been held in the highest respect. (See chapter on "Antiquities" for other matters relating to Carfrae).

HEADSHAW

Headshaw was originally included in the lands of Carfrae, but along with Medil, Midlie, or Middlemas, is found to be a separate property in the fifteenth century. The Sinclairs of Herdmanston must have been possessors of its grounds from about 1196, although it may not have been a separate farm till much later. Its earliest mention

as such is in 1471. About that time it would appear to have passed into the hands of Sir George Home of Wedderburn, and Sir Patrick Home of Polwart, as part dowry of their respective wives, Marion and Margaret Sinclair, daughters and co-heiresses of Sir John Sinclair of Herdmanston, each of whom received half of Headshaw. Sir George was the eldest of the "seven spears of Wedderburn," and fell with his father, Sir David, at the battle of Flodden, 1513.

" And when the sun was westering
On Flodden's crested height,
The Seven Spears of Wedderburn
Gave first shock in the fight."

On the 30th of June 1494 James Logan, who was then tenant-laird of Headshaw, takes Sir George Home to law "for the wrangwis spoliation, away-takeing, and withhalden fra him out of the landis of Haitschaw of XIX oxin, and for costis and scathis. Baith the saidis pairties beeing personally present, it wes allegiit be the said George and the advocatis of our souvraine lord that the saidis landis of Haitschaw wer in our sovrane lordis handis be the non-entry of John Edmonston of that Ilk to the superiority of the samyn landis of Haitschaw, and that the said oxin wer taken for a parte of the malez and proffitis thereof. The lordis of Consale therefore ordinis the said James Logane to summonde the said Johnne of Edmonstone to the VIII day of Oct. nixt to come with quotacioun of dais to produce and preif his entra to the superiority of the saidis landis: and also to summonde him for the dampnage, costis, and scathis that the said James sustenis in his default."*

* *Acta Dominorum Concilii.*

The entire dispute was about non-entry to the superiority. This is a law-term which would be far better explained by a lawyer, but we venture to offer the following. In the original grant of Carfrae Estate by William de Morville to Henry de Saintclair, his Sheriff, the service of one knight was made the condition of holding it. Sir George Home of Wedderburn having received Headshaw, which seems to have been then the half of a property of which Midlie may have been the other half, became superior of Headshaw or tenant-in-chief under "our sovran lord" the King. The above John Edmonston of Edmonston was evidently vassal to Sir George, or heir of the vassal who held Headshaw under Sir George's superiority, and John Logan again feued under John of Edmonston. To have a legal right to Headshaw John Edmonston should have acknowledged the superior, Sir George, by *entering* with him, that is, accepting a charter which substituted him as vassal in room of his ancestor, or the person whose heir he was. This he had failed to do, and so, by law, the superior was entitled to take possession of the lands and levy the rents to the exclusion of John Edmonston of that ilk. This was called the casualty of non-entry.* But poor John Logan was between two fires Sir George and Edmonston, who both demanded the rents or "malez." He seems to have paid to Edmonston, the mid-superior, and thus felt aggrieved that Sir George should pay himself with his nineteen oxen independently, and so went to law. Edmonston was adjudged in the wrong, and ordered to make good the value of the "dampnage, costis, and scathis" which he had sustained, and the case continued. Logan is back in Court again

* *Juridical Styles*, pp. 7, 354. Fifth Edition.

in July of 1494 complaining, but seems to make no headway. If we are not mistaken this John Edmonston of that Ilk is the same person who marries Margaret Maitland, daughter to William Maitland of Thirlestane and Lethington, in 1496.* On the 18th July of that year he resigns "half the lands of Hetschawe in Lauderdaile," which are thus thrown on the hands of Hume of Polwarth.† The lawsuit had evidently been too annoying to all concerned in it.

Headshaw, in the barony of Carfrae, is granted to David Home in 1506, and in 1550 is noticed as paying £20 from "half Headshaw" to the Sheriff of Berwick.‡

On the 18th March 1594 (retoured 25th Oct. 1599), Patrick Home of Polwart and all his masculine heirs whomsoever bearing the name and arms of Home, are confirmed by charter of *novodamus* in Polwart, Reidbrayis, Hardenis, etc., and half the lands of Hetschaw in Lauderdale.§ Three years later, at Falkland, 12th September 1597, the King confirms the other half of Hetschaw on the common of Carfrae to Sir George Home of Wedderburn, and while he does so he recalls Sir George's good services to himself from his (the King's) childhood, and also the weighty services rendered by his ancestors, "who were almost all slain in battling for the King's ancestors and fighting under their banner for their crown and the freedom of the kingdom."|| (The property was retoured under date 7th April 1590.)

This charter gives half Headshaw to Sir George's wife, Jean Halden, in liferent, and the same to his son David in fee.

* Douglas's *Peerage*, vol. ii., p. 6.

‡ Exchequer Rolls.

§ Great Seal.

† Great Seal.

|| *Ibid.*

In 1611 Sir Patrick Home of Polwart is retoured heir of his father Sir Patrick in (among others) half the lands of Headshaw; and in 1650, on 17th May, the famous Sir Patrick Hume, his son and entailed heir, is retoured in the same possession. From the earliest account we can find of Headshaw, the following Homes or Humes, down to the last-mentioned date, have been connected with it:—

Sir PATRICK HOME, Polwart, about 1450.			
ALEXANDER HOME (his son), about 1503.			
PATRICK HOME	"	"	1532.
PATRICK HOME	"	"	1536.
Sir PATRICK HOME	"	"	1587.
Sir PATRICK HOME	"	"	1611.
Sir PATRICK HOME	"	"	1641-1724.

The last name is so well written in the history of the country that it is unnecessary to give here more than a mere outline of his career. The eldest son, he lost his father when seven years old, and his education devolved upon his mother Christian, daughter of Alexander Hamilton of Innerwick. He represented Berwick in Parliament in 1665; soon became an object of aversion and jealousy to Lauderdale; was several times imprisoned; hid himself in 1684 in Polwart Church vault, and fled to the Continent; had sentence of forfeiture passed upon him on 22nd May 1685; returned with the Prince of Orange, 5th November 1688, under whose star his fortunes brightened. His forfeiture was rescinded by Parliament, 22nd July 1690; he was made a member of the Privy Council, also Lord Polwarth in the same year; Extraordinary Lord of Session in 1693, Bailiff of Lauderdale in 1694, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland in 1696, in which character he comes

before the Channelkirk people in rather dubious light in the matter which is treated in Chapter VII on "The Vacancy." He was created Earl of Marchmont by King William, 23rd April 1697, though he would have preferred to be Earl of March, as being a lineal descendant of the ancient Earls of the Merse. He died in 1724 in his own house at Berwick, and was buried in the vault of Polwarth, where he once hid from his persecutors.*

He was the eighth of the barons of Polwarth, whose residence, Redbraes, was afterwards called Marchmount, a name which belonged of old to Roxburgh Castle: The Merse-Mount. He was married to Grissell, daughter of Sir Thomas Ker of Cavers, 29th January 1660, lived with her forty-three years, and had seventeen children. Grissell, born 24th December 1665, was his famous daughter, Lady Grissell Baillie, who as a maid of eighteen in 1683 carried food to him in Polwart vault. He was first Episcopalian, then Presbyterian, and to the Prince of Orange and to the Presbyterian cause, which his party espoused, he owed his successful career and ennoblement. Hence *the crowned Orange* is a familiar object at Marchmont.†

It renders our account of Headshaw agreeably brief, when we can say that it has continued in the possession of the Marchmont House down to the present day. Its name, sometimes spelled Heathshaw, lends colouring to the view that Headshaw Hill and surrounding ground was at one time covered with wood, or natural "shaw." Its elevation gives it an extensive sweep of all Lauderdale, which, together with the Eildons in the distance, is beheld to an enjoyable degree from this point of vantage. Planted

* Senators of the College of Justice.

† Miss Warrender's *Homes of Marchmount*.

on a steep hillside which from the level of 770 feet climbs abruptly to 960, it has many disadvantages both for pedestrians and farm traffic. All the roads reach it after many windings. The area of land farmed comprises 721 acres, mostly of light soil, and on the six-shift rotation: 300 acres in tillage, 389 moorland, and 32 in pasture. There are now 13 souls on the place; good old Mr and Mrs Blaikie, so long farming there, having but recently been laid to rest in Channelkirk churchyard—a worthy and much missed couple. The present owner is Sir John Purves Hume Campbell, Bart., of Marchmont.

It speaks volumes for good settled government, the strength of the law, and the binding influences of good family, that the same bounds given by William de Morville to Carfrae lands, on the west, should still to-day be the same march of Headshaw. The Leader Water, as Headshaw Burn seems to have been then called, still marks the boundaries between Glengelt and Headshaw as distinctly as on that day, somewhere about the year 1196, when the High Constable of Scotland described them to Sir Henry de Sinclair, Sheriff of Lauderdale. Well may the poet sing:—

“ It is the land that freemen till,
That sober-suited Freedom chose ;
The land, where girt with friends or foes
A man may speak the thing he will ;

A land of settled government,
A land of just and old renown,
Where Freedom slowly broadens down
From precedent to precedent.

If Headshaw and Midlie were ever united as one property, as we have hinted, they were again separate in 1632. Sir

John Sinclair of Herdmanston's lands of Carfrae included those of Midlie within them at that time, and they remain so still.

We have seen that the earliest mentioned tenant-laird was James Logan, who entered Headshaw in 1466.* In 1631 "Thomas Markell in Headschaw" is down at Lauder on the 7th day of January, giving his evidence before the Sub-Commissioners' Court, held there in the "Tolbuth," as to the worth and rent of Glengelt Farm and others.† Old James Richardson, tenant in Kirktonhill, who had seen sixty years, was down along with him. James Watherston was tenant till 1736. James Somervail is tenant in 1752. In 1764 we see him busy "calling sand" to the manse, for which he is paid £2.‡ No doubt he would be related to the "James Somervail" who was then in Airhouse. A Mr Cockburn appears to have been farmer in 1774. In the early years of this century, Andrew Shiels was tenant—he had farmed also in Glengelt—and was followed in Headshaw by his son, who did not succeed well. From being shepherd on Mr Shiel's farm the late Robert Blaikie became tenant, and his son-in-law, Mr Booth, now fills the vacant place. Headshaw people, with the exception of the workmen, attend the U.P. Church at Blackshiels.

HERNIECLEUCH

Herniecleuch may have derived its name from being a haunt of the heron, or may be a transposed spelling of Henrycleuch; but it is more likely to be derived from the Anglo-Saxon *hyrne*, a corner or *neuk*. Chaucer speaks of "lurking

* *Acta Dominorum Concilii*.

† Channellkirk Teind Case. Teind Office, Edinburgh.

‡ Kirk Records.

in *hernes* and in lanes blind," and the situation of the place on Kelphope "Burn" answers such a description admirably. In Blaeu's *Atlas* of 1654 the order of places ascending the Kelphope Water is Hillhouse, Harniecleuch, Hasildene. There are many trees growing near the spot where it stood, immediately at the foot of the Dod House Hill. In 1610 it was owned by William Home, who acquired in that year the village and lands of Oxton from John, Lord Saltoun. William was servitor to Alexander, Earl of Home, Lord Jedburgh, and Dunglass. It seems never to have been large in area, and in 1627 is noted as being "in stok fourscoir lib.; personage, 10 lib.; viccarage, 20 merkis." In 1630, Harniecleuch and Hasildeane are said to be each in worth £100; from which we may judge that both places were alike in extent, as well as neighbours. Being in "Carfrae barony," it was in the superiority of the Sinclairs of Herdmanston, and in 1691 the "Locality" of that date includes all the places on Kelphope Burn under that appellation. For the same reason it is never mentioned except when documents relating to Carfrae estate give the inventory. It was occupied as late as 1813, when one Trotter died there in March of that year. He is a friend of the same who is noticed as being buried from "Harniecleugh" on the 8th September 1816, and whose name was Alexander Trotter. From this date the place seems gradually to have fallen into decay, and finally became obliterated. The desire for large farms has operated in the same way throughout the parish.

A story is told of "auld Willie Clark's faither," who was a weaver in Harniecleuch, and who heard one night the fairies play a tune which he learned and fiddled as "The Balance o' Straw." The fairies are said to have had their headquarters near Harniecleuch. He had been over the hill

with a web, and was returning home when he got entangled in the fairy enchantments! But the tune has died away, and it seems that fairy music has no greater immortality than that of human beings. The web was perhaps a "drookit ane." If so, the music is easily understood.

HAZELDEAN

The association of the name of this place with the shrub or tree called the *hazel* doubtless supplies us with a derivation which is sufficiently satisfactory. The "*dean*" refers, we believe, to the long deep ravine to the immediate south of Tollishill, at the mouth of which *Haseldean*, or *Hazeldean*, seems to have been situated. It is now extinct, but traces of its wall-foundations are yet apparent. It has no connection with Scott's famous song, "Jock o' Hazeldean." It comes into view first in 1617. On the 17th December of that year, James Haig, Bemersyde, is served heir to Robert Haig, his father, in the "lands of Hissildans, in the barony of Hermestoune, lordship of Carfra." This owner of Haseldean is interesting in several ways. He led a violent and erratic life, and seems to have been reckless in his behaviour to all who crossed his path. When we first become acquainted with him as the proprietor of Haseldean he had but few years to live, as he is said to have died about 1620, whether travelling in Germany or at home, it is not known. An incident in which he was chief actor, and which combined both comic and tragic elements, has already been referred to under "Carfrae." John Knox was tenant in Hissildoune in 1631.

In 1627 it is valued "in stok 200 merkis; personage, 20 merkis; viccarage, 40 merkis." Thomas Thomson was tenant in "Hizeldean" in 1664, and the key of the poor's

box of Channelkirk Church is entrusted to his care, while the teacher keeps the box itself. There are few references to the place itself, and its individuality is obscured all down the centuries, under the greater name of Carfrae. In 1800 it was farmed by Edmund Bertram. His memory is yet green in the parish, and it seems he was much esteemed. His obliging disposition, and unfailing kindness to the poor, made him a prime favourite, and it is remembered that when his corn needed to be harvested, the villagers used to flock to his place to render him the necessary assistance. He was buried in Channelkirk on the 31st August 1817. He died on the 27th, aged seventy-two. The family tombstone says of him, "late tenant of Hazeldean." His father, Peter Bertram, had farmed Hazeldean before him. His wife, Janet Watson, died when she was but thirty-six, on 16th November 1758, and he himself on 2nd August 1782, aged seventy-six. The tombstone in Channelkirk churchyard is the centre one of three, the eastmost, which stand on the south side of the path which leads to the church door from the east gate. Edmund was one of the signatories to a petition, presented by Channelkirk parishioners in March 1816, to have the church removed to Oxtou.

Our last sight of Hazeldean is in 1841, when Adam Armstrong, labourer, is reported on the "Roll of the Male Heads of Families" belonging to Channelkirk Church, as dwelling there. One Johnston was the last tenant. We presume that the place soon afterwards became a ruin, and disappeared.

FRIARSKNOWES: FREERSNOSE: "THE NOSS."

Under the shadow of Lammer Law, at the head of Kelphope Burn, in the loneliest spot of the parish, stands

Friarsknowes. The name proclaims its own meaning and has the sound of ancient days in it. But "The Noss" seems to have been its earliest appellation. In the will of Alexander Sutherland, Dunbeath, Caithness, we have among those in his debt—"Item, the Lord of Hyrdmanston xx lib. the quhilkis, gif he payis nocht sal ryn apon the landis of Noss." This was in 1456. (*Bannatyne Miscellany*.) It is commonly pronounced locally "The Nose" or "Freers-nose," and we have here unmistakably the Old English "Frere," Friar; and, the "nose" which appears in so many place-names as "ness," meaning promontory or headland. The earliest spelling of the name in its present forms, so far as we know, is *Frierneise* in 1627. *Friariness* is about the same time, and although "knowes" (knolls) might seem the more appropriate, the obvious meaning is evidently "nose," or "ness;" the "nese" of *Piers Plowman*. Instances where "ness"; is applied to inland places situated on waters similar to "Friariness" are found in *Crichness* on Bothwell Water, Haddington, and *Coltness* on South Calder Water, Lanark. Of course, the term is usually found attached to points of land, small or great, running into the sea, as Fife Ness or Caithness.

Whatever it may have been in bygone times, Friarsknowes is now a single cottage, usually occupied by a shepherd, and is necessary as a centre for the broad tract of sheep-walk which stretches far and wide along the sides of Lammer Law, the highest of the Lammermuir range of hills. At present it is untenanted.

The minister of Channelkirk says of it in 1627: "Frierneise, holding of Eccles, in stok fowrscoir lib., personag 6 lib., viccarage ten merkis," or in stock it was worth £6, 13s. 4d., in parsonage teind 10s., and in vicarage teind

11s. 1½d. money sterling. "Of Eccles" means in all likelihood, "of the Laird of Eccles." As late as 1781 the Earl of Marchmont gets resignation *ad remanentiam* on procuratory resignation in disposition by Sir John Patterson of Eccles, of the lands of Kelphope, the neighbouring lands of Friarsknowes, and in the same barony of Carfrae.* The Lairds of Eccles seem to have held Friarsknowes on the same footing at an earlier date. It has long been the property of the Most Noble the Marquis of Tweeddale. It is at present farmed by Mr Dickinson, Longcroft, by Lauder.

FAIRNIELEES

We do not doubt that the name of this place is primarily derived from the fern plant, which must always have been abundant in its neighbourhood, and is yet plentiful enough to the present day. The Anglo-Saxon of "fern" is *fearn*, and it evinces the conservation of sounds when we have this place-name pronounced *fairn* in the earliest example which we have been able to find. In 1627 the minister of the parish declares "Fairnielies" to be worth "in stok 200 merkis, personage 20 lib., viccarage xl merkis." "Lies," "lees," or "lie," is, of course, the Old English *lay*, sward-land, so familiar in Burns's

"I'll meet thee on the *lea*-rig."

and in Gray—

"The lowing herd wind slowly o'er the *lea*."

Fairnieles stands 1076 ft. above sea-level, on a steep broad upland rising away from Hillhouse Burn, and commands an extensive view of the borderland. The lands

* G. R., 389, 189.

are almost entirely pasture-ground for sheep, and the dwelling is now, as it seems ever to have been, the shealing of the shepherd who tends them. "Phairnielees," in 1630, is noticed as worth "ii^c merkis." In 1631 the teind worth was put at one half bole of bear and four teind lambs, with two pounds of wool to each lamb, price of each lamb with the wool being 33s. 4d. Scots, or 2s. 9½d. sterling.

From having been, from the beginning, under Carfrae barony, its individuality is never very conspicuous, and its name does not occur frequently in the usual channels of information. Its history is practically stated in that of Carfrae. In 1788, and in 1816, it is mentioned among the Marquis of Tweeddale's properties as "Fairnielee." As yielding teind money to the Kers of Morriestoun it is mentioned in 1676 as "Fairnielees," in 1687 as "Fairniliey," and in 1692 as "Fernielees." It is now included in the farm of Hillhouse.

HILLHOUSE

"Hillhouse quhilk perteines to the Laird of Herdmiesstoune," "ane chaplanrie of Hermeisstoune in stok 400 merkis, personage 50 merkis, viccarage 50 merkis." This is the minister's statement regarding it in 1627. He describes it as one of the kirk lands in his parish. When Sir John Sinclair of Herdmanston built a chapel at Carfrae, these lands of Hillhouse had, to all appearance, been set aside for its endowment. But at what time it came into existence under its present name it were hard to affirm. It has always been under Carfrae barony, and was included originally in Carfrae lands, and has constantly had the same owners. Its teind rent was before both Sub-Commissioners and High Commissioners in 1630 and 1631, and was valued

then. Half of this rent was drawn by the Kers of Morrieston, and at various periods, such as in 1676, 1687, and 1692, this fact is retoured, and Hillhouse is named. It is called "a very considerable farm" in 1784. In 1800 Archibald Somerville was its tenant, who also farmed "Elsinford" on the other side of Lammer Law. He lived in the latter place for most part, and at the time when the country was roused over the proposed Napoleonic Invasion, and bands of yeomanry were called out, he courageously took the field, a leading spirit, and is yet remembered for the "langitch" he applied to the laggards and less patriotic! He died in December of 1821. Robert Kelly was his steward in Hillhouse for a long time. The next tenant was Alexander Taylor. He died at Pathhead Ford. Mr Dickinson, Longcroft, succeeded in the tenancy, and during that time, as mentioned above, it has been a "led" farm. The farmhouse stands 800 ft. above sea-level, but the Camp Hill close to the northwards of it shoots up to 1000, and half-a-mile still further north, Ditcher Law reaches the height of 1202 ft. It is pleasantly situated between Kelphope and Hillhouse Burns, which meet on the lower ground a little to the south, before they join the Leader at Carfrae Mill. A considerable portion of the farm is ploughed. There are twenty souls on the place. The interesting camp in the immediate neighbourhood is noticed in Chapter XXIII on "Antiquities."

KELPHOPE

This place appears to derive its name from the Gaelic *cailpeach*, *calpach*, *colpach*, a heifer, steer, colt; *colpa*, a cow or horse. In Scotch mythology the *cailpeach* was an imaginary spirit of the waters, horselike in form, which

was believed to warn, by sounds and lights, those who were to be drowned. There is a slight tendency also to alter any name to "hope" which has the least sound similar to it. *Langild, Langat, Langhope*, in this parish is one instance. "Hope," of course, is common through all the Borders in place-names. It was part, originally, of the Carfrae estate, and was probably a croft or farm about the close of the fifteenth century, when all the neighbouring places lying on the Mossburn (now Kelphope Water) came into existence. Patrick Levingtoun of Saltcottis, heir of Patrick Levingtoun, his father, holds Kelphope lands in 1613.* In 1627 it is noted as being in value "in stok 300 merkis, personage 20 lib., viccarage xl lib." Robert Dodds is tenant there in 1630, and makes declaration that it is worth only 250 merks. Alexander Levingtoun de Saltcoats, heir of Patrick Levingtoun de Saltcoats, his father, is retoured in the lands of Kelphope in the lordship of Carfrae, bailiary of Lauderdale, on the 14th May 1640.† George Levingtoun, his heir, obtains them 16th November 1657.‡ In 1683 another Alexander Livingtoun de Saltcoats is retoured heir of George Levingtoun de Saltcoats, his father, in the same lands. They are in Livingtoun's possession in 1691, and seem to have remained with that family until purchased by the Rev. Henry Home, minister at Channelkirk about 1725.§ On 30th April 1723 he acquired the just and equal half of the Kelphope teinds from Andrew Ker of Morieston, and was taken bound to contribute certain "money payable furth of the said lands to the Lords of Session," and a "proportional payment of the expense for repairing and

* Retours.

† *Ibid.*

‡ General Register of Sasines, fol. 316, vol. xiii.

§ *Decreet of Locality*, p. 151.

upholding the quire, or of the third part of the Kirk of Channelkirk, or kirk dykes," and "others" more particularly mentioned in the said disposition.* George Hall was its tenant then, and James Miller an indweller. When Mr Home died in 1751, the property came into the hands of his son-in-law, William Eckford, and he is assessed for the minister's stipend in 1752. He died in 1764. Hugh, Earl of Marchmont, appears to have acquired Kelphope about 1780, and on 15th September 1781 gets Resignation *ad Rem.* on Proc. Resig. in Disp. by Sir John Patterson of Eccles. Kelphope still remains with the House of Marchmont. Mr Patterson was tenant about the close of this century. George Brown, Chesters, followed. After him Mr Lyal came in, then Mr Taylor, and in our time Walter Stobie, whose widow now farms it.

The rent of the farm at present is £153 per annum, and that of the farmhouse £12. It is one of the most remote places in Channelkirk parish, lying towards Lammer Law, on the Kelphope Water, and is rather inaccessible during winter, owing to flooding and snowstorms. In Blaeu's *Atlas* (1654) "Kelfhoope" is placed on the *east* side of Kelphope Burn, and at this date the house may have been so situated. It is now on the west side.

Kelphope lies at the foot of Tollishill, a place which, though not in Channelkirk parish, should not be left unnoticed. The same tenant has sometimes farmed both places, the Kelphope Water being the dividing line between them. Tollishill at the end of last century came into possession of George Brown, Chesters, who, after Mr Patterson's death (his uncle), obtained the leases of Tollishill and Kelphope. He ploughed up and sowed with crop

* Sasines, 1725.

a considerable part of land on the former place, and incurred the displeasure of the Marquis of Tweeddale for so doing. He was taken to the Court of Session, and ultimately to the House of Lords, over the affair, but gained his case in both instances, and was awarded expenses also.

Tullius' Hill, as it is sometimes called; "Tullis, Over and Nether" of the charters, has an ancient record in the camp or fort of the "British" denomination in its vicinity. But it is best known in the story which comes down to us from the days of John, Duke of Lauderdale, amplified and added to in Wilson's *Tales of the Borders* and several other works, and which from its combination of history and romance, wealth and poverty, the palace and the cottage, national events and farm failures, has just that touch of candle-light homeliness which gives to every fireside tale of "lords and ladies gay" a witching fascination and a halo of truth.

In the stirring days of John, Duke of Lauderdale, one of his tenants was Thomas Hardie, in Tullos Farm, on Tullos or Tollis Hill. It was known also as the Midside Farm. Mrs Hardie's maiden name was Margaret Lyleston, the "Midside Maggie" of the *Tales of the Borders*. A severe snowy season destroyed the flock, and Hardie found himself at rent-time unable to "meet the factor." Mrs Hardie courageously took the circumstances in hand, and went personally to Thirlestane Castle to lay the matter before the "Yirl." The great John, who had more heart in him than he has been credited with, did not fail to acknowledge the sincerity of the distress, and jocularly bargained with "Maggie" to wipe out the rent score if she would produce to him a snowball in June. Tollishill

cleuchs, jammed full of winter's snow, proved equal to this condition, and with legal precision Maggie carried the snowball duly tot he castle and obtained relief. By-and-by, fortune kicked the ball the other way, and while the Hardies afterwards prospered, Lauderdale, following the Royalist cause, found himself a prisoner in 1651, and lodged in the Tower of London. But the honest hearts in Tollishill did not consider themselves free from their obligations, though the "Yirl's" back was at the wa', and steadily every year laid past the rent due to him. The heroic wife, out of gratitude and sympathy over her fallen lord, then baked the rent total of gold pieces in a bannock, carried them to London, and conveyed them to the hands of the imprisoned Earl. Many days passed away, and Lord Lauderdale was released, and in course of time returned to his castle on Leader Water. He, it is said, soon sought out the leal tenants of the Midside Farm, and presented the noble Maggie with a silver girdle, and at the same time granted to her and her children to hold the farm rent free for their lives, remarking that "every bannock had its maik but the bannock of Tollishill."

The girdle and chain, after passing through many hands, found a permanent resting place in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh. (See *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 1897-98, p. 195.)

Mr Patterson cultivated a considerable deal of Tollishill land at one time, and kept two or three pairs of horses. A Mr Usher also was tenant in it. His son John, who also had it, was a favourite with Sir Walter Scott, as he was somewhat of a poet, and the Great Wizard made him a present of a pony. Usher was also tenant in Quarryford Mill in Haddingtonshire.

There are four rough track roads across the Lammermoors to Carfraemill in this parish:—1. By Long Yester, skirting the east side of Lammer Law, and passable for gigs and carts; 2. by Cairnie Haugh; 3. by Longnewton and Kidlaw; and 4. by Stobshiels and Wanside. The first two pass Tollishill steading.

CHAPTER XV

THE BARONIES—*Continued*

HARTSIDE.—GLENGELT

Hartside, the Name—Early Proprietors—Extent of Land—House of Seton—Nether Hartside—Clints—Over Hartside—Trinity College and the Superiority of Hartside and Clints—The Riddells of Haining—Barony of Hartside—Hepburn of Humble—Hope of Hopetoun—Henryson—Dalziel—Borthwick of Crookston—Lord Tweeddale—The Original Hartside—*Barony of Glengelt*—The Name—The Veteriponts and Mundevilles—The Lord Borthwick—Raid of Glengelt—Lawless Lauderdale—Hepburn of Humble—The Edmonstons—Sleigh—Cockburn—Robertson—Mathie—Hunter—Borthwick of Crookston—Tenants—The Den.

THE name of Hartside, like that of the parish, has descended to the present generation somewhat transformed from its original shape. The earliest spelling is "Hertesheued." It must not be confounded with the "Hertesheued" which, in old writings, is often mentioned with Spott, Haddington. It means *Hart's Head*, i.e., the head of the hart (Lat. *ceruus*). The Old English of "heart" is "harte" or "herte," and from the latter we might suppose "Hertes-heued" to have been derived. But in the twelfth century it seems the genitive of Heartshead was "herten-heued," not "hertesheued," being feminine. The name was originally, therefore, "Hartshead," and "Hart-side" is a corruption. The latter, indeed, does not come into use until two or three hundred years after



NETHER HARTSIDE

[Face page 440

the time when "Hertesheued" is found. The name is first noticed about 1189 A.D. We obtain it from the charter which follows:—"Charter whereby William de Morvill, constable of the King of Scotland, grants and confirms to William de Hertesheued the whole land which Heden and Hemming held in Hertesheued, viz., on the east side of the road from Wedale to Derestre (te), to be holden by him and his heirs of the hospital of the Holy Trinity at Soltre, and the brethren thereof, in fee and heritage, as the charter of the Procurator of Soletre and of the brethren of the same place bears witness, saving always the service due to the granter. Witnesses—Christiana, spouse of the granter, Ketell de Letham, William Mansell, Henry de Sainclair, Alan de Thirlestane, Peter de la Hage, Albinus, the chaplain, Richard de Nith, Duncan, son of Earl Duncan, Ingeram Haring, Richard Mansell, Alan de Clephan."* We give the writing in full, because it is necessary for a clear understanding of its several facts. William de Morville was the last of the De Morville house who was Lord of Lauderdale. As possessor of the lands of Hertesheued, as of nearly all Lauderdale for that matter, he was "Superior," and the Hospital of Soutra the "Mid-superior," and William of Hertesheued was to hold his lands of both, paying rent or other dues to the Hospital, while the "service due to the granter" probably meant military service. It is clear that De Morville had granted the lands to the Hospital, so that they could derive benefit from them, and the Hospital had granted a charter of the lands to William of Hartside, to be held of them for certain dues, and their charter is here confirmed by De Morville in the above writ. The De Morville interest ceased with national changes, but nothing

* Original Charters, No. 12, vol. i. Register House, Edinburgh.

leads us to suppose that the Hospital ever afterwards relinquished their rights in Hartside.

But William of Hartside was preceded in the proprietary by Heden and Hemming, and the names at once point to a Norse origin; and when we remember that the village name is also derived from a Norse source, it becomes evident that before this time of transference of the Hartside lands, Upper Lauderdale had mostly been in the hands of men of Scandinavian descent. It is, of course, quite conceivable that these descendants of Norsemen might have come into Lauderdale under the patronage of the Saxon De Morvilles, but it is more feasible to suppose that as Berwickshire was often raided by these sea-rovers, a few of them had settled down in the quiet uplands of the dale of Leader during the immediately preceding centuries, and by-and-by had yielded in their turn to the superior forces which were swayed by the Saxons.

The extent of property which is here set forth is rather a matter of difficulty to us. "The whole land . . . on the east side of the road from Wedale to Derestre" is vague enough. "Wedale" is traditionally derived, according to competent writers like Dr Skene and Prof. Veitch, from the great battle, so disastrous to the Saxons, which was fought between them and King Arthur's army, between Heriotwater and Lugate. The vale of "wae" it ever afterwards meant to the inhabitants of that district, and seems to have been applied two or three centuries later to the whole Gala valley. "Derestre," which we conclude can only mean "Derestrete" with part of the name deleted in the charter, was the well-known road or street which ran to Deira, one of the divisions of Northumbria. This "street" has been considered as the "Roman Road,"

"Malcolm's Rode," and the "Royal Road," which under the second and third of these appellations is frequently mentioned in connection with Lauderdale and Soutra law documents of the twelfth century. It is reputed to have passed through Old Lauder, thence to Blackchester, thence to Channelkirk Church, and thence across Soutra Hill. The road from Wedale to this Roman Road, therefore, was one connecting the valley in the neighbourhood of Heriot and Lugate with the road crossing Soutra Hill. This road seems to have taken the course of the Armet Water in a general outline running from the Gala Water to the place which is now called the Soutra Isle, the ancient "Hospital of the Holy Trinity of Soltre." The "whole land" to the east of this road would consequently mean what is generally considered to this day as "the lands of Hartside and Clints." It is to be observed that the eastern limits of these chartered lands are not given, probably because the other properties which were to be encountered on that side were too well defined by that time to require further description. Glengelt lands and Channelkirk Church lands were the only possible boundaries on the east of them, and these seem to have been distinctly understood even before 1189 A.D. These lands, then, if we are correct in so understanding the charter, were to be "holden by William and his heirs, of the Hospital" of Soltre, "as in their charter to the said William." Charters appear to have been necessary from both superiorities, the secular and the sacred, in order to security of tenure. William of Hartside thus held of De Morville, but he also held by charter of the brethren of Soltre Hospital. In like manner, in olden times, feu-duties were wont to be collected separately by both secular and sacred superiorities. This William of Hartside is styled "William Albus de Herset,"

"de Hertished," "de Hertishevit," etc., in the charters of the "Domus de Soltre," from about 1189 till about 1250.* Richard de Hertesheued, presumably son of William, witnesses to charters ranging between the dates 1238-1300, and about the year 1327, in the reign of King Robert the Bruce, we have the following:—

"Charter whereby Alan de Hertesheued, son and heir of the late Richard de Hertesheued, grants to Sir Alexander de Seton, the father, lord of that ilk, that toft and croft and these two oxgates of land in the territory of Ulkistoun, which the granter holds of Thomas, the son of William de Colilau: To be holden, *de me*, for payment of one penny yearly, if asked only, and delivering or paying to the said Thomas for all services, one pair of gloves or one penny at the feast of St James the Apostle."† A renunciation of ane arent of 4 merkis be Allan de Hartishweid, son of Richard de Hartishweid, in favour of Mark of Clephane, is also noted by John, Earl of Lauderdale, as being among his papers.‡ Allan de Hertesheued witnesses in many charters in the *Liber de Calchou* (Kelso).

Until the days of King Robert the Bruce, therefore, the proprietors of Hartside were:—

1. HEDEN and HEMMING (of Norse descent).
2. WILLIAM DE HERTESHEUED (*cir.* 1189—*cir.* 1250).
3. RICHARD DE HERTESHEUED (*cir.* 1238—*cir.* 1270).
4. ALAN DE HERTESHEUED, son of Richard (*cir.* 1327).

The dates are not those of birth or death, but of charters in which their names are found.

It has been pointed out that Hartside lands, in the days of Heden and Hemming, appear to have marched with the Armet Water on the west. It is a probable confirmation

* Domus de Soltre.

† Original Charters, No. 98, vol. i.

‡ *Scotch Acts*, vii., p. 153.

of this that the moss on the tableland of Soutra from which the Armet rises is called *Hens Moss*. For just as words like *Wednesday* become, in pronunciation, *Wensday*, so *Hedens Moss*, in colloquialism, becomes *Hens Moss*. *Heden*, again, is likely to have been short for *Healf-dene*; in Northumbrian, *Halfdene*, meaning Half-Dane, *i.e.*, of Saxon and Danish parentage.

Our next view of the lands of Hartside shows them to be possessed by the House of Seton. The reign of King Robert the Bruce brought great changes to the landowners of Scotland. All, or nearly all, who had supported the claims of the kings of England to the Scottish throne were forfeited, and at this time the family who so long had held Hartside from the De Morvilles seem to have shared a like fate. The Setons espoused Bruce's cause, and were richly rewarded.

The Setons, as the last quoted^{*} charter sets forth, were first proprietors in Channelkirk parish by possession of houses and land in Oxton territory (probably Heriotshall now), granted by Alan of Hartside, who held again from Thomas of Collielaw. It is now impossible, perhaps, to say whether Hartside had been purchased by Sir Alexander Seton, or that the lands came to him through forfeiture of Alan de Hartside. Sir Alexander was the son of King Robert the Bruce's sister, and he had, therefore, the King himself for his uncle, and it is conceivable that where so many favours were being dispensed to King Robert's followers, the near connections of the throne would not be overlooked. We know that in 1342 all Lauderdale was in the hands of William, Lord Douglas,* who obtained it through Lord Hugh, who, again, was brother and heir to

* Robertson's *Index of Charters*.

the "Good Lord James." Through the Douglasses Hartside may have been negotiated to the Setons, who received the lands of Tranent, Fawside, and Niddrie, which Alan de la Suche had forfeited. Seton, Winton (Latinised form of Winchester), and Winchburgh had, of course, been in their hands for, perhaps, a hundred and fifty years before.

Sir William Seton, who was killed in the battle of Verneuil, in Normandy, 1424, was directly descended from two, perhaps three, generations of Sir Alexander Setons, of whom Alexander Seton, "the father" in the above charter, was the first.* Sir William had an only son, George, who is the first Seton said to hold Hartside and Clints. Sir William was created a peer, and was the first Lord Seton. His son George, Lord Seton, is confirmed by the King in the lands of "Hertished and Clentis" on 8th January 1458-59.† We note that this is the first time we meet with Clints.

"This Lord George, first of that name, efter the deid of his first wyf, dochter of the erle of Buchan, mareit the secund wyf, callit Dame Christiane Murray, dochter to the lard of Telibardin, qha had na successioun." "And efter that he had levit lang time ane honorable lyf he deyit, of gud age, in the place of the Blak freiris of Edinburgh, quhair he lyis, in the queir of the samin. To quhom he foundit xx markis of annuell, to be tane of Hartsyd and the Clyntis."‡

His death took place on the 15th day of July 1478. It is said of him that "he was all given to nobleness." This

* Douglas's *Peerage*. See also Dalrymple's *Annals*, vol. iii. Creech, Edinburgh, 1797.

† Great Seal.

‡ *Historie of the Hous of Seytoun*, by Sir Richard Maitland, p. 33. See also Knox's *Works*, vol. i., p. 238, note.

gift of 20 merks of annual rent from "the lands of Hertishede and of Clyntis, with the pertinents lying within our sheriffdom of Berwick," is again confirmed by King James III. on 14th May 1473.*

The year of Lord George's death brings also into view the *Nether* Hartside, which has continued down to our time; implying, of course, the existence of Over or Upper Hartside in 1478. By his second wife, Christian Murray, he had a daughter named Christian, who married Hugh Douglas of Corehead, and her father settled on her Clints and a part of Nether Hartside. Under date 26th January 1478-9, the King confirms the charter of George, Lord Setoun, "and of the feu-lands of Hertsides," in which he conceded to Hugh Douglas of Borg, and Christian, his spouse—the lands of Clentis, extending to 12 merks, and three-fourths of the lands of Nether Hartside, extending to 18 merks of land, in Lauderdale, to be held in conjoint fee by them and their heirs.†

It is also at this time that the name "Hart's-head" begins to lose that form, and merge into "Hartside," and it must have been some time before this marriage that the original "Hartshead" lands were broken up into *Over* and *Nether* Hartside, and *Clints*, an arrangement which holds down to the present time. Possibly, at this time, Over Hartside was in other hands than those of the Setons; or the other quarter of Nether Hartside may have been retained for certain reasons, and thus have begun the division of Hartside into *Nether* and *Over* as separate places. They were for long afterwards separate properties in separate hands. In 1607, for example, this quarter of Nether Hartside is owned by James Lawson of Humbie. He pays 15 marks feu-duty.‡

* City Records of Edinburgh.

† Great Seal.

‡ Retours.

The superiority of Hartside seems to have passed through an important change about this period. It has been shown that William de Hertisheued, about 1189, held of Soutra Hospital by charter from the Master and Brethren there. In 1462 Trinity College was founded near Edinburgh, and was endowed with all the belongings of Soutra Hospital. The superiority of Hartside and Clints seems to have been transferred with the rest, for these properties are in the superiority of the city of Edinburgh to this day, and we are at a loss to know how otherwise they could have come to be so, unless through this channel. For the Trinity College ultimately fell into the hands of the Edinburgh magistrates, with all it held. Our view of the matter is, that the superiority was in the possession of Soutra Brethren, and from them, with all Soutra Hospital endowments, it passed to Trinity College, and so with Trinity College it finally rested with Edinburgh city.

Hartside and Clints were further fated to fall from the possession of the Setons. The accession of Queen Mary to the Scottish throne, together with the troubles of the Reformation, brought many calamities to the high homes of the realm. It is needless to say here that the Setons espoused her cause, and suffered in her downfall. History, novel and ballad, have said or sung the deeds and disasters of those of the name of Seton. They were always true to persons, but not so true to principles. After the battle of Langside, it was the slaughter of so many of these and their co-patriots, according to Scott, which induced in her final despair and abandonment of all her hopes of queenly honours. "I would not again undergo what I felt, when I saw from yonder mount the swords of the fell horsemen of Morton raging among the faithful Seytons and Hamiltons,

for their loyalty to their Queen—not to be Empress of all that Britain's seas enclose.”* It was at Seton Palace that she and Bothwell “passed their tyme meryly,” two days after the murder of her husband, Darnley ; it was Lord Seton who, along with her lover, George Douglas, and a few others received her as she touched shore on escaping from Lochleven Castle, and it was to Castle Niddry, near Linlithgow, belonging to Seton, where she first fled for safety ; and it was from that haven of refuge she sent a messenger to the English Court for help. The Setons of Queen Mary's time do not, however, stand so high morally as they did as patriots. Knox says, under the year 1559,† “The Lord Seytoun, a man without God, without honestie, and oftentimes without reasone,” “maist unworthy of ony regiment (*government*, Lord Seton was Provost of Edinburgh) in ane weill rewlit commun-wealth.”

George, the eldest son of George, fifth Lord Seton, obtained charters of the lands of West Niddrie, Hartisheid, and Clintis on 6th August 1554.‡ Hartside and Clints were incorporated in the barony of West Niddrie, as the following shows :—

“12 May 1607.—The King concedes to George, Master of Winton—the Earl of Wintoun, with state and title of the same, the lands, lordship, and barony of Seton and Wintoun . . . the lands of Hartisheid and Clintis . . . and which, for service, etc., the King *de novo* gives to the said George, extending to £83, old extend, viz., Seton and Winton to £15, Tranent to £20 . . . West Niddrie to £38, Hartisheid and Clintis to £5 . . . and incorporates the lands of Seton, Winton, etc., in the constabulary of Haddington, into the

* *The Abbot*, chap. xxxviii. † Knox's *Works*, vol. ii., pp. 326, 431.

‡ Douglas's *Peerage*.

free barony and lordship of Seton . . . and the other lands he incorporates into the free barony of West Niddrie."*

The Setons have again charters of these lands in 1619,† but after this time we find Nether Hartside and Clints in the possession of the Riddells of Haining, Selkirk. Over Hartside is retoured in 1607 as belonging to James Lawson of Humbie. A sasine, of date 20th March 1641, bears that Clints of Niddrie, and Hartside, were given and conceded to John Riddell, The Haining, and formerly to Andrew Riddell, his father. In an old document belonging to the Kers of Morriston, which was produced in the teind cases before the Court of Session at the beginning of this century, and copied partly into the *Decreet of Locality* still possessed by the ministers of Channelkirk, it is declared that the "Laird of Haining" pays teind for "his lands of Nether Hartside and Clints" in 1632.‡ The Riddells of that Ilk, according to the following, seem to have possessed Hartside before they were Riddells of Haining. "By decret of the High Commission of this date, 22nd July 1631, recorded in the new Record (vol. v., p. —) of this date, 19th December 1787, proceeding a summons at the instance of John, Earl of Mar, and Alexander Cranston of Morieston, equal heritable proprietors of the teinds of the parish of Chinglekirk, against Andrew Riddell of that Ilk, heritable proprietor of the lands of Nether Hartsyde and Clintis, it is found and declared 'that the saidis landis of Nether Hartsyde,' 'may be worthe in yeirlie constant rent of teynd in tyme coming, six bollis, twa firloittis victual, twa pairt aittis, and third pairt beir. Lambs with the wool thereof, estimate to 33s. 4d. by and attour the vicarage and small teind drawn by the minister allenarlie.'"

* Great Seal.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Decreet of Locality*, p. 141.

The mention of teinds leads us to note here that the tenant of Hartside, Robert Pringle, in 1630 was one of the Sub-Commissioners who sat in Lauder Tolbooth on the "tent of December" of that year to adjust the teinds of the district.

The proprietors of The Haining, Selkirk, had long a considerable stake in Channelkirk parish through the farms above noted, and those of Collielaw and Airhouse. The Riddells of Riddell first acquired The Haining in 1625 from Laurence Scott, a scion of the family of Scotts. Andrew Riddell, first of Haining, for whom it was bought by his father, sat as M.P. for Selkirkshire 1639-40.* This is the "Laird of Haining" of the *Decreet of Locality*. But his father, "Andrew Riddell of that Ilk," was the purchaser also of Hartside and Clints, and these lands must have been in his right in 1631, at least, if not sometime before that date. Walter Riddell, kinsman evidently of the Riddells of Riddell and Haining, possesses at the same time (1631) the whole lands of Oxtou.† It may have been through him that the "two husband lands of Ugston" (Heriotshall) afterwards came to be in the "barony of Hartside."‡

In 1627 the minister notes that "Neather Hairtsyde is in stok 600 merkes, personage 80 merkis, viccarage 100 merkis. Clints is in stok 500 merkis, personage £20, viccarage ane 100 merkis. Over Hairtsyde is in stok 300 merkis, personage 20 merkis, viccarage 40 merkis.§

The successor of the above Andrew Riddell of Haining, in Hartside and Clints, was John Riddell, The Haining, who is retoured heir in 1643, and died in 1696.|| He was well hated as a persecutor of the Covenanters. He married

* *Acts* v., p. 96.

† *Decreet of Locality*, p. 183.

‡ Sasines, 1728.

§ Reports on Parishes.

|| Retours. See also *History of Selkirkshire*, by Craig-Brown.

Sophia, third daughter of James, the fifth Pringle of Torwoodlee, who again was brother to Walter Pringle of Greenknowe, who lodged one night in Channelkirk when on his way to Edinburgh prison for his zeal in the Covenanting cause. He owned considerable property on Gala Water, Bowland, Bowshank, and half of Windydoors, then belonging to the Riddells. He was M.P. for Selkirkshire in 1655 and in 1674. He does not seem to have increased the prosperity of his estates. Perhaps the advent of the Prince of Orange in 1688 may have shed an adverse influence over his fortunes. When he was succeeded by Andrew Riddell, his third son, the last of the Riddells of Haining, he found it necessary to part with Haining in 1701 to Andrew Pringle of Clifton, who bought it for his second son John, the Lord Haining of the Court of Session of 1720. The last of these Pringles parted with Haining by bequest to Professor Andrew Seth Pringle Pattison in 1898. He now holds it.

In the year 1650 our own Kirk Records shed light on the Riddells of Hartside. Among the first entries of that year is the following:—"Patrick Haitly paid for drinking and reproaching of Mr Riddell of Hartsyd on the 20th of June, 56s."* Five years later there is "Robert Halliwell being to be proclaimed for marrying Jennie Halliwell, consigned two dollars that the marriage should be consumat, and that there should be no promiscuous dancing and licentious piping, whilk two dollars were delivered to Alex. Riddell in Hartsyde, July 8, 1655, to be kept till they should be redelivered." He is noted as keeping the "collections" all July and part of August of the same year, and in 1663 we find him named as an elder in Channelkirk. Hartside, indeed, is one of the places in the parish which upheld, before

* Kirk Records.

this century, a praiseworthy reputation for resident tenants, who were also esteemed in the church, and took a leading place in it. It is not unlikely that this Alexander Riddell was some near relative of the Riddells of Haining. He and his wife are seised in the lands of Nether Hartside, 5th December 1657.*

But Clints and Nether Hartside are found in the possession of John Borthwick, advocate, on 12th April 1659; afterwards John Riddell of Hayning is seised in the lands of Clints upon a precept of C.C. "be John Borthwick of Hartsyde," 12th August 1661, and the latter is again seised in "Hartsyde and Clints" in March 1665.

Over Hartside is always quite distinct as a property from these.

On the 21st November 1636 the King confirms the charter of John Lawson of Humbie, in which he sells to Master Adam Hepburne, servitor to Thomas, Earl of Haddington (Lord Binning and Byres), the lands of Over Hartsyde in the bailiary of Lauderdale. From Sir Adam Hepburn of Humbie, Over Hartside was acquired in 1642 (13th September date of disposition)† by Mr Henryson, Kirktonhill, whose family held it until 1754, when it was sold to Simon Watterston.

The Seatons still held superiority over Hartside and Clints, and on 12th May 1653 George, Earl of Wintoun, Lord Seaton, heir male of George, Earl of Wintoun, Lord Seaton, is retoured "in the lands of Hartisheid and Clints," in the barony of West Niddrie.‡ They were again ratified to him in 1670. This Lord Seton had the energetic spirit of some of his forefathers; he led a stirring life. Succeeding

* General Register of Sasines, fol. 43, vol. xiv. † *Locality*, p. 215.

‡ Retours.

his grandfather in 1650, he was served heir to his Berwickshire property in 1653 as above, and also that of Edinburgh, Haddington, and Linlithgow, and of that in Banff and Elgin in 1655. In 1654 he was fined £200 by Cromwell; went to France, and was at the siege of Bizaulson; was made Privy Councillor by King Charles II.; commanded the East Lothianers against the Covenanters in 1666 at Pentland; and again at Bothwell Brig in 1679, and afterwards entertained the Duke of Monmouth and his officers at Seton. He died in 1704. He had parted with Hartside and Clints in 1676, selling them to John Hope of Hopetoun, who received a charter of them in his favour, 2nd February 1677, the whole property having been resigned by Lord Seaton, 24th November 1676.* Again, on "7th February 1683, Charles Hope of Hopetoun is retoured heir male and of line of John Hope of Hopetoun, his father, in the lands of Hartsyde and Clints, united with other lands in Linlithgow in the barony aforesaid."

All hope of the Seatons ever recovering their wonted grandeur perished in 1715 when George, the fifth Earl of Wintoun, having joined the rebels under the Pretender, was taken prisoner, tried for high treason 15th March 1716, found guilty, and sentenced to death. He escaped, and his estates were forfeited to the Crown. With him sank this noble house, after proudly maintaining its greatness for upwards of 600 years. The accounts of the sale of the forfeited estates of Seytoun and Wintoun in 1716 contain no mention of Hartside and Clints.

Prior to the sale of Over Hartside to Simon Watterston in 1754,† Mr Henryson, Kirktonhill, had granted the feu right of one half of the lands of Over Hartside in favour

* Great Seal, No. 39, fol. 44a. Retours. † *Locality*, p. 216.

of Alexander Dalziel, so that when we reach 1742 we find "Netherhartsyde and Overhartsyde, belonging to Alexander Dalziell," pays "four pound twelve shilling" to the schoolmaster's salary.* In the same year, "Clints, belonging to Mr John Borthwick of Crookston, advocate," pays "two pound fifteen shilling and six penies." Clints has ever since remained in the same honourable connection. These two heritors of Channelkirk were also elders in the church there on 16th July 1758. Mr Dalziell resided at Hartside, and about 1762 was at variance with his neighbouring farmer of Threeburnford about the latter's rights to a share of Wideopen Common.† The last notice of him as associated with the Kirk-Session is dated the 25th April 1773. He is still in Hartside at that time. He seems to have been a warm supporter of the church, and seldom missed a meeting of the Kirk Court. He appears to have left Hartside about this year; and that property, after his term, came into the possession of the Most Noble the Marquis of Tweeddale, the descendants of whom have ever since retained it. Mr Dalziell disposes it to the Marquis on the 29th April 1773: viz., "Netherhartsyde and the pendicles thereof, called Longcleugh; parts of Overhartsyde and Teinds."‡ In the year 1787, Lord Tweeddale owned in this parish, Carfrae, Midlie, Fernieles, Hillhouse, Herniecleuch, Hizeledean, Friarsknowes, Carfrae Mill, and Mill Lands, Nether Hartside, and Nether Howden. Half the lands of Over Hartside was acquired later. Such an amount of property in the parish necessarily constituted Lord Tweeddale its chief heritor, and such a

* Kirk Records.

† "Wideopen" case in Mackenzie's *Acts and Decrees*, vol. 597.

‡ Sasines.

circumstance cannot by any means be considered unfortunate for all concerned. The greater part of the Tweeddale lands in the parish came into the possession of the family through the marriage of John, second Marquis, with Lady Anne Maitland, only child and heiress of John, first and only Duke of Lauderdale, who died in 1682. This John, second Marquis of Tweeddale, was Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, and took a leading part in carrying through the Treaty of Union between England and Scotland in 1707. By so doing, he must have rendered himself very unpopular among his Lauderdale tenants and workmen, who then petitioned against the Union, but time has shown his superior wisdom.* He died in 1713. His grandson, Lord Charles Hay, rendered himself famous in 1745, in the battle of Fontenoy, as the curious may learn from Carlyle's account of that struggle in his *Frederick the Great*.† The Hays, indeed, have ever been characterised by high principles and magnanimous deeds. In Church and in State, in war and in peace, at home or abroad, in palace or in cottage, their lives and characters have amply maintained the noble status of their title. The father of the present Marquis was a grand example of a patriotic aristocrat, using the word in its legitimate sense. Born in 1787, he joined the army as an ensign in the 52nd Foot, and was trained under the famous Sir John Moore. He acted for several years as Quarter-master General of the British Army, in the Peninsular War, under the Duke of Wellington, and was one of his most trusted officers. He was present at many of the battles of that fierce struggle, and was wounded at Busaco. This necessitated his being invalided home, but he was too good a servant to the nation to be permitted to luxuriate among the pleasant surroundings of Yester, and before he was quite

* *Acts* xi., 359a.

† Vols. vi. and vii. By Index.

convalescent he was called upon to go out to Canada in 1814 to command the British Army there, during the war with the United States anent the right of Britain to search American ships for seamen to serve in the Royal Navy. He was again wounded there. Returning home shortly after Waterloo, he married, and retired from active service till he was appointed Governor and Commander-in-chief in Madras in 1842. He was there till 1848, when he returned to East Lothian and gave his countrymen the benefit of his energy in improving the methods of agriculture. This bore fruit in his being the first to make drain tiles by machinery, and in inventing a steam-plough for deep cultivation. He died in 1876, having a few years before been appointed a Field-Marshal, an honour which he was well worthy to wear.

The present Marquis is so well known, so widely influential, and so conspicuous a figure in almost every sphere of public life, that any notice of him here might seem superfluous. While he is a power in the great commercial undertakings of the country, and is the avowed friend of the National Church, and is held in the highest esteem by all its members, it is his connection and influence within the parish of Channelkirk that naturally engages our regard. He is esteemed an excellent landlord, being considerate to his tenants, and, through his able Commissioner, assiduous in his care of all the interests of the parish. Being an expert in business, the genuine respect given to him by our parishioners does not spring from popular doles and gifts of a sentimental and patronising description, but rests on permanent advantages which are calculated to increase in worth and comfort as time goes on. This has been especially emphasised during the past two years, in his support of the extension of the telegraph to Oxton, and his indispensable

and necessary influence in floating the railway scheme at present being carried forward. We could mention many other favours, entirely due to his kindness and consideration, which never fail to bring brightness and help in their train, but which he would certainly demur to have proclaimed from the house-tops. Like all the rest of the parish proprietors, however, he is contented to be respected and honoured only through his good deeds, and from afar.

Simon Watterston bought Over Hartside from the Kirktonhill Henrysons in 1754, and it passed to Mrs Henry Torrance (Elizabeth Watterston, wife of Henry Torrance, Seggie, Fife) in 1781, and she and her husband were seised in fee and liferent of it respectively on 15th August 1792.* Their sasine of liferent only is recorded as of date 5th August 1785. Mr Torrance was then tenant in Seggie, Fife. The property was long under security bonds to various individuals, and ultimately in 1807 was purchased by Robert Sheppard, merchant, Edinburgh, owner of Kirktonhill.

It must be borne in mind that from the days of Mr Dalziel, Over Hartside was divided. The feu right and infestment of one half of it which he possessed, became the possession of the Marquis of Tweeddale when the latter acquired Nether Hartside.† So that the above account, from sometime before the days of Simon Watterston, deals only with half the lands of Over Hartside. This halving caused great confusion in allocating the teinds. One half went with the Nether Hartside estate and the other with Kirktonhill. So that Robert Sheppard acquired half Over Hartside only. In 1821 William Patrick, Esq., W.S., bought all Sheppard's property, and half Over Hartside went to him. From him it was acquired by John Borth-

* Sasines.

† *Decreet of Locality*, p. 215.

wick, Esq. of Crookston, in 1840, whose son, the present John Borthwick, Esq. of Crookston, received sasine of it in 1851. This portion of Over Hartside, which was separated from the original Over Hartside, has now been completely merged into the lands known of Kirktonhill, and what is locally known and named Over Hartside is half the lands of the original Over Hartside now held by Lord Tweeddale, and with Nether Hartside worked as one farm.

We find Hartside first referred to as a "barony" in 1728, when Heriotshall is said to be included in it with its pertinents.* It is needless to say that by that time, the designation of "barony" had more signification as one of courtesy than of real baronial status. In 1724 James Fairgrieve was tenant of Hartside.

Nether Hartside and Over Hartside together have an area of 2251 Imperial acres. The whole is leased by John Bertram, Esq., Addinston, at a rent of £502 per annum, or about 5s. per acre. The farmhouse is included in this rental. Mr Bertram, who is well known in agricultural circles as a successful farmer and as a specialist in half-bred sheep, holds the lease which his fathers before him have held since 1780.

The land is mostly pasturage, but ploughing is done to an extent which necessitates three or four pair of horses being kept. Above 70 score of sheep are under the care of two shepherds, who alone occupy Over Hartside. The land is deeply cut into by several ravines, and varies in elevation from 800 ft. to 1533 ft. above sea-level. Nether Hartside farmhouse is untenanted, and the farm is what is termed "a led-farm." Over Hartside bears many signs

* Sasines.

of having been a place of considerable size at one time. Traces of building extend all round the present cottages, and huge decaying tree-trunks give an air of past dignity long ago faded. As it was a separate property, it seems to have had also its own proper approaches. There is the remnant of an old road which, following the course of the present one which passes above "The Beeches" from Threeburnford Road, appears to have crossed the head-land there, pursuing its way up Rauchy Burn, and reaching Over Hartside by a bridge, and a gradually rising ascent across the ravine which divides it from Nether Hartside.

It is impossible now to say which of the two places may have been the original Hartside. "*Nether Hartside*" comes into notice first in order to distinguish it from another Hartside, without a doubt; just as Nether Howden is called so to mark it out from the original Howden, which is now Over Howden. But while there is no dubiety about the "Howdens," the case of the "Hartsides" is more perplexing. In modern times, importance certainly weighs to the side of Nether Hartside, but in the centuries before the Reformation it might have been quite the contrary. Both dwellings have fallen from their ancient glory, and though very pleasant and desirable places of abode, are now slowly hastening to decay. A fortalice is said to have stood near the farmhouse of Nether Hartside, and the adjoining field in which it stood is still called the "Castle" field, but it has been erased, we presume, by the usual process of dyke-building, like those of Collielaw and Howden.

Clints as a farm is entirely devoted to pasturing sheep, there being 40 score or thereby tended by the shepherd Mr Riddell, whose family, six souls in all, alone reside at

the place. The tenants are Walter Elliot, estate manager, Ardtornish, Morven, and John Elliot, Meigle, Galashiels. It is rented at £215 per annum. It stands about 1100 ft. above sea-level, on a hilly ridge which rises steep and bold from the bed of the Armet Water, which runs here at about 800 ft. elevation, and also outlines in its course both the County and Clints boundary. It is perhaps more than two miles from Channelkirk Church, to which, across the moors, a hill path brings the shepherd and his family. A similar distance lies between it and Fountainhall Station.

GLENGELT

Originally this place must have been of considerable importance, and it is probable that from its situation it may have dominated as a stronghold the main pass through Lauderdale to the Lothians, which was a part of the principal route in ancient times from England into Scotland. It is now a shepherd's dwelling, and, as a building, is a mere heap of stones which gives little honour to its proprietor, and less comfort to its tenant, rats and smoke holding revelry in it by night and day. But in the centuries that lie immediately beyond the Reformation, it was proudly associated with the lordly status of the Borthwicks, and, still further back, with the feudally famous Mundevilles and Veteripontes.

It seems clear that the name has a reference to the times of the early British settlers. Like *Soltre*, *Carfrae*, and *Leader*, *Glengelt*, says Chalmers, is *Cambro-British*.* There is no shadow of doubt about *Glen* being Gaelic. *Gelt* appears to be more dubious. It has been suggested that it may have been originally *Glen-ne-geilt*, the glen of

* *Caledonia*.

terror, but as "geilt" is Irish, the case is doubtful. *Geilt** = terror fear; from the Gaelic, seems possible, as a few Gaelic names were to be found in the neighbourhood at an early date. The Glen, when clothed with woods and haunted by barbarous people, would be well named as a place of terror.

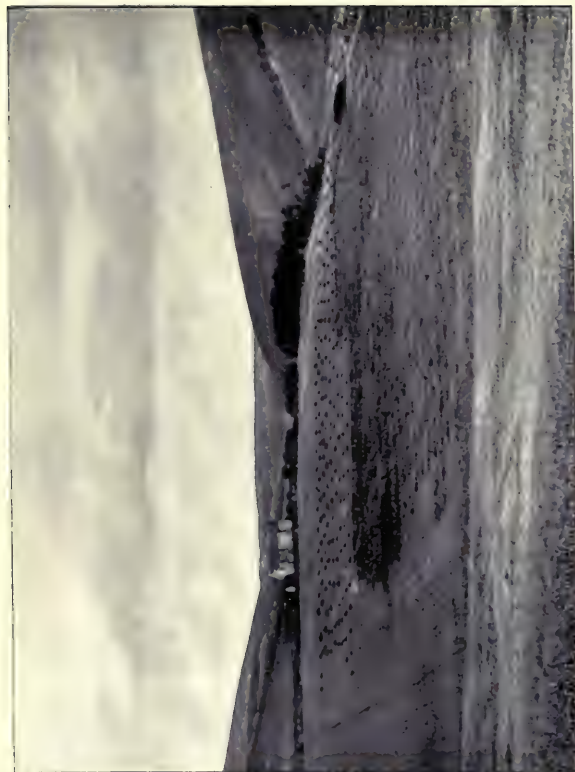
Apart from any light which the name may throw on the existence of Glengelt as a "local habitation," our information from historical sources defines it in clear relief as far back as the latter part of the twelfth century. The earliest names associated with its proprietary are the Veteriponts and Mundevilles.

We learn from Dryburgh Charters that Sir Henry de Mundevilla indemnified the Church of Channelkirk from the Chapel which he had built at Glengelt, promising that no injury should be done to the Mother Church on account of it.† There was need of this protection. His territorial weight and consequence were of sufficient status to justify him in assuming such dignity as a private chapel implied in a country gentleman's residence, but such procedure drew away from the priest of Channelkirk all the revenue which fell to him from feast days, masses, and other specialities of the Roman Catholic religion, and Sir Henry was to be careful that while he enjoyed private worship in his chapel at home on ordinary days, the revenues of these other lucrative offices and seasons were to come as usual to Channelkirk. This was indemnifying the Mother Church from injury by private chapels. This Chapel of Glengelt was still in existence, as we shall see, in 1490.

The charter above referred to is not dated, but it gives us light on Glengelt at an earlier period than that in which it

* MacBean's *Gaelic Dictionary*.

† No. 186.



GLENGELT

[*Enc. page 462*]

was written. Sir Henry tells us that a predecessor in Glengelt territory was his ancestor, Lord Ivon de Veteripont, who gave to Channelkirk Church seven acres of land to the east of the church, and the charter is specially framed in order that he may supplement his ancestor's gift by other three acres.

The name Veteripont, Veteri-ponte, was originally, it appears, Vieux-pont, and became latterly Vipont. A family of this name anciently possessed the lands of Aberdour, in Fife. Similar to the case of Lauderdale, which passed by marriage to the Earls of Galway, the Aberdour estate passed with the heiress, in 1126, to Allan Mortimer, and became the property of the Douglasses two centuries later, and so were inherited by their descendants, the Earls of Morton. Sir Allan Vipont, who is said to be of Fifeshire extraction, held Lochleven against the English about 1332. He had previously defended Stirling Castle, and was made prisoner by Edward I. in 1304, when it surrendered after an arduous siege.

From other sources we ascertain that Ivon de Veteripont signed a charter by William de Morville of Lauderdale, along with Alan de Sinclair, Carfrae, and Richard de Morville. As Richard died in 1189, the signing of the charter must have been accomplished before that date, and it follows that Ivon de Veteripont, the benevolent friend of Channelkirk Church, and proprietor of Glengelt, must have been alive about that period. At what time Sir Henry himself lived in Glengelt is more doubtful, but we find a Henry de Mundevilla, who seems, like the rest of the Scotch gentry, to have submitted to Edward I., "invited" by that monarch to accompany the Scottish nobles on an expedition which he was about to undertake into Flanders. This was

in 1297, and it is more than probable that this approximates the date of the charter under view, and also the period in which Sir Henry flourished. Like most of Lauderdale lairds, he had, doubtless, rendered homage to Edward I. the previous year.

How long Glengelt remained the property of the Mundevilles we can only now conjecture. The times were volcanic, and when 1314 arrived, with Bannockburn as an altering factor in Scottish history, lands and men were, for all practical purposes, thrown into the King's treasury, and he dispensed and disposed them according to his authority and wisdom. The representatives of the De Morvilles were ousted from Lauderdale, and with them, doubtless, also all their favourites, and the new days brought new men, with other names and fresher traditions. We find another Henry de Mundeville signing a charter *cir.* 1400, but whether he was "of Glengelt" it is hard to say.

In the year 1458, at Edinburgh, on the 14th day of January, the King gave to Lord William Borthwick and his heirs the lands of Glengelt, in Berwickshire, which Mary Pringle in her pure widowhood had resigned. Lord William married her the same year, and the "resignation" on her part of Glengelt lands was made, doubtless, in order that new infeftment might be given to her husband. Inferentially, therefore, we ascertain that the Pringles or Hoppringles, an influential family in the Borders, had owned Glengelt between the times of the Mundevilles and the Borthwicks, although it seems now impossible to say definitely whether they had been the only proprietors during that period.

The Borthwicks had risen into honourable prominence during the previous generation. Sir William Borthwick, father of this Lord William of Glengelt, was sent Ambassador

to Rome in 1425, and was created first Lord Borthwick in 1433, and died before 1458.* It appears that Lord William, owner of Glengelt in 1458, had a brother called John de Borthwick, who acquired the estate of Crookston in 1446, the residence of the present John Borthwick. The latter gentleman, also owner of Glengelt, is in direct male line, through ten generations, descended from him. If the *Calendar of Laing Charters* is right, the Borthwick title of nobility, so long in dispute, seems to incline to the owner of Crookston House.

At Edinburgh, once more, in 1467, the charter of Lord William Borthwick is confirmed, in which he gives to his son, James de Borthwick, the lands of Glengelt "for the filial affection which the said father has towards him, and for his services." Perhaps this James may have been the first Borthwick resident at Glengelt, as there is every probability that just as Cineray, Fenton, Gordonshall, Crookston, Bowerhouse, Collielaw, and Soutra became residences of the Borthwicks, so Glengelt would be also required to accommodate the increasing scions of the noble house. Lord William died in 1483. His son James had his troubles, as the following lurid excerpt testifies. Moreover, as it sheds considerable light on the people and their life in Upper Lauderdale in the fifteenth century, we give the story in full.

We are in the Court of the Lords Auditors in Edinburgh, and the time is the 23rd October 1490.† "The Lords of Council decreed that William of Douglas of Cavers and William Douglas, his eme (came=uncle) sall content and pay to James Borthwik of Glengelt and his tenents of the samyn, that is to say:—John Smyth, John Somer-

* Douglas's *Peerage*.

† *Acta Dominorum Auditorum*.

ville, Gilbert Somerville, Thomas Somerville, Cok Hunt (Jok Hunt?), John Grief, and Sire Thomas Hunter, Chapellane, threescore of ky and oxin, price of the pece (each) owrehed, 2 merkis; twelfscore of yowis, price of the pece, 5s.; 40 wedders, price of the pece, 5s.; 80 hoggs, price of the pece, 3s.; and ane horse and certane other gudes utisele and domicill to be avale of 10 merks. Quhilk gudes wer spuilzeit and takin out of the saidis landis of Glengelt be William Dowglas, in the Denbra, George Dowglas, Archibald Dowglas, William Dowglas in Cauilling, and John Stewart.

"For the quhilk they tuk them to our souveraine Lord's remissioun in the Justice Are of Jedworth, and the said William Dowglas of Cavers and William Dowglas becom pledges for the satissfaccioun of pairties as wes pressit be the copy of the adjurnale extract be Maister Richard Lawsoun, Justice Clerk, schewin and producit before the Lords.

"And ordains our souveraine Lords' lettres be direct to distreze thaim, thair landis and gudes thairfore, and the saidis William and William wer sumond to this Accioun oft tymes callit, and nother comperit."

It will be remembered that the seditious nobles, of whom the House of Douglas was chief, brought an army to Lauder in 1482, and there hanged the King's favourites over its bridge, and took the King himself prisoner to Edinburgh. This unhappy state of lawlessness never abated till the King fell at Sauchieburn in 1488, two years before this raid of Glengelt. The loyalty of James Borthwik seems to have drawn the wrath of the Douglasses down upon him, and the cleaning out of the live-stock on his lands was the result,

We note that Glengelt Chapel still flourished at this date, and Sir Thomas Hunter (a Pope's knight*) was priest. The three Somervilles, tenants in Glengelt, were probably the progenitors of the Somervilles who occupied so many of Upper Lauderdale farms in the 16th and 17th centuries. There were Somervilles tenants in Glengelt in 1699, as we shall learn by-and-by.

As late as 1503 the third Lord William of Borthwick obtained sasine of Glengelt, and also many other lands which do not fall to be noted here. In the same year Collylaw and Bourhouses were held by Allan Borthwick.

In the memorable year of the battle of Flodden Field, viz., 1513, we find another William Borthwick receiving sasine of Nenthorne, Glengelt, Collylaw, and Bourhouses. There is a sad yet heroic reason for this, as the previous proprietor, the third Lord of Borthwick, had just laid down his life on that fatal field.

James Borthwick of Glengelt, probably he whose lands the Douglasses raided in 1490, married in 1528 Elizabeth, first daughter of William Murray of Clermont and Newton, fourth son of Andrew Murray of Blackbarony.† In 1543 James seems to have gone the way of all the earth, for in that year John, Lord Borthwick of Borthwick Castle, has charter of Glengelt lands, and in 1544-5 sasine is granted, and Queen Mary confirms his charter. (Exchequer Rolls, G. S.)

It is ten years afterwards, viz., in 1554, that we hear of Michael Borthwick of Glengelt. He is one of the "noble and eminent men" (*nobiles et egregios viros*) in the presence of whom the Retour of Sir William Saintcler of Roslyn is sworn to on the 4th of July 1554, before

* See Knox's *Works*, vol. i., App., p. 555.

† Douglas's Barony.

Patrick Irland, Sheriff Depute of Edinburgh.* In 1556 Glengelt is included in Borthwick barony along with Colleslaw and Bourhous.† Michael Borthwick of Glengelt figures again in the Privy Council Records of 1570 along with his kindred in a way that more than suggests the lawlessness of the times, and the part the Borthwicks played in them. William, Lord Borthwick, Michael Borthwick of Glengelt (Glenhilt), and John Borthwick, sign, in that year, the conditions on which men were received to the King's obedience, who—I. Underlay the law for murther; II. Were in arms against his Majesty; and III. Who must keep the peace between England and Scotland.‡ The Borthwicks evidently needed restraint imposed upon them, and do not appear to have been famous during this period for possessing the qualities of the dove. But they lived in times when a man's own arm was often the best guarantee of his retaining life and property. In this same year, for example, special measures had to be taken against "the daylie and continwale stowthes, reiffis, heirschippis, birningis, slawchteris, and depredationes of thieves and tra-towris" throughout Lauderdale, Merse, Lammermuir and the Lothians,§ and where blows were so common, and battle the order of the day, the Borthwicks were not likely to be found fast asleep in bed. But some of them could fight with other weapons than swords. Sir John Borthwick of Cinery, younger son of the third Lord William, who perished at Flodden, was put into Cardinal Beaton's black books as a heretic, and had the honour to be cited before him at St Andrews to answer the charge. But he knew better than to walk into such a

* Father Haye's *Genealogie of the Sinclairs*.

† Exchequer Rolls.

‡ Privy Council.

§ *Ibid.*

trap, and escaped to England, but was condemned and excommunicated in absence, and had his effigy burnt at St Andrews market cross. He survived, however, to end 'his aige with fulnesse of daies at St Andrewes," before 1570, leaving his son William as his heir.* So in 1571, on the 23rd October, the King confirms the charter of William, Lord Borthwick, in which he concedes to his eldest son, Wm. Borthwick, all his estate, including Glengelt.† "Michael Borthwick of Glengelt" is mentioned in it as one of several of the Borthwicks in the reversion. James Borthwick, heir of William, Master of Borthwick, his full brother, is returned in 1573 in the lands of Nenthorn, Legerwood, Glengelt, Collielaw, and Burnhous (probably Bourhouse), with right of patronage of churches and chapels on these lands and others.‡ In August of 1571 we are told that among "the names of theis that were ffoirfalted" was James Borthwick, "sone to Michael Borthuikie (Glengelt)."§ This means that for some crime he had "forfalted" or forfeited all his rights in law.

Some indication is given in 1588 which shows the extent of Glengelt lands. They are mentioned as one of the boundaries—the east—of the "sucken" of Oxton Mill (Mountmill). The Kirkhaugh, which lay near Mountmill, and which was excambed for the present north part of the glebe in 1871, is said to be bounded by Glengelt "on the north and east," and consequently all the ground at present north of Mountmill and round by Annfield Inn appears to have been included in Glengelt at that period.||

John Borthwick of Glengelt is witness on 13th February

* Knox's *Works*, vol. i., p. 533.

† Great Seal.

‡ Retours. § *Richard Bannatyne's Memoirs*, p. 185. || Great Seal.

1592-3 to a charter by James, Lord Borthwick, in which he alienates certain lands to Lady Grissill Scott.*

When we arrive at the period of 1631, Glengelt is clean gone from the Borthwicks and possessed by Sir Adam Hepburn of Humble, who also held about this time several properties in Channelkirk parish.† The Titulars of the teinds obtained decret of valuation against him in that year, "as heritor of the said lands." The valuation and those concerned in it may be interesting to some.

Before the sub-Commissioners, "the said Thos. Markell in Headshaw, of the said age, sworne and admittit, deponit that the lands of Glengelt with pertinents within the said parochin may pay and will be worth in constant rent *communibus annis* v^c merks" (£25, 15s. 6d. ‡ approx.) "James Richardson in Kirktonhill of the age of lx yeires or thereby, married, sworn," etc., witnesses as above. With the above rent Glengelt was in 1631 teinded at the rate of £66, 13s. 4d. Scots. But the sub-Commissioners' valuation does not seem to have been allowed in law. At the beginning of this century the rental was £238 and the teind £47, 12s.§

The following document sheds a very clear light on Glengelt, and doubtless gives us the connecting proprietors between the Borthwicks and Sir Adam Hepburn.

"1638, Jan. 16.—At Dalkeith, the King . . . concedes to Mr Adam Hepburne of Humble . . . the lands of Glengelt, with manor place, mill, fishings, within the bailiary of Lauderdale . . . which formerly pertained to Andrew Edmonstoun, now of Ednem; Sir David Chrichtoun of Lugton, Knight; Lady Janet Edmonstoun, his wife; Robert

* *Calendar of Laing Charters.*

‡ Teind Papers.

† *Decreet of Locality*, p. 154.

§ *Decreet of Locality.*

Dicksoun of Buchtrig (parish of Hownam, Roxburghshire); Agnes Edmonstoun, his wife; James Cockburn of Ryslaw; Mary Edmonstoun, his wife; Alexander Home, paternal uncle to James, Earl of Home and Lord of Dunglas; Margaret Edmonstoun, his wife; John, Lord Borthwick; Hugh Wilson in Ginglekirk (whose son James is referred to in the account of Rev. Walter Keith, Channelkirk minister); John Rae, at Glengelt Mill; John Steill, in Glengelt; Staig and William Markill, residents there; John Wricht, in Ormistoun; and William Somervell, resident there; and on 20th December 1637 were appraised for past-due duties (in terms of Declarator of Non-entry* by the said Mr Adam, obtained 28th July 1637), extending to 7877½ merks, and 393 merks seven shillings and fourpence for the Sheriff's fee.†

The Mill of Glengelt (Mountmill) is here included in these lands. In 1631 it is said to have been the property of Robert Lawson of Humbie, with the mill lands, and its severance from Glengelt produced no little annoyance subsequently in the teind cases relating to Channelkirk.‡

The Edmonstons of Edmonston held much land in the parishes of Liberton, Cranstoun, Fala, Crichton, Newton, and Ednam about the beginning of the sixteenth century.

* As a Superior was entitled to have some one bound to perform the services stipulated for in the original grant, the heir of the vassal was not entitled on the death of his ancestor to enter into possession of the lands until he had acknowledged the Superior by *entering* with him, *i.e.*, accepting a charter which substituted him as vassal in room of his ancestor. Till this was done, the Superior was entitled to take possession of the lands and levy the rents, to the exclusion to the vassal's heirs or dispoonees; and this right was called the casualty of *non-entry*.—*Juridical Styles*, vol. i., p. 7, fifth edition.

† Great Seal.

‡ *Decreet of Locality*, pp. 268, 271.

We also learn that at this date, 1637, the Glengelt lands were in debt to Thomas, Earl of Haddington, "ane yeirly annual rent of ane hundreth pundis,* viz., from Martimes 1619 inclusive to Witsonday last bypast, 1637, inclusive, extending to the sowme of ane thousand sevine hundreth fiftie pundis" (£1750), and Mr Adam Hepburne of Humbie becomes caution that the goods and gear above specified (viz., the debts) shall be forthcoming.† He was one of the Earl's curators in 1640.‡ It is in this year that Glengelt with mill is conceded to him in liferent,§ and to Thomas, his eldest son (in fee), he giving for blench-farm, a red rose, as the Borthwicks had done before him.

We ascertain that about this time William Wight was tenant in Glengelt, and died on 16th April 1682. His brother, Alexander Wight, was tenant in it at a later date, and died 18th September 1736.

Mr John Sleich or Sligh is returned on March 27, 1695, as holding Glengelt and bequeathing it on that date to the "heir portioner" William Cockburn, son of Henry Cockburn, Provost of Haddington, one of the Cockburns probably of Clerkington.¶ Mr John Sleich was also

* *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington*, 1889, vol. ii., p. 306.

† *Ibid.*, p. 312.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 201.

§ Great Seal.

¶ It not unfrequently happened that a Superior in need of ready money agreed to accept a capital sum in lieu of future services or payments, or that the Superior wished to confer on his vassal a free gift for distinguished services, and in such circumstances a purely nominal annual payment was stipulated, merely as an acknowledgment of the Superior's paramount right, such as a penny Scots, a rose, a pair of spurs, or a pair of gloves, these being generally exigible only in the event of their being demanded by the Superior within the year. The tenure thus created was called *blench* or *blench-farm*.—*Juridical Styles*, vol. i., p. 5., fifth edition.

¶ Retours.

Provost of Haddington. Sligh is, however, owner of and teinded for Glengelt lands in 1691, four years prior to the above date.* The year in which William Cockburn is returned as heir portioner of Glengelt, viz., 1695, is also the one in which John Robertson is said to possess it, so that it must have passed quickly out of Cockburn's hands. "It appeared that in 1695 an heritable bond had been granted by John Robertson, then proprietor of Glengelt, and also of the mill and mill lands and of the lands about Ginglekirk in which the mill was called the mill of Glengelt, and the lands of Ginglekirk were called Glengelt lands.† Four years pass away, and again Glengelt undergoes changes which, however, are somewhat unpleasant. On the 16th of November 1699, "John Mathie, skipper,"‡ obtains decreet of poinding the ground against the tenants of Glengelt, Janet Somerville in "Glengelt. Town-head," and Janet Somerville in "Glengelt Town-foot," John Henderson in Glengelt Milne, and Master Andrew Mein in "Ginglekirk, called Glengelt lands." These lands ultimately come into the possession of Thomas Mathie, a merchant in Cockenzie, son and heir of John Mathie, his father, merchant in Prestonpans, who died 15th March 1726. Thomas Mathie sells them in 1731 to William Hunter, merchant in Edinburgh and Dalkeith. The latter holds Nether Howden also at this time, and having died about 1742, Glengelt is found in the hands of his daughter, Agnes Hunter, in 1745.§ She appears to have built the present house of Glengelt, as her full name is carved on the lintel of the door with the date 1743. In 1748 she is married to John Borthwick, Esq. of Crookston, as we find him obtaining sasine of

* *Decreet of Locality*, p. 163.

† *Ibid.*, p. 160.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

Glengelt and Mountmill in that year as her husband. For nearly 180 years Glengelt had been out of the hands of the Borthwicks, and here it returned to them, to all appearance, as it probably came at first, in the shape of a marriage dowry. In 1781 John Borthwick of Crookston and William his son are seised in liferent and fee respectively in Glengelt.* John Borthwick, heir to his brother William, is seised in Glengelt, 15th April 1802.† Mention is often made, about this time, of part of "the Moss of Glengelt," as being included in Justicehall property. Towards the end of last century, from about 1780, the property of Glengelt was bonded to a considerable extent, chiefly to Sir John Dalrymple Hamilton MacGill of Cousland and his heirs. We believe it is the last mentioned John Borthwick of Crookston who is mentioned in a corrective note in Scott's *Monastery*.‡ He died about 1846, and Glengelt is under trustees then, the present John Borthwick being seised in it and all his other properties in this parish on 10th November 1851.§

It is worthy of notice that Glengelt is said to include, at the end of the seventeenth century, the lands of Ginglekirk. Perhaps this understanding came down from the time when Sir Ivon de Veteriponte (*cir.* 1189) gave 7 acres of Glengelt lands to Channelkirk Church, supplemented as we have seen by other three from Sir Henry de Mundeville, his descendant. These 10 acres lay immediately to the east of the church, all of which are now included in New Channelkirk Farm, that is, Mr Borthwick's lands. It is clear that anciently Glengelt lands must have enclosed all the land east of the church,

* Sasines.

† "Centenary Edition," 1871.

‡ Lindsay's Index to Retours.

§ Sasines.

taking in all the space bounded at present by Mountmill steading and Annfield Inn.

If we are to rely upon the geographers, it is quite a modern designation which applies the name of "Lammermoor" to the hills around Upper Lauderdale. According to Pont's map in Blaeu's *Atlas*, the entire sweep of hill area which embraces Soutra Hill, Headshaw Hill, and the hills surrounding Kelphope Water is called "Glengelt Felles." H. Moll's map of 1725 includes in this designation the whole circle of hills surrounding Upper Lauderdale, beginning from Whitelaw on the west, and enclosing Over Howden, Airhouse, Channelkirk, Glengelt, Headshaw, and Kelphope. That both geographers should have treated the "Lammermoors" and "Glengelt Felles" as distinct and separate hill-districts is not without a certain significance. At what time in the remote past Glengelt may have given its name to the hills around Upper Lauderdale we have no means now of ascertaining, but the fact seems indisputable, as far, at least, as these maps can guide us; and a reasonable inference seems to follow, viz., that Glengelt at that period must have had weight and importance sufficient to impress its name widely beyond what its modern status and environment would appear to indicate. The sanction must have been a traditionary one, and bestowed, no doubt, far back in the earlier centuries of the historical epoch.

The minister of Channelkirk remarks of it in 1627:—"Greingelt is in stok 1000 merks, personage 6 scoir lib., viccarage ane 100 merkis," by far the largest farm in the parish at that time. The beginning of this century saw it tenanted by Mr Shiels, who was followed by the brothers George and Walter Peacock. Then the late John Archibald, Overshiels, so well known throughout the Borders as a

breeder of sheep, became tenant in 1846. At that time New Channelkirk was farmed by James Anderson. Mr Archibald became tenant of that farm also in 1854, when Glengelt and it were put under the same lease. New Channelkirk became after this the chief steading for the Glengelt lands, and Glengelt decreased to its present dimensions.

A place worthy of mention on Glengelt lands is The Den, sometimes called Lourie's Den. The following regarding it gives the principal particulars :— •

"The old hostelry or roadside public-house of Hunter's Hall or Lourie's Den was on the south side of Soutra Hill. Although in Berwickshire, it was just on the border of East Lothian, on the road to Carfraemill and Lauder. It is now unoccupied as an inn, but was long ago a well-known house, where travellers could get good cheer and a night's up-putting. It is said that Prince Charlie's highlanders, on the march to England, stopped and got refreshments there. On its signboard there was the representation of a huntsman blowing his bugle-horn with the foxhounds around him, and the following doggerel lines of poetry :—

' Humpty, dumpty, herrie, perrie,
Step in here and ye'll be cherrie ;
Try our speerits and our porter,
They'll make the road the shorter ;
And if ye hae a mind to stay,
Your horse can get guid corn and hay.'

' Good entertainment for man and horse.'

Instead of "Humpty, dumpty," the above is sometimes varied by "Ristern, Tifestem," which was said to be the inn-keeper's nickname.

* *Reminiscences of the County of Haddington*, 1890, p. 223.

"A person of the name of Lourie was said to have been the innkeeper in old times, and hence its name of Lourie's Den. It was once the great stopping place for drovers' carts and carriers from Lauderdale and the south, going to and from Dalkeith market, etc. A bloody fight betwixt two gipsies of the Faa and Shaw tribes long ago took place in the field opposite the inn, when one of them was killed. The survivor was tried and hanged."

It appears to be in reference to the above-mentioned fight that we have in our Kirk Records the item which says:—"Sept. 4, 1772—To Thomas Wilson for a coffin to the man that was murdered at Huntershall—6s." This seems to imply that Huntershall and Lourie's Den were identical, and not separate places as has been said.

We cull the following account of the affair from another source* :—"There used to be, and perhaps still is, a small public-house on the roadside, between Lauder and Dalkeith, called Lourie's Den. It stood in a very lonely situation, near the steep mountain pass of Soutra Hill, the terror of the South country carters in pre-railway times. It was seldom one could get past it without witnessing a drunken fight, if not getting implicated in it—in fact, the place was infamous. The neighbourhood was a harbourage for the gipsies, who could make their way thence across the hills, without let or hindrance, either to Gala Water, Leithen and Eddleston Waters, the Blackadder, which runs down into the Merse, the Haddingtonshire Tyne, the South Esk in Midlothian, or right down Lauderdale into Teviotdale, and thence into England.

"Many a gipsy fight as well as carter's squabble has taken place at Lourie's Den. Little more than a century

* *Gypsies of Yetholm*, p. 64 (Wm. Brockie, Kelso, 1884).

ago it was the scene of a terrible conflict. Two gipsy chiefs, named respectively Robert Keith and Charles Anderson, who had somehow fallen out, and followed each other for some time for the purpose of fighting out their quarrel, met at last at Lourie's Den. The two antagonists were brothers-in-law, Anderson being married to Keith's sister. Anderson proved an overmatch for Keith; and William Keith, to save his brother, laid hold of Anderson. Whereupon Madge Greig, Robert's wife, handed her husband a knife, and called on him to despatch the villain while unable to defend himself, owing to his hands being held. Robert repeatedly struck with the knife, but it rebounded from the unhappy man's ribs without much effect. Impatient at the delay, Madge called out to the assassin, 'Strike laigh! strike laigh!' and, following her directions, he stabbed him to the heart. The only remark made by any of the gang was this exclamation from one of them:— 'Gude faith, Rob, ye've dune for 'im noo!' William Keith was astonished when he found that Anderson had been stabbed in his arms, as his interference was only to save his brother from being overpowered by him. Robert Keith instantly fled, but was pursued by the country folks, armed with pitchforks and muskets. He was caught in a bracken bush, in which he had concealed himself, and was executed at Jedburgh on the 24th November 1772. One of the individuals who assisted at Keith's capture was the father of Sir Walter Scott. Long afterwards William Keith was apprehended in a ruinous house in Peeblesshire for his share in the murder, but not till he had made, though half-naked, a desperate resistance to the officers sent to capture him. He was tried, condemned, and banished to the plantations." "Even before this, how-

ever," says another authority,* "the place had a sinister reputation. Several packmen or pedlars had mysteriously disappeared. No clue to their fate was got until one warm summer, many years after, the goose-dub or small pond opposite the door became completely dry and exposed a number of human bones, revealing the gruesome secret."

Lourie's Den is now the shieling of Glengelt "ootby shepherd," and after such a terrible past enjoys a peaceful respectability; and the very sight of the lonely cottage on the wide moor is like the face of a friend to many a tired traveller. Mr Dodds, the schoolmaster of Channelkirk, once took Tam Spence to the Den to "cast" his peats. Tam was a wag with a wit that was well known in Oxton. After a spell of the spade, both rested to refresh themselves. The schoolmaster had provided a "pistol" which he proceeded alone to despatch. "That's fine whusky, Mr Dodds," quoth Tam, with sticky lips. "How do you know, Tam, when you haven't tasted it?" replied the dominie. "Becus ye're keepin' 't a' tae yersel," was Tam's reply.

The "Redbraes" lies almost half-way between the Den and Glengelt. It has a painful notoriety as having been the spot where the dead body of Dr Gibson of Lauder was found some years ago. Death had been compassed by cutting the throat. The body was found lying on the north side of the road, as it crosses the deep ravine at that place.

As a hill farm, Glengelt, the steading of which is now named New Channelkirk, has many points in its favour. Its fields are all easy of access, and there must be few spots which the reaper-and-binder machine cannot

* *Chambers's Journal*, 28th April 1888, "Across the Lammermoors," by Mr Mowat.

reach, although there is a considerable slope on every one of them. It has abundance of water in the Leader, which flows past the farmhouse, and first-class springs are in the neighbourhood. Its soil is variable, however,—some fields being light and gravelly, and others of a heavy clay. Attention to the drains would improve the latter considerably, especially on the hill pasture-land. It affords good shooting to sportsmen, as a large part of Soutra Moor lies within its marches. In Mr Archibald's hands the farm was famous for its sheep. In area it comprises nearly 1650 acres or thereby, of which about 276 are arable, 258 permanent grass, and the rest good hill pasture. It rents, at present, at £570, 10s. The steading, to be regularly resided in, might require improvements. As its locality is lower almost than most of the fields, the home journeys are always easy tasks for horses. Two shepherds are employed. The stock is a mixed one and rather numerous, there being, perhaps, 70 score of sheep and a considerable number of cattle. The present tenant, who is outgoing Whitsunday 1900, is Thomas Milne Skirving, Niddrie Mains, Liberton. Mr Forrest succeeds.

CHAPTER XVI

COLLIELAW

The Name—Residence in 1206—Sir Vivian de Mulineys—Thomas the Cleric—The Borthwicks—The Heriots—Reduplication of Place-Names—The Kers of Morristoun—House of Binning and Byres—Fairgrieve—Adinston of Carcant—The Scottish Episcopal Fund—Earl of Lauderdale—Tenants.

AS Oxton, Carfrae, Hartside, and Glengelt are designated *Baronies* in law instruments, so Collielaw, Airhouse, Over Howden, and Kirktonhill may be styled *Residences*, as distinguished from ordinary farms, both on account of their ancient importance in Upper Lauderdale, and the residentiary status which their proprietors long conferred upon them.

The name Collielaw, Collelaw, or Colela, seems to be derived from two sources. "Law" is the English "Low," but on the Scottish Borders it means a mound, a rising ground, after the Anglo-Saxon *hlaw*. A Law rises behind Collielaw to the west, reaching 1286 ft. above sea-level, and doubtless accounts sufficiently for the latter part of the name. *Colle* may come from the Gaelic *coille*, "wood," and perhaps it is just possible that Lauderdale may have possessed as many Gaelic people as impose names upon some of its places. But this can scarcely be insisted upon with much seriousness. There is an alternative view. It may be derived from the

Anglo-Saxon *Col*, *Colly*, meaning sooty, begrimed, black. If it were so, and the probabilities lean that way, then the complete word would look like *Colly-hlaw*, and mean *The Black Hill*. At a time when dense woods clothed all the hills surrounding the Leader, this designation would admirably suit the locality.

The present Collielaw is not the ancient one. The old manor place and fortalice stood a little to the south-west of the present farmhouse and steading, and at a corresponding elevation to that of Bowerhouse and Over Howden. A few trees and traces of old wall foundations still serve to fix the original locality of Old Collielaw. The remaining vestiges of stone buildings were still in good evidence about seventeen years ago, as vouched by the present steward, who used them as shelter for stock in stormy weather, but these have also vanished, and now form part of the field fences.

The earliest historical reference to it is about 1206 A.D. In the Charters of Kelso Abbey there is a conveyance made of five carucates of land by Alan, Lord Galloway, from his estate in Upper Lauderdale to the Kelso monks.* In the description of the boundaries of these carucates, "the tofts and crofts of William of Colilawe" are given as landmarks lying on the line of division. It is clear that at this early time Collielaw was a fixed residence, with its lands cultivated, and the houses of dependents adjoining it, similar to what they are now, although, perhaps, not to the same extent.

In Soltre Charters there is a certain pious Sir Vivian de Mulineys (Molineaux), who, being moved by divine piety and desire of the salvation of the souls of "my lords, viz., Roland and Alan of Galway," the souls of his ancestors

* *Liber de Calchou*, Charter No. 245.



SITE OF OLD COLLIERLAW

[Face page 482]

and successors, as well as the salvation of his own soul, gives and concedes, and by this his charter confirms, to God and the House of Soltre and the brethren for ever, "my land of Salton by its just boundaries as measured by Sir Walter Olifard, Justiciar of Lothian (*cir.* 1214-1249), by order of the sovereign the King (Alex. II.), the same, that is, which was given to me in excambion (exchange) for my land of Collilaw, which Alan of Galway, of good memory for homage and service, gave to me with all pertinents and easements."*

The date of this document is given as A.D. 1236-1238, and both Earls of Galway are evidently referred to as being dead. As Lord Alan died in 1234, and Sir Vivian received Collielaw from him, it is patent that the gift of it by the former must have been made between that date and the beginning of the century when Lord Alan succeeded his father Rolland in the estate of Lauderdale. Short references here and there regarding Sir Vivian de Mulineys seem to indicate that he was on terms of close friendship with the leading men of his age, but especially with the Lords of Lauderdale and Galway. He is a witness to one of Wm. de Morville's charters, which (1189-96) confirms his mother's gifts of lands and privileges to the monks of St Mary of Furneis, Neubi.† He is found in a similar capacity (*cir.* 1206) in Charter 246 of Kelso Abbey, and also somewhat later in No. 70 of Holyrood Charters, and again in Charter No. 12 of the *Domus de Soltre*.

It may have been about the beginning of the fourteenth century, or perhaps earlier, that Thomas the Cleric, son of the "William of Collilaw" mentioned above, gave, conceded,

* *Domus de Soltre*, No. 32.

† *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, vol. i.

and confirmed to God and the Church of St Cuthbert at Childenchirch, and the canons of Dryburgh, eight acres of land, four arable and four pasture, viz., the Haugh under Langside in the territory of Ulkilstoun (Oxton)."^{*} This is doubtless the part of the glebe which was the cause of much disputation in the Court of Session intermittently from the middle of the last till the close of the third decade of this century, and which was excambed for the present north part of the glebe in 1871. Thomas the Cleric did not give away a great deal when he bestowed these acres, for their exposure to the floods of Airhouse Water render them a precarious good, owing to sand silting and the changing bed of the stream. He asserts that he will warrant these lands against all men, and affixes his seal to the document in order that his donation may have perpetual force (*perpetuum robur*). He sincerely desired, no doubt, that Channelkirk Church should possess his acres for ever, but alas for the "force"! Thomas was alive in the days of Allan of Hertisheued (Hartside), and was Superior over some of Allan's houses and lands in Oxton territory, and we know that Allan lived about 1327, in the reign of King Robert the Bruce.[†]

More than a hundred years pass away before we catch a glimpse once more of Collielaw. In 1473 the King confirms Lord William Borthwick's charter, in which he concedes to his son Thomas, for good and faithful service, and for filial love, the lands of Collilaw. The Borthwicks first came into Channelkirk parish a generation earlier through the possession of Glengelt.[‡] In 1490 this Thomas Borthwick

^{*} *Liber de Dryburgh*, No. 185.

[†] *Original Charters*, vol i., p 98.

[‡] Great Seal and Exchequer Rolls.

is at law with William Cranstoun for £8 Scots due from Michelston lands, "lik as the said William was bundin be his obligation under his sele schewin and productit befor the lords," and "the lords" "ordains that lettres be writtin to distreze said William his lands and guds for the said soume to the releving of the said Thomas."* In 1503 matters have to be readjusted regarding Collielaw. A new Lord William, who fell at Flodden ten years later, has another charter confirmed by the King, wherein he concedes to Allan Borthwick, son to Lord William's paternal uncle, Sir Thomas Borthwick of Colylaw, the lands of Colylaw, personally resigned by the said Thomas and his wife, Helen Rutherford. There is reserved free tenement to Sir Thomas, and a reasonable third to his wife, with other privileges which are noticed under "Bowerhouse."† Hoppringle of Smailholm receives in 1510 certain sums from several places in Lauderdale, and among them Collilaw yields him 6s. 8d. yearly.

In 1513, the fatal year of Flodden, William, Lord Borthwick, receives sasine of Colylaw, and in 1538, on 21st August, the King confirms the grant of the same lands with all Borthwick estates, "now incorporated into the free barony of Borthwick, on account of the said Lord William's good service to the King in his youth."‡

Collielaw is in the hands of John, Lord Borthwick, in 1543, his charter being confirmed on 15th January of that year by Queen Mary.§

When the Reformation passes in 1566, and our somewhat intermittent chronicle brings us to the year 1571, the House of Borthwick stands out before us in great territorial dignity, and because mention is made of advowsons of churches

* *Acta Dominorum Concilii.*

† Great Seal.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ *Ibid.* and Exchequer Rolls.

and chapels being in their hands, we presume that some portion of the wealth of the suppressed Romanists had found its way into their exchequer. In that year the King confirms the charter of William, Lord Borthwick, in which he concedes to William, his eldest son, "all the lands, barony, and dominion of Borthwick, viz., the lands of the Moat of Lochquharrat and its castle, now called the Castle of Borthwick, likewise half the lands of Middleton, the lands and town of Buitland, the land of Heriot and Heriotsmoor, in Midlothian; the lands of Borthwick in Selkirkshire; lands of Little Ormiston, Heathpule, and Whitefield in Peebleshire; lands of Hyndeford in Lanarkshire; lands and barony of Aberdour in Aberdeenshire; lands of Nenthorn, Legerwood, Glengelt, Collelaw, and Bowerhouse, in Berwickshire; with towers, fortalices, houses, buildings, mills, multures, and sequels annexed to these; with the patronage of churches and chapels, holdings, etc., all of which were incorporated by King James V. into one barony of Borthwick: Holding of the said William Borthwick and the masculine heirs of his body legitimately begotten; whom failing, of James Borthwick, his second son, and the heirs of him; whom failing, of William Borthwick, son and heir of the late Sir John Borthwick of Cinery, knight, and the heirs of him; whom failing, of Michael Borthwick of Glengelt, and his heirs; whom failing, of John Borthwick of Gordonshall; whom failing, of John Borthwick of Crookston; whom failing, of William Borthwick of Soutray," etc., etc.

It is evident that both in family influence and in wealth and weight of property, the Borthwicks had, at this time, their full share in the changing history of their country. Sir John of Cinery, above mentioned, has been alluded to in our notice of Glengelt, and he seems to have been quite

the "worthie knight" which Calderwood, in his history, designates him, fighting a good fight for the Protestant faith, and only escaping the martyr's doom by fire through a judicious exercise of Borthwick wit and Scotch caution. He died somewhat before 1570, happy in seeing at St Andrews, to which he was invited by Cardinal Beaton, doubtless to be burned, the unchallenged reign of that religion he loved so well.

As an example of the other type of Borthwick we give the following account in which James Borthwick of Collielaw figures somewhat prominently :—

"30th April 1585.—John Livingstone of Belstane* (in the parish of Carluke, Lanarkshire) complained to the Council of an assault which had been made upon him on the 3rd of the preceding February by sundry persons, whose motive in so assailing him does not appear. The affair is most characteristic—indeed, a type of numberless other lawless proceedings of the time. John quietly leaves his house before sunrise, meaning no harm to any one, and expecting none to himself. He walks out, as he says, under God's peace and the King's, when suddenly he is beset by about forty people who had him at feud, 'all bodin in feir of weir,' namely, armed with jacks, stell-bonnets, spears, lance-staffs, bows, hagbuts, pistolets, and other invasive weapons forbidden by the laws. At the head of them was William, Master of Yester—a denounced rebel on account of his slaughter of the Laird of Westerhall's servant—etc., etc., James Borthwick of Colela, etc., were among the company, evidently all of them men of some figure and importance. Having come for the purpose of attacking Livingstone, they no sooner saw him than they set upon

* *Reign of James VI.*, vol i., pp. 299-300.

him, with discharge of their firearms, to deprive him of his life. He narrowly escaped and ran back to his house, which they immediately environed in the most furious manner, firing in at the windows, and through every other aperture, for a space of three hours. A bullet pierced his hat. As they departed, they met his wife and daughter, whom they abused shamefully. In short, it seems altogether to have been an affair of the most barbarous and violent kind. The offenders were all denounced rebels." This was not the beginning of James's "life of sturt and strife." From Richard Bannatyne's *Memoirs** we learn that in August 1571, among "the names of theis that were foirfalted," were James Borthuikie, Glengelt, and "James Borthuikie of Colila." Another "foirfalted" or forfeited name, notable in this parish from the teind interest which the family has through centuries held in it, was that of "Johne Cranstoun of Morstoun" (Moray's town) (Morriston, Legerwood). The Borthwicks, indeed, seem never to have lacked plenty of vigour, and they lived their lives at all times with great spirit and evident enjoyment. Perhaps it was about this time, however, that the family cup, long running over with the wine of wealth and influence, began perceptibly to ebb. When the moral foundations which are ever the deepest are undermined, family honours, names, and properties soon sink out of sight in their country's affairs as the wrecked ship on the silting sea-beach slowly disappears beneath the sand. Even the cloud-capped tower, be it Eiffel or otherwise, is only guaranteed stability when it preserves its true relations to the old earth and the laws of gravitation. Many Scottish houses of proud pedigree, to-day lie mouldering half-in-half-out

* Page 185.

of their burial vaults, not because of lack of heirs, influence, intellect, or wealth, but purely because they despised the "righteousness that alone exalteth a nation."

James Borthwick, Lord William's heir and full brother, is returned in October 1573 as possessor of Collelawe, and much else.

After this date the Borthwicks make their exit from Collielaw, and the Heriots step into their place. On the 15th of May 1601, we read of George Herriott of Collelaw, who is heir to Peter Herriott in Leyth, his brother, receiving "an annual return of 20 merks (£13, 6s. 8d.) from the croft of land called Channonis Croft, near to the church of Lawder, within the burgage of the said burgh and bailiary of Lauderdale."* And on 11th August 1602 he is returned as also receiving 24 merks from the ecclesiastical lands of Legertwode.

These Heriots of Leith, who had interest at this time in Airhouse, Collielaw, Legerwood, and Trabroun, may have been related to the John Heriot of Gladsmuir, who acquired Trabroun in that parish from Archibald, Earl of Douglas, for military service about 1622, and was grandfather to George Heriot, founder of Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh.† George, father to the celebrated philanthropist, died in 1610. The personal history of the founder himself is rather meagre, but the dates at which we find the Heriots in Trabroun, Collielaw, and other places in Lauderdale, are contemporaneous with his life, he having been born about 1563, and died in London, 1624.‡

* Retours.

† Dr Stevens' *Memoir of Heriot*.

‡ See also Scott's *Fortunes of Nigel*, notes. If Leith Burgh Records had gone back to 1600, we might, perhaps, have learned something more concerning the Heriots of Collielaw.

In 1631 an action was raised by "John, Earl of Mar, and Alex. Cranstoun of Morriestoun, equall heritable proprietors of teinds in Channelkirk, against Andro Law of Bourhouses, heritor of the lands of Bourhouses and Collielaw." These two places are afterwards combined in designation as in the "barony of Pilmuir." Andro Law, it appears, possessed but two-thirds of Collielaw, the remaining third being still held by the Heriots of Trabroun.

In October 1633, Anna Heriot, daughter of the late Robert Heriot of Trabroune, heir to James Heriot of Trabroune, great-grandfather, is returned in the third part of the lands of Collielaw, in the bailiary of Lauderdale.* We have no doubt that the "Trabroune" mentioned here is the Lauderdale Trabroun, the ancient "Treuerburn" (*cir.* 1170) of the Dryburgh Charters. And in reference to this, it has been to us a matter of astonishment to find how many of the places in Lauderdale have their twin-name in Haddingtonshire and Midlothian—Carfrae, Oxton, Trabroun, Howden, Bowerhouse, Mountmill, and Hartside being among the examples from this parish. Which was the earlier in history it might be hard to say. Perhaps the fact of the same proprietor holding lands in both districts might account for the similarity of names, though the real meaning for some of the places may lie deeper, viz., in the occupation of the territory by people speaking the same language, as in the case of the Ottadini, who were Brythonic Celts, or Welsh, and were spread over all our eastern seaboard in the second century. The Celtic names, at least, might be accounted for on this hypothesis. We lean to the view that the Lauderdale names are the older.

The subsequent notices of Collielaw in the seventeenth

* Retours.

century are in connection with the Kers of Morriston, who held some of the farms and a large share of the teinds of this parish. There is a sasine in favour of Mark Ker of Morriston, about 1670, of his lands of Ginglekirk.* These lands seem to have been Collilaw and Bourhouse, as in 1676, after his decease, his son, Andrew Ker of Morriston, is seised in these properties, with the parish teinds, as heir of his father, "Master Marc Ker."† John Ker of Morriston, heir of his brother Andrew, has the same lands and teinds secured to him in 1687.‡ The Ker proprietary in the above is carried still further with Andrew Ker of Morriston, who is served on 30th August 1692 as lineal and male heir of John Ker of Morriston, his father, in the lands of "Colzielaw and Bouchous, in the parish of Channelkirk, with tithes and annuities," etc. Regarding the last-mentioned date, perhaps the whole of Collielaw did not become the property of Andrew Ker, for in the minister's note-book (Rev. D. Scott's) there is a locality of stipend for 1691, which has the following:—"The 3rd part of Collielaw, belonging to Broun of Coalstoun" (near Haddington), and so much seems to have been severed from the Morriston possessions. The Brouns of Coalstoun were a very old family in East Lothian, many members of which attained to distinction in law.

From the Kers of Morriston, Collielaw passed next into the possession of Charles Binning, Solicitor, of Pilmuir.§ On 27th February 1722, Pilmuir lands are erected by charter of *novodamus* into the barony of Pilmuir. On the same date Collielaw and Bowerhouse become part of this barony, and sasine of the same is given to Binning, 28th

* Sasines.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Retours.

§ *Acts and Decrees*, vol. 597.

August 1723.* The lands and teinds of Collielaw were disposed to him by Ker of Morrieston.

The name of Binning brings us into contact with the house of Binning and Byres, and the creation of the Earldom of Haddington. The Gowrie conspiracy, in 1600, gave John Ramsay the favour of King James VI. for saving his life on that occasion. He was created Viscount Haddington, and on 28th August 1609, he received all the lands and baronies which belonged to Melrose Abbey, with certain exceptions. He was created Lord Ramsay of Melrose, 25th August 1615, but afterwards resigned it to his brother, Sir George of Dalhousie, who with the King's permission changed it for the title of Lord Ramsay of Dalhousie. Lord John was afterwards created Earl of Holderness, in England, and seems to have disposed of the possessions attached to the Melrose title at the same time that he abandoned the title itself to Lord Dalhousie. At any rate, all the lands and baronies belonging to Melrose Abbey were granted, in 1618, to Sir Thomas Hamilton of Priestfield, who, in 1613, had been already created Lord Binning and Byres, and was in 1619 created Earl of Melrose. When Lord John, Earl of Holderness, died in 1625, without issue, Lord Melrose secured the suppression of his own title, and of his being created Earl of Haddington instead, on 27th August 1627. He was King's Advocate, Lord Clerk Register, Secretary of State, Lord President of the Court of Session, and Keeper of the Privy Seal, prior to his death in 1637.

The family of Binning do not appear to have enjoyed Collielaw for any length of time, as we find that on 28th May 1724, Charles grants a feu-charter in favour of James

* Sasines, 28th August 1723.

Fairgrieve, in which he conveys to him, "All and Hail these parts and portions of the barony of Pilmuir called the lands of Collielaw, with tower, fortalice, manor place, and hail pertinent theroff, lying within the barony of Pilmuir parish of Channelkirk, bailiary of Lauderdale, and sherifffdom of Berwick, with All and Hail the teinds of the lands of Collielaw." *

James Fairgrieve was one of that hardy class of ploughmen-farmers who from small beginnings rise, by diligence and Scotch "hainin'," to possess, as lords and masters, the broad acres over which in their youth they may have wandered as herd-boys. His father was tenant in Threeburnford, in those days, for thirty years, and James, after he had guddled his trout as a boy in "Airhouse Water," and in his youth had laid the old man's head in Channelkirk churchyard, was tenant in his father's room for forty years more. He then resided in "Nether Heartside," where he farmed a short time till he went to live in Collielaw, which he had purchased, and where he spent twenty years, finally ending his days as a residenter in Lauder.

The description given of Collielaw in his title deeds show it as quite a lordly dwelling, with a certain mediæval dignity surrounding it, suggestive of stirring days when fire and force had to be calculated in the architecture of a habitation. The modern indifference to the venerable relics of bygone days in Lauderdale was yet in its inceptive stage, and Collielaw stood clothed in its ancient distinction and strength—proud, doubtless, of its past associations, but not without forebodings surely of its coming dissolution. For with the entrance of a peasant proprietary, there unfortun-

* *Decreet of Locality*, 98-99; and Teind Court Papers, November 18, 1819; and "Wideopen Common Case," in *Acts and Decrees*, vol. 597.

ately also came with it a lack of sympathy for traditions to which it was alien; and the industrial awakening of that age began to clamour for reform in cultivating and clearing of land, as loudly as ever sounded in former days the call for reform in morality. The same results ensued in both cases. Much was swept away which was worth more to any countryside than an extension of acres, and which never can be replaced, though it may be lamented. It humbly appears that the ties that bind us to the past should never be broken, even though the past be a bad one, for we require to be warned as well as encouraged, and if it be permitted to men to build their dykes and cowsheds out of old castle walls and habitations, hoary with venerable eild, it is also conceivable that the time might come when the same race would find it profitable to clear out the gravestones of their forefathers, in order to have more ground in which to plant their turnips. This unthinking commercial spirit was largely responsible for the rude ecclesiastical structures which were called churches in the last century.

About 1729 there was a tenant in Collielaw called Archibald Smith, who seems to have had independent views regarding his rights on Wideopen Common. William Murray held both farms of Eastertown and Threeburnford—the bad system of “led” farms not being quite new in Lauderdale, evidently—and sent his sheep of both farms to browse on the common at will. Markets were dull, and there was no demand for sheep, and William wished to keep them there till matters mended. But Smith thought he was scourging the Common at the general expense, and turned Murray’s sheep off with much heat and determination. Murray succumbed so far as to beg Smith to permit them to go on the

Common for a few weeks, as a favour, but Smith was inexorable and would not grant it. Murray thought that he was treated "very unneighbourly," and an ardent tailor in Pilmuir, aged seventy-five, in speaking of the occurrence, characterised it as a "squabble," and declared that "the voice of the country" considered Smith's conduct "robbery." Smith was James Fairgrieve's brother-in-law, and lived "under the same roof with him at Collielaw." The Common was the cause of much hot blood, and ultimately had to be taken in hand by the courts of law.*

On the 29th of July 1757 James Fairgrieve "of Collielaw, now indweller in Lauder," conveyed by disposition the lands of Collielaw to George Adinston of Carcant, sasine of which was granted on the 4th November of the same year.† Mrs Elizabeth Catherine and Isobell Binning are granted sasine of Collielaw on 26th October 1761. On 27th September 1770, William Riddell, W.S., receives the same in liferent, and Lord Marchmont in fee. But on the 11th of May 1765, Elizabeth Binning, relict of Andrew Buchanan of Drumpellier, Katherine Binning, and David Inglis, merchant in Edinburgh, and treasurer to the Bank of Scotland, her husband, and Isobell Binning, daughters of Charles Binning of Pilmuir, advocate, dispone finally all their rights in Collielaw to George Adinston of Carcant, who conveys these lands once more to Thomas, his son, on the 2nd July 1783, by disposition and assignation. The said Thomas Adinston, of Carcant, passes them by the same process, 17th December 1810, to the trustees of the Scottish Episcopal Fund, and on Charter of Resignation by the trustee upon the lordship and estate of Marchmont, 8th February 1811.

* "Wideopen Common Case," *Acts and Decreeets*.

† Sasines.

The Binnings are still said to be Superiors of Collielaw in 1818.*

These trustees of the Scottish Episcopal Fund were the Hon. James Clerk Rattray, one of the Barons of Exchequer in Scotland; Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo, Bart.; Sir John Hope of Craighall, Bart.; Colin M'Kenzie, John Hay Forbes, and Adam Duff, Esquires; and Dr Thomas Spens.

In the *Decreet of Locality*† of Channelkirk stipend, it is said that the Episcopal congregation of St John's, Edinburgh, are possessed of Collielaw in 1814. This church was built by subscriptions from many prominent Episcopalians in the year 1817, and as most of the gentlemen named above were original contributors to the Building Fund, the "Trustees of the Scottish Episcopal Fund" may have been confused in the *Decreet* with the "Episcopal Congregation of St John's." On the 31st December 1819 these trustees were before the Court of Teinds with a petition anent Collielaw Teinds, which had been troublesome since the days of Charles Binning, and it is therein stated that "the petitioners, who now hold the lands of Collielaw as trustees for a charitable purpose (having recently purchased them for behoof of that charity)." This "charitable purpose" may hint at the "Episcopal Fund" or the "Episcopal Congregation." It is not quite clear. As these trustees died, however, we find that the succeeding trustees were also seised in the same lands and teinds of Collielaw, on disposition by the surviving trustees, as late as 21st March and 24th December of the year 1839. In 1852 Collielaw is in the hands of the Earl of Lauderdale, and he still retains it.

As it stands at the present day, Collielaw is a farm of 530 acres, of varied soil from stiff clay to loamy, becoming

* *Decreet of Locality*, p. 100.

† Page 354.

more stony and coarse as it rises towards the law. At its lowest levels it is slightly moorish in nature. The approaches to it are all good, as are also the field roads, which are kept up by the tenant. Its yearly rent or valuation is £361, 11s. 6d., with 1d. of feu-duty and ground-annual. The rotation of crops is generally the "five-shift," but there is no hard and fast rule. Usually there are about 212 acres in grass, rather more than less, 106 in turnips, and about the same in crop as in grass. The buildings of the steading cannot be called satisfactory as the present standard of farming is calculated. They would be greatly improved by being covered over for cattle feeding. The water-supply is abundant for all purposes, and drainage fairly good. There are somewhat over 400 ewes on the farm. The markets are those attended by nearly all Lauderdale farmers, and are satisfactory in their methods. The new binders which are general in the dale are in use here, and other new cultivators, such as grubbers, have been introduced within recent years. The wages are those prevalent in the district, and are not so high as those further down country, as, for example, in Roxburghshire. The smith work on the farm, and over all the parish, is charged at 10d. a shoe, or £3, 15s. a year for keeping up the requirements of a pair of horses. Joiners are on "penny pay," that is, they are paid as work is done. The souls on the farm number twenty-three in all.

Collielaw was farmed at the opening of this century by a Mr Dobson. He was succeeded by Robert Hedderwick, of whom a good story is told. The Road Trustees asked him to take charge of the money allotted for the expenses of the upkeep of the roads in the parish, and were disgusted to find that he had spent it all on the road that leads from the Lauder Road to Collielaw. The Trustees declared that as

not an honest man could be found in the parish to deal fairly with this matter, they would give the money next to Rev. John Brown, the minister. He would surely deal justly with all the parish roads. But Mr Brown expended the year's allowance allotted to him on the road leading from Braefoot to the Manse! Perhaps it is the least used road for carts in the whole parish. It was once ill, twice worse.

Mr Stewart succeeded Mr Hedderwick, then his son Charles Stewart.

The present tenant is Andrew Thomson, Esq. of Mainhill, St Boswell's. He entered on Whitsunday 1881, for a lease of nineteen years. His son, George J. Thomson, Esq., resides on the farm all the year, and he himself and family during the autumn months. He is a staunch friend to the Church of Scotland, a characteristic which is traditional in the family, and far from being unknown in Channelkirk Church.

For general advantage and beauty of situation, Collielaw is perhaps inferior to no place in the valley. Lauderdale is here at its broadest, and its undulating and spacious holms along the Leader and Whelpaw Waters, with the hills beyond Adinston and Longcroft rising in the distance, form a pastoral scene of surpassing grace and loveliness. No barren scar in glen or hillside breaks the soft impressiveness of extended meadows and sunny correis; and the wandering sheep, browsing more than a thousand feet above sea-level, or the fisher slowly following the windings of the stream, together with the solitary form of some shepherd, or toiling plough, blend pleasantly with the Arcadian aspect and quiet serenity of the dale. Nor are the industrial amenities of Collielaw to remain behind the picturesque; for a few months will probably see the locomotive rushing past its

approaches, lending the blessings of travelling and trading convenience to the charms of bountiful nature. One regret will nevertheless remain with us, amid all that is here changeless and changing, viz., that the "Auld House o' Collielaw is awa'."

CHAPTER XVII

AIRHOUSE—*Arowes, Arweys, Arus, Arrois, Arras, Aruts.*

The Name—Adam del Airwis—Strife at Arrois in 1476—The Hoppringles—The Heriots of Arrois—The Somervilles of Airhouse, 1654—“Arras, now called Airhouse,” 1773—Kirk-Session Squabbles—Gloomy Days at Airhouse—Lord Lauderdale—Situation and Area of Airhouse—Tenants—Parkfoot—Tenants.

NO place in this parish has perplexed the writer more than Airhouse, both as regards its name and its early history. From its superior station and surroundings, its general air of reserve and respectability, its advantages for ancient methods of defence and modern cultivation, one would expect its annals to be full and clear, and the difficulty of tracing its genesis a minimum task. The contrary of this is the case. Its name is puzzling, and it has not been possible for us to get light upon its early days further than the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The name “Airhouse” is a grandiosity of modern times, and is a vulgar expansion of an ancient appellation which is both more eye-sweet and etymologically interesting. It seems to have come into general use about the beginning of the seventeenth century.

In 1328 it comes under our notice first as “Airwis” and “Arowes”; in 1329, as “Arowes”; in 1330 as “Arwys”



AIRHOUSE

[Face page 500

and "Arowes"; in 1331 and 1332-3 it is "Arus." In 1510 we have "Arous;" in 1627 it is first styled "Airhouse." On Pont's map, 1608, it is called "Arrowes," and on Moll's map of 1725, it is still spelt in the same way.

From the contiguity of the three places, Airhouse, Collielaw, and Bowerhouse, and the fact that they all lie on the west side of the Leader, and might in very ancient times have been possessed by one tribe, we were tempted to seek a solution of the name in suggestions evoked by reading Dr Skene's description of the Irish Tuath* or tribe, where "Aire tuise" is a grade of rank in the tribe; "Boaire" being another, and "Ceile" another. It does not appear, however, that the Irish ever settled in Berwickshire to an extent such as might justify us in seeking for an explanation along that path. There are several suggestions, indeed, of an Irish connection with Lauderdale in early times. Lauder system of agriculture, for example, known as "co-aration of the waste," was the same as that in existence at Kells,† where St Cuthbert is said to have been born. The Irish story of St Cuthbert brings him to the Lothians to his kinsfolk. In the days of King Oswald, ruler of Northumbria, of which Lauderdale was a district, Bede tells us "From that time (635 A.D.) many of the Scots (Irish) came daily into Britain, and, with great devotion, preached the word to those provinces of the English over which King Oswald reigned.‡ The Irish chiefs, and Irish led by Norsemen, repeatedly raided Berwickshire. Aed, son of Neil, King of Ireland, about 879 A.D., brought the whole of Bernicia (and therefore

* *Celtic Scotland*, vol. iii., pp. 142-148.

† Gomme's *Village Community*, p. 153.

‡ *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iii., p. 3.

Berwickshire) under subjection to himself.* Notwithstanding these historical facts, it is just possible that the name of Airhouse may possess an etymological lineage not dissimilar to the derivation of the name of Lauderdale. As a name, Lauderdale is admittedly derived from the Water of Leader, and so also may Airhouse be derived from Arras Water. This water is now called Mountmill Burn, but originally, and down to 1762 at least, it was named "Arras Water." In its course it encircles Airhouse braes and woods in the form of a reaper's hook, if we take the point to lie at Threeburnford, and the handle to extend from the bridge at old Peasmountford down to Nether Howden. Yet it seems quite possible also that instead of the water giving its name to the house, the house may have given its name to the water. The two views seem to be supported by the following authorities:—

"The widely diffused root *Ar* causes much perplexity. The *Arar*, as Cæsar says, flows *incredibili lenitate*, while, as Coleridge tells us, 'the Arve and Arveiron rave ceaselessly.' We find, however, on the one hand a Welsh word *Araf*, gentle, and an obsolete Gaelic ward *Ar*, slow, and on the other we have a Celtic word, *Arw*, violent, and a Sanskrit root *Arb*, to ravage, or destroy.

"From one or other of these roots, according to the character of the river, we may derive the names of *Arve* in Monmouth, the *Are* and *Aire* in Yorkshire, the *Ayr* in Cardigan and Ayrshire, the *Arre* in Cornwall, the *Arro* in Warwick, the *Arrow* in Hereford and Sligo, the *Aray*, in Argyll, the *Ara-glin* and the *Aragadeen* in Cork, etc."†

* *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i., p. 331.

† Rev. Isaac Taylor's *Words and Places*.

Both significations of *gentle* and *violent* can be applied to "Arras" Water, according to the season of the year; and in ancient days, when it first received its name, its character of violence, from the present-day evidence of its inroads on the hillsides, must have been amply maintained.

The other choice we have is from Macbain's *Gaelic Dictionary*—"Welsh spelling of *Aros* is *Araws*, connecting it with *rest*." There is an *Aros* in Mull, and we are informed by Gaelic-speaking scholars that *Arays*, which *Airhouse* is sometimes called, is a very likely spelling for *Aros*, which means a *dwelling*, a mansion. Arisaig, for example, may mean *Aros-eig*, the house, or port, of Eig.

That it may be either Welsh or Gaelic in spelling, either *Araws* or *Aros*, is quite possible from the close connection which Lauderdale maintained for generations with Galloway, a Welsh-speaking district. Also, as the Irish or Scots frequently invaded the south of Scotland by way of Galloway, there were many opportunities for Gaelic names to find a home in Lauderdale. *Gillefalyn*, for example, is an inhabitant of Oxton in the 12th century, and his name is Gaelic; *Kelphope* is from the Gaelic *Cailpeach*; *Carfrae* may be either Welsh or Gaelic; and *Glengelt* may not possibly be wholly Gaelic, although the *Glen* in it seems correctly denominated so. But as the Ottadini, the oldest historical inhabitants of Berwickshire, were claimed as Brythons, or kinsmen of the Welsh, the name of Airhouse in its Welsh spelling may easily find a home in that language, and, at least, date as far back as the second century.

It is in 1328 A.D. that we stumble on the first reference to Airhouse. Great changes had been effected, not only in

the country in general, but in Lauderdale in particular. The De Morvilles had passed away, the Earls of Galloway had lost their hold on the dale through John de Balliol, whose high royal hopes had been dashed before the all-conquering arm of Robert the Bruce. About the time when the mists lift from Airhouse, Bruce was bestowing upon his faithful followers all the lands and emoluments which had fallen to him as King of Scotland. The Douglasses received Lauderdale, and long were Lords of that Regality. It will be observed that "Adam of Airwis," in the following, is in receipt of an annual ten pound grant from the King, no doubt for noble service, and draws it direct from the customs of Berwick. He is also mentioned in the high company of "Robert of Lauderdale, Guardian of the Merse and the Camp of Berwick, and Sheriff of the same," and we are warranted in supposing that he was a man of considerable name and influence, and that the King had honoured and rewarded him in this way.

The following are the several references * :—" 1328 A.D., and to Adam of Airwis, for his fee, at the said term (Pentecost), 100 shillings."

"And to Adam of Aroves, at the term of Martinmas, after the time of the account, 100 shillings; and to the same in supplement of the payment made to him at the term of Pentecost of this account, xx shillings."

"A.D. 1329.—The accounts of the bailiffs and tax collectors of Berwick . . . and from the Chamberlain by receipt from Adam of Arowes, at his order, 20 shillings, for which the Chamberlain will answer."

"And to Adam of Arowes, receiving annually ten pounds (*decem libras*) from the grant of the King, by charter out

* Exchequer Rolls.

of the forementioned custom, and as far as shall have been provided for him from another source at the last term of this account, and not more than this at the said term, because twenty shillings (*viginti solidi*) of a remainder will be divided in the account of the Lord Chamberlain. The sum of this expense is viii^c xliij li. iij s. iij d. q. (£842, 3s. 3¼d.)."

"And to Adam of Arwys, receiving annually ten pounds, according to the grant of the King, by charter, at the first term of this account, 100 shillings; and to Dominus Robert of Lauderdale, as part of his fee, one hundred merks for his guardianship of the Merse, and of the Castle of Berwick, and of the Sherifffdom of the same at the first term of this account."

"A.D. 1331.—And to Adam of Arus, for his fee, at the two terms of this account, ten pounds; and to the Chamberlain acknowledging receipt, an account besides of xiiij li. xix s. ix d. q. (£14, 19s. 9¼d.)."

"1 Feb. 1334.—Robert de la Tang acknowledges having received by the hands of the Abbot and Convent of Scone, £20 sterling, in which they were indebted to Adam de la Arus by a certain obligation, of which £20, as attorney of the said Adam and his spouse, he holds himself well satisfied, and discharges the said Abbot and Convent. Attested by the seals of John Gye, burgess of Perth, and of the granter [both wanting], given at Perth on Monday next preceding the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary [Feb. 1]. In the year of grace 1333 [34]."*

This last charter sustains the view that the proprietor of Airhouse was a person of some dignity and importance.

* Original Charters, Register House, Edinburgh; also, *Liber de Scona*, No. 164.

We are not to be surprised that we find him connected with people so far removed from Lauderdale as Scone. There is just the bare possibility that the "Arus" here *might* be the "Aros" of Mull. But it is highly improbable. Moreover, so far as communication is concerned, when we consider the wealth and Court influence of the man, his favour with King Robert, and the metropolitan and court status of Perth during that period, it will be conceded that for Adam of Airhouse to have made his services obligatory to the Abbot of Scone by a loan of money or otherwise, is not a very remote contingency, considering the unsettled nature of the times. We learn here that Adam was married. In the Exchequer Rolls there is a notice which seems to confirm this: "A.D. 1332.—Et gardropario, Katerine del Fawsid et Alicie del Aruys, pro feodo suo, de mandato custodis, per literam, xxxs,"—"And to the keeper of the wardrobe, Katherine of Fawsid, and to Alice of Aruys, for fee, by order of the Warden, by letter, 30s."

Alice may have been his wife or daughter. There is no doubt that she must have been officially engaged in honourable service at Court. A curious thing is observable in the language of these last two notices. The French turn is quite apparent, "Adam de la Arus," "Alicie del Aruys." The French influence at this time was prevalent in Scotland. For just a few years before the above date, the Scotch and French had concluded a treaty in which one of the clauses made good that, "Any peace between France and England ceases if there is war between England and Scotland, and so of any peace between England and Scotland should there be war between France and England."* England was the common enemy to the French and the Scotch, and before

* *History of Scotland*, J. H. Burton, vol ii., p. 297.

Bruce's time of royal successes, Wallace is reputed to have gone to France to seek help from that quarter after the disaster of Falkirk. The French *de la Arus* also clears up another point with regard to the meaning of "Airhouse," which the Latin, with its lack of the article, fails to do. The proprietor is "Adam of *The Arus*," a phrase which in the popular speech of the district one sometimes hears to-day. This would point to the meaning given in the Gaelic "Aros," "The House" as the original one.

With reference to "Katerine of Fawsid" being associated with "Alice of Aruys" in the King's service, we take this to confirm the evident identity of our Airhouse with the "Arus" of the Exchequer Rolls, for "Fawside," as we surmise, is the "Fallside" of the parish of Tranent. Moreover, that they were both paid out of the customs of Berwick seems to prove that the place was in Berwickshire; moreover, "Robert de Fausid" is a witness in a charter given by Allan of Hartside to Sir Alexander de Seton of land in Oxton territory in 1327, exactly about the same time as these references; showing that the landed proprietors of "Fausid," "Arus," and "Hertesheued" were in the habit of companying with each other, and aiding each other in their business affairs.*

Perhaps "Ade de la Arus" was of French extraction himself. The name "Ade" does not help us, however, as it appears to be merely the diminutive of Adam, and the French expressions in the charters may have resulted from some French monk's method of writing them.

We have been unable to find any trace of Airhouse in the charters of the religious houses; that is, of Dryburgh, Melrose, Kelso, St Andrews, Dunfermline, Holyrood, etc., with the exception of the above reference in the Book of Scone. All remains, therefore, in profound darkness, re-

* Original Charters.

garding its history, between the years 1334 and 1476. But with the exceptions of such places as Ugston, Glengelt, and Kirktonhill, the same phenomenon appears throughout the entire parish. Few are the references to any place in Channelkirk about this period. There is a possible reason for this in the fact that the Lordship of Lauderdale was so firmly founded in the House of Douglas from 1298 till 1455, that many changes, or notices of these, might not be necessary. There is, indeed, mention made of John of Arous as having been one of a jury on whose verdict confirmation of a charter was given in 1390, 5th day of July, by Norman Leslie to John Ramsay of Colluthye, of the lands of Balmadyside and Pettachop; but whether this Arous may be claimed, as in Lauderdale, would be difficult to decide with certainty. It does not appear impossible, of course, but we are doubtful.*

The case is clearer when we reach the year 1476. There is then, in Edinburgh, an Action and Cause pursued by Isabel of Bathket, the "spouse of umquhile Cuthbert of Baithcat, against George, Lord Seton, and Thomas Cranston of Swynehope," (Soonhope) "anent the uptaking and withholding of double malis be baith the said persons—that is to say, be the said Thomas for the uptaking of the malis of the landis of Arrois fra the said Isabel of certain times bigain, and the said Lord for poinding the taking fra hir of 12 ky and oxin, and a horse for the said malis. The Lords avisit, decrete, and ordain that the said Thomas sal rest or deliver and gif again to the said Isabel the said malis in safer (sae far) as he has tane up fra hir since the 13th June last bygane: And likewise the said Lord (Seton) the said ky, oxen, and horse."†

* Robertson's *Index of Charters*.

† *Acta Dominorum Auditorum*.

Widow Isabel Bathgate was badly used. Her rents were due, but she did not calculate on paying them twice. Cranston had seized them first, and then Seton as Superior of the land had also pointed her live-stock to get from her what Cranston seems to have taken unlawfully. Both are made to disgorge their seizures. Doubtless Seton would get his rents in due course. Cranston was rogue, it would appear. In the year 1455, James, ninth and last Earl of Douglas, Lord of Galloway and Lauderdale, had his estates forfeited, and they passed into the hands of the Crown.* So we find, in 1510, that the King grants to David Hoppringle de Smalehame an annual dole of 6s. 8d. (a half merk) from each of the lands of *Arous*, *Bourhouse*, and *Collilaw*, with heavier sums from larger farms further down the dale.† These grants turn up again in the Exchequer Rolls for 1535, and in the Retours for 1593. But 1560, the Reformation year, brought changes; and it is another creator of changes, viz., marriage, which brings them about for the ownership of Airhouse. The Heriots of Trabrown had, some time prior to this, come into possession of Airhouse. James Heriot, the son, is receiving in marriage one of the daughters of the astute and able Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, and James Heriot, the father, gives on 1st October 1560, on fulfilment of the marriage-contract, Airhouse lands in liferent "to the said Isabella Maitland," an arrangement which is confirmed in 1586-7, three years after old James Heriot had gone the way of all the earth. The precept of sasine is directed by Richard Cranstoun, which seems to show that he held a superiority over these lands. The Cranstouns were very influential in Lauderdale. In 1588 the "littill hauch of land vocat lie Kirkhauch" is

* *Douglas Book*, p. 583.

† Great Seal.

said to be bounded on the south by Wgstoun, and on the west by "lie Arrous." * Here once more we meet with the French form (Scotticised) of "*The Arrous*," "the House." "Joneta Heriot of Aras" is heir of Thomas Heriot of Aras, her grandfather, in 1610. † Jonet or Janet Hereot was daughter to "the late James Hereot of Trabroun," as we learn from a sasine of date 11th July 1583, and was married to John Borthwick, eldest son of Francis Borthwick and Margaret Congleton of Ballincrief. ‡ In 1627 we have the first mention of the form "Airhouse" from the Rev. Henry Cockburn, minister at Channelkirk. In his report of his church he says:—"Airhouse is in stok eight scoir merkis: personage, 20 lib.; viccarage, 20 lib." Perhaps he was the inventor of the expanded form of the name. Hillhouse and Bourhouse in the parish might suggest "Airhouse" as the correct spelling—these names being always pronounced "Hillus" "Boorus," in a manner similar to "Arus. In 1631-32 we find this note in the *Decreet of Locality*: "The Lord Humbie—his lands of Airhouse possessed by the Lady (Trabroun)." She is said to "possess" the lands of Over Howden in winter, although Lord Humbie owns them. In 1676, "Andreas Ker de Moriestoune," heir of Mark Ker, his father, draws half the teinds of "Aruts" in this parish. § As if to make sure of the place, it is twice mentioned, first as "Aruts," then as "Arids." Of course this right of teinds descended from Lord Cardross, though in 1692 we find that it had passed out of the Kers' hands. It was then in possession of James Nicolson of Trabroun, who in 1693 "bound and obliged himself, his heirs and successors, to warrant, free, relieve, and skaithless keep the said George Somerville

* Great Seal.

† *Calendar of Laing Charters.*

‡ Retours.

§ Retours.

(of Airhouse) and Marion Wadderston his spouse, and their foresaids, from all payment of any teinds payable out of the said lands" of Airhouse.*

This reference to the "Somervilles of Airhouse," the designation by which they are always quoted in the parish to this day, leads to a brief account of that family in this place. In 1490 we find John Somerville, Gilbert Somerville, and Thomas Somerville, "tenants" in Glengelt.† These probably were the ancestors of the Somervilles, who, in later times, were tenants in, or proprietors of, so many farms in Upper Lauderdale.

The first historical notice which we find of the modern Somervilles is of George Somerville, tenant in Carfrae, who, together with his wife M. (or B.) Watterstone, received from James Nicolson, of Trabroun, certain rights to Wideopen Common on 19th May 1629. Nothing more appears to be known of George except that he died in 1642, still tenant in Carfrae, and was buried in Channelkirk churchyard.

There is mention of Adam Somerville in the Kirk Records as "deacon" in Channelkirk Church. He keeps the poor's money in 1650, he is called an elder in 1656, and on November 25, 1661, he "desired the Session might choose another deacon to keep the box. The Session made choice for a year of James Somerville in Hetcha (Headshaw) to keep the box." This arrangement seems to derive from the following council—"The electioun of Elderis and Deaconis aught to be used everie yeare once, least that by long continuance of suche officiaris, men presume upoun the libertie of the Church."‡ This is the earliest direct evidence of that respect and trust which

* *Decreet of Locality*, p. 186.

† *Acta Dominorum Concilii*.

‡ *The Buke of Discipline* (Knox's Works), vol. ii.

the people in the parish have accorded unstintedly to the Somerville name for three hundred years. At this early time George Somerville is in Carfrae, James Somerville in Headshaw, and "William Somerville in Glengelt." * When Airhouse comes into their hands about 1693, they completely hold the most northern district of the whole valley of the Leader. A family fit to "possess the land" evidently, and loyally accepting all the burdens and responsibilities of their position, both in church and farm. Would that their honourable example had been more generally followed!

James Somerville, son of the above George, became tenant in Carfrae after his father's death. He was born in 1611, and died in 1698, aged 87 years. About 1693, successful negotiations regarding the purchasing of Airhouse were effected between the Somervilles and James Nicolson of Trabroun, and we find James's son, George Somerville, installed then as resident proprietor there. Airhouse was at that time part of the Barony of Trabroun.

This George Somerville, apparently the first "Somerville of Airhouse," was born 1654, and died 1741, on the 3rd of April, aged 87. His wife, Marion Watterstone, predeceased him on November 1737, aged 67. It was during his time that the five years' dispute took place regarding the election of a minister to the parish church, and he seems to have taken a keen interest in the matter. He was an elder, and appeared at Earlston Presbytery on July 15, 1697, along with another, "desiring a hearing of some young men in order to a call." † On 22nd August, 1700, three years later, we find him petitioning the Presbytery for more elders to Channelkirk. He is again at Presbytery "reporting" on 26th December 1700, and on September

* Kirk Records.

† Presbytery Records.

25, 1701, he is mentioned along with "Alex. Somerville" as a heritor entitled to vote for a minister, the elections then being limited to heritors and elders. He is evidently disagreeably shocked at not having "carried his man," for on September 3, 1702, he appears with many others to offer objections to the minister's appointment, and solemnly tables a paper "intituled The Reasons of a Protestation against the ordaining of Mr Henry Home Minister at Channelkirk;" which, as usual, the Presbytery considered as containing "nothing of moment," and proceeded to ordain.

There appears to have been another George Somerville at this time in Heriotshall, for John Murray, Ouplaw (Wooplaw), gets Heriotshall, 2nd September 1727, from Alexander Somerville, mariner in Chatham, son of Alexander Somerville, writer in Edinburgh, deceased, who was eldest son of the deceased George Somerville of Heriotshall, and Alison Bathgate.*

On 30th October 1714 the George Somerville mentioned above as elder and "protester" "grants disposition of the said lands of Airhouse and Commonty Rights to James Somerville, then eldest son,"† and the said James is found also in 1739 to have purchased "those parts of Ugston Lands on the west side of the highway from Peasemountford to Lauder Burgh, formerly sold by Thomas Mathie to James Somerville, younger of Airhouse, with part of Glengelt Moss belonging to Ugston, and divided between Thomas Mathie and James Somerville." At the date 1714, when he receives Airhouse, he is said to be "tenant in Carthrae."‡ He was bereaved of his wife, Margaret

* *Acts and Decrees*, vol. 597. Mack.

‡ Sasines.

† *Ibid.*

Adinstone, in the spring of 1738, and his young son George in the spring of 1741, aged 22. He himself survived till 16th May 1758, when his bones were also laid in Channelkirk graveyard, at the age of 72. His daughter Agnes followed him in 1761, aged 45, after having afflicted his heart and family honour by standing twice on the repentant stool for a woman's weakness.* The "rebukes" which she received must have been cruel to her nearest relatives, who were in authority, for "the minister ordered the officer to call James and George Somervail, elders, to meet at the manse upon the 4th instant." They had been staying away, doubtless, out of shame, poor men. The best loved child often deals the keenest blows to a parent's heart. The family tombstone says she died November 26, 1761, but the notice of her burial is given in the Kirk Records under 31st January 1762.

It was in 1733 that this James Somerville bought from the Thomas Mathie mentioned above, and who was a "merchant in Cockenzie," "those parts and portions of the lands of Ugston called Pickleraw, the Forty-shilling Lands, and Temple Lands with commony rights, which seem to have been sold again to Mr Justice of Justicehall in 1739.† In 1742 we find "James Somervail of Airhouse and Oxton Mains" attending a heritors' meeting to assist in apporportioning among themselves the burden of the schoolmaster's salary.‡ He took a warm interest in all that concerned the well-being of the parish, and was always at his post whether in kirk or market. He is regular at all the Kirk-Session meetings till the time of his death, old man though he was, and had the most trying road in the

* Kirk Records.

† *Acts and Decrees*, vol. 597.

‡ Kirk Records.

parish, perhaps, to be encountered every time he attended. He is sent to represent the church at the Synod of Dunse, April 1753, and seems to have been competent for all his duties up till a very short time before his death. Just before the entry under 4th June 1758, there is the customary notice in such cases, "Mortcloth money for James Somervail of Airhouse, £3, 12s." He was survived by his second wife, Elizabeth Allan, forty-three years, she having lived till 19th July 1801, dying at the age of eighty.

The Somervilles in evidence after this date are "George Somerville in Carfrae," elder and treasurer in the church; George Somerville, tenant in Hartsyde, who in 1754 is painfully prominent in the Records as having been rebuked from his seat, and "paying his penalty" for the well-known sin; and James Somerville of Headshaw.

James Somerville's son, George, was in his ninth year when his father died, he having first seen the world in 1749, and by-and-by, about 1764, when he is a stripling of fifteen, we find him designated "George Somerville of Airhouse." He appears to have married in September 1773. It is on 27th September of 1773 that sasine was granted to John Pringle of Haining in liferent, and Robert Scott of Trabroun in fee, "of All and Hail the lands of Arras, now called Airhouse," etc. This does not imply, of course, that the Somervilles were out of Airhouse. The same estate may be the subject of separate fees; the property or *dominium utile* being vested in one person, and the superiority or *dominium directum* in another. These may also pass from one person to another as separate estates. Scott held in fee simple, and was Superior; Pringle had a lifetime interest, and Somerville

was, it seems, in the place of vassal in Airhouse.* The steady support which was given to the church by his forbears does not stand out so clearly in his character. We surmise that he had been a staunch churchman till a new minister came into the parish, and the reverend gentleman not being his choice, his love for the kirk had cooled and even hardened into something like freezing contempt. The system of electing a minister in Presbyterian churches is admirably fitted to create such icy temperatures in a parish, and there are few parishes in Scotland at present but are either undergoing, or not long past, or just about to enter their Glacial Period on this account. The facts of Somerville's experience are as follows:—The Rev. David Scott died 16th April 1792. "There was neither minister nor elder in the parish," and the heritors met to dispense the poor's money and clear up the Kirk-Session accounts. George Somerville of Airhouse signs the minute as chairman. On 26th December of the same year the Rev. Thomas Murray receives a "call" to Channelkirk. Presumably he was objectionable to many, who stayed away from church out of a feeling of discontent. Or, perhaps, the new minister's fiery zeal may not have suited the placid Christianity of such quiet people. He seems to have smitten the "erring ones" hip and thigh; and he made bare his arm even upon the minister of Lauder also. Murray appears to have been what Upper Lauderdale people call "an awfu' yin." The drunkards and fornicators and church despisers heard him and trembled! On 21st January 1798, Mr Murray represented to the members of the Session that several individuals of the congregation had totally absented them-

* See *Juridical Styles*, p. 125.

selves for many months past from public worship without assigning any reason for such improper conduct, and that on a late occasion the following persons, Mr Somervail of Airhouse, Mr Bertram (tenant) of Hartsyde, Mr Douglas (tenant) of Kirktownhill, and Mr David Turnbull in Ugston, after attending a funeral to the churchyard of Channelkirk at the very hour of public worship, instead of entering the church, did, in the face of the congregation, turn their back upon it, and retire to Airhouse. Was the like ever heard of in any parish? The Session are unanimously of opinion that such conduct was highly indecent and scandalous.

It does not appear that "Somervail of Airhouse" or his rebellious following grew more Christian in their demeanour as the years passed by. They seem to have made converts rather, and, as usual, the convert outstripped the master in zeal and pious obstinacy. On 24th July 1799 "the Session took into consideration the cases of George Somerville, Esq. of Airhouse, and Robert Hogarth, tenant in Carfrae (once famous in this district for his agricultural enterprise), and after reasoning on the subject, were unanimously of opinion that as the gentlemen had expressed no regret for their past indecent conduct, in deserting for almost two years the ordinances of publick worship in this parish church, having refused any resolution of more decent and Christian conduct in time coming; and as Mr Robert Hogarth in particular, in conversation with Mr Murray on the subject, seemed totally insensible of the impropriety of such conduct, and absolutely refused to give any promise of more orderly behaviour in future, the Session are unanimously of opinion that the gentlemen ought not to be admitted to the sealing ordinances of the Christian religion

till they express their sorrow for their past conduct, and" etc., etc. A great storm consequently raged round the hills, and reverberated among the farms, and surged up and down the valley for a while. So serious was the matter, that Channelkirk Session were afraid to decide in the case, lest their judgment might confound their mercifulness, and Dr Ford of Lauder and the minister of Gordon were appealed to for a gracious and unbiassed decision. After this there were meetings and consultations, and soothing counsels, and much Christian pity and hair-strokings. But all to no purpose. It was a day of hardening of hearts, and the prince and power of the air brooded triumphantly over Airhouse and Carfrae. Then fulminations from the Session descended upon them. They were to be cut off! Sniffs and snorts from Airhouse and Carfrae were returned as answer. Nourishing their hearts as in a day of slaughter! But the day—not the Judgment Day, but the Sacrament day—at length arrived. No "token" was to be given to the stiff-necked and rebellious scoffers. Hogarth, however, boldly entered the church and demanded his "token," but was promptly refused, and debarred admittance through that pearly gate. Somerville of Airhouse haughtily remained at home, and moved on his chosen way, as listed him.

After this unfortunate squabble the Laird of Airhouse took little interest in Church matters. There is evidence, too, that he was not so prosperous in his farm—a "jidgmint" on him, of course—yet he was ever kind to and mindful of the poor. Such items as "Given in by Mr Somerville to the poor," so much, attest this. That Airhouse was not a gold mine to him seems indicated by the circumstance that he found it necessary, in 1776, conjunct with his brother William, merchant in Glasgow, to grant a bond

in security for £1000 to George Miller, brewer at the Abbey of Holyrood House, over Airhouse, Airhouse teinds, and all his other property—a burden of which he did not fully get clear till the year 1811.*

About 1818 George and his son James, “younger of Airhouse,” are found together at heritors’ meetings, but on 5th May 1826 James appears alone, and we then know that the old father is no more.† The notice in the Kirk Records runs, “April 17, 1825.—Mr Somerville, best mortcloth from Airhouse ;” but the tombstone in the churchyard says, “Here lies George Somerville of Airhouse, who died 7th March 1825, aged 76.” His wife, Robina Adair, died twenty-four years before him, on 6th January 1801. Three children predeceased him also, so that the shadows of debt and death had made the pathway of life somewhat gloomy for him.

He is remembered in the district as being a man not tall in stature, but hardy made, wiry, well-wearing, and by no means infirm of will or purpose. His dislike of poachers, for example, was strong to notoriety. He scorned all aid from the “limbs of the law,” and engaged the depredators single-handed. It is said that he chased one from Airhouse woods to Blackshiels, and as was his custom, on running him down, he took his gun from him and considered he had been punished enough. “Going to law” had no attractions for him. He was also proud of his woods and lands, and was tireless in his care of them. Even in their present dilapidated condition the guiding hand and eye of the man of taste is everywhere apparent in wood and field. He used to carry a small saw under his arm, wherever he went on his grounds, to repair or prune

* Sasines.

† Heritors’ Records.

as might be necessary, and the parishioners got many a "job" from him for the same laudable purpose.

After his death his son James, afterwards Captain James Somerville, became heir to the estate. His commission was purchased in the army, but it does not seem that he had remained long in the service. He was a quiet living man, about 5 ft. 9 in. in stature, and would appear not to have survived his father many years. He married and had three children—a son, George Adair Somerville, and two daughters. It was his misfortune to fall accidentally from a stair-head, while on a visit to Oxton, and he never wholly recovered from that mishap, and perhaps it hastened his end. His young son and heir, George, was for a considerable time a minor, and during these years his mother, whose tastes were expensive, did not, it was believed, live within the resources of the estate. He was a lithe, cheerful lad, agile and bright, but that most terrible of all calamities, insanity, soon clouded over his young life with darkness. The race of Somervilles, alas! was doomed in Airhouse. It is in 1856 that we learn that Mrs William Ramsay of Barnton, and residing at Barnton House, obtains a bond over all Airhouse estate, which was then the property of George Adair Somerville, then also an inmate of Morningside Asylum. The Somerville family had left Airhouse some time prior to this date, and the house was only occupied in summer by visitors. In 1841, for example, we find a Mr Patrick Rigg living there with his family. When we reach the year 1858, the name and possessions of the Somervilles vanish from Airhouse. The *curator bonis* to George Adair Somerville, with consent of James Roland, W.S., disposes the lands of Airhouse and all the Somerville properties, with teinds, to James, Earl of Lauderdale, in the month

of May of that year, and Lord Lauderdale still possesses them.

Owing, no doubt, to absence of tenants in the past, and agricultural depression, and the indifference of the landlord—the last a grievance shared by all the lands of Channelkirk parish—Airhouse to-day offers a somewhat neglected appearance to the casual visitor, albeit it is genteel in its decay, showing everywhere proofs of its palmy days, notwithstanding its faded surroundings, and may boast even yet of being the stateliest residence in Upper Lauderdale. From its lofty situation, it overlooks a magnificent landscape, and we should imagine that few districts in Berwickshire can show a more beautiful bank of birch and juniper than that which extends along its northern boundary, and whose steep sides are laved by the winding “Arras Water.” The delicate oak-fern grows there in profusion, and there, on almost any day, the fox’s too familiar form may be seen stealing among the underwood, and in the silent gloaming the startled heron will lift its gaunt sail-like wings upon the breeze, the very embodiment of solitude. Needless to say, it is the favoured haunt of the owl. It is notable that although every similar height in the parish can boast of its “camp,” no such remnant of antiquity has been found on Airhouse lands. Perhaps its careful cultivation in the past has wiped away all traces of such memorials.

The size of the farm extends to 769 acres, with a rental of £329, 5s. 8d. Its soil is varied, and is cropped on the “fifth” rotation. 160 acres are in tillage, and the remainder in pasture, woods, or moor. The roads to it seem to be all private, and are kept up by the tenant, which must be a considerable burden considering the distance of the steading from the county roads. The farm is well stocked

and healthy, although the water-supply is indifferent. Twenty-two souls in all live within its boundaries. John Hogg, Esq., the present tenant, entered it in the year 1893. He is a member of the parish church, and sets a fine example in faithful attendance. Following the course of the water, the new railway runs round quite one half, perhaps, of Airhouse marches. It will doubtless enhance the value of the lands, and it cannot fail to increase the amenities of the ancient "House."

We understand that Mr Pringle became tenant after the Somervilles left. Airhouse was then a "led farm" till the time of the present tenant.

Parkfoot, on Airhouse Farm, is one instance out of many where the high tree has overshadowed and killed the young sapling. It seems to have come into existence as a small farm with a steading of its own about the middle of last century. The Kirk Records note that on 4th March 1787 William Renton was buried from *Parkfoot*. It is now the shepherd's house for Airhouse Farm. In 1816 it was farmed by Mr Andrew Lees; then by Mr Gibson (one year or so); Mr Tait followed him; then Mr Walkinshaw farmed it, and left it to occupy Burnfoot and Ugston Shotts.

CHAPTER XVIII

OVER HOWDEN—KIRKTONHILL—JUSTICEHALL

Howden, the Name—In Oxtou Territory—Kirk Land—John Tennent—The Heriots—The Kers of Cesford—Sir Adam Hepburn, Lord Humble—John Sleight—The Watherstones—The Polwarth Scotts—Justice of Justicehall—Dr Peter Niddrie—Situation and Area of Over Howden—Tenants.

Kirktonhill—The Moubrays and Pringles—Murehous—The Lawsons of Humble—The Henrysons—Teind Troubles—The Watterstones—Captain Torrance—Robert Sheppard—His Peculiarities—William Patrick—Borthwick of Crookston—Area of Kirktonhill and Mountmill—Tenants—Redwick and Rauchy.

Justicehall—Sir James Justice of Crichton—James Justice of Justicehall—Captain Justice—Miss Justice—Sir John Calender—Sir James Spittal—The “Halves” of Ugston—The Parkers—Situation and Area.

OVER HOWDEN

OVER HOWDEN, or, as it is anciently called, Howden or Holdene, has to be kept carefully distinct from several “Howdens” and “Hawdens” in the process of research. There is a “Holden,” for example, “in the barony of Westir Caldor,” and an Easter and Wester Howden in Haddingtonshire. There is a “Haddentowne” anciently in connection with Sprouston Kirk, a “Howden” in connection with Maxwell Kirk, and again, a “Houdene” mentioned as under Selkirk Kirk, in the old charters of the religious houses—all of which must be kept clear of *Holdene*

in Lauderdale, now usually called *Over Howden*, to distinguish it from the farm of *Nether Howden* in the same dale and in the same parish. Holdene is Anglo-Saxon, and means "the little dene," or dean, which very well describes the configuration of the place.

Its earliest appearance is about A.D. 1206, in connection with a gift of land by Alan, son of Roland, Earl of Galway, to the Church of St Mary at Kelso.* He gives to it "five carucates of land (520 acres) in Ulfkelyston (Oxton), in Lauderdale," in free and perpetual charity, and the definition of their boundaries begins "from the head of Holdene down by the Holdene stream as far as Derestrete, north from Derestrete by Fuleforde, by Samson's Marches, to the Leader," etc.

From the course the boundary takes, it seems certain to have passed the present Nether Howden, but the silence in the charter regarding it probably points to the non-existence of this farm at that early time. Indeed, the certainty of this is the more positive when Over Howden is called simply Holdene, there being no other Holdene, to all appearance, by which to contrast it. The proximity of Over Howden, also, to two camps, and the commanding position it occupies on the ridge overlooking the "dene" or ravine, which in ancient times would be wild enough, mark it out as having been a place of considerable strength and importance. From the circumstance that it lay within the territory of Ulfkilston, or Oxton, its history has been largely submerged within the fortunes of the village, and on this account it does not obtrude itself into charters with the same frequency as do a few other farms of like standing in the parish.

* *Liber de Calchou*, Charter No. 245.



OVER HOWDEN

[*File page* 524

Overhowden lands continued in the teind interest and possession of Kelso Abbey till 1646, when along with Nether Howden, Humbie, and Wansyde, they were separated from it, and Over Howden was given to Sir Adam Hepburn of Humbie—that is to say, “All and Haill the landis of Over Howden, with the manor place, house, biggings, yairds, orchard, and all their pertinents, lyand within the bailliarie of Lauderdaill and sherifffdom of Berwick.”*

There is an interesting reference regarding the Howdens of Lauderdale, which goes back as far as 1539 A.D., more than a hundred years prior to their disjunction from Kelso Abbey. Professor Cosmo Innes gives the following account of it in *Liber de Calchou* :—“After the whole matter of these volumes was printed, and they had been for some time in the hands of the binder, a charter was purchased at a public sale in Edinburgh which, though not ancient, nor in itself of much importance, has some peculiarities, and some points of interest as connected with the Abbey of Kelso, which seemed to make it proper to delay the circulation of the book to admit of its insertion. The charter is granted by the youthful commendator, James Stuart, son of James V.; the Administrator of his Abbacy and the Convent of Kelso, and with the consent and authority of King James V. himself, the patron of the Abbey, and it is subscribed by the hands of the King, the Commendator, the Administrator, and twenty-one monks of the convent. The person in whose favour it is granted, John Tennent, is well known as the confidential servant of the King. In one charter he is styled ‘*balistæ gestor Regi*,’ ‘the King’s cross-bow man.’” In another he has a grant of the keepership of Holyroodhouse and the King’s park. “‘Johnie Tennent, verlote of

* Great Seal ; and Acts of Parliament, vi., p. 853.

our chalmer,' is sent by James V., 24th Feb. 1536-7, from Compiegne to his uncle, Henry VIII.*

To this foresaid John Tennent, therefore, "and to Mary Atkinson, his spouse" . . . "our lands of Ovirhowdane and Netherhowdane are granted in fee-farm, lying within the regality of Lauderdaill and sheriffdom of Berwick." They are said to return to the Abbey, annually, the sum of £30. Twenty-eight years afterwards they yield somewhat less to the Abbey, it would seem.

"Over Howdane" continued but a short time in the hands of "the verlote of our chalmer," for in February 1542 he sells it, with his wife's consent, to James Heriot of Trabroun in Lauderdale, a transaction confirmed by the King in 1554.† He is called John Tennent of Listoun-Schiels. He seems to have retained Nether Howden.

But before 1567 the Reformation had swept over the land, and even the imperturbability of Upper Lauderdale must have been upset. In the "Rental of the Abbacie off Kelso" [*cir.* 1567], we have the sums stated which are drawn from "the landis within Twedell, the Merse, Louthiene, and uther pertis," and No. 25 of these runs:— "Item, howdene and ugstone, ewer (owre) and nether, £26, 13s. 4d."

In the chapter on "Oxton," we have pointed out that the Kelso Abbey lands of Over and Nether Howden, though included within Oxton territory, stood distinctly by themselves as Church lands. Naturally their fortunes rose and fell with those of the Abbey itself. When the Reformation pulled the keystone out of the Scottish ecclesiastical structure Over Howden and Nether Howden tumbled into the wide laps that were spread ready to receive them. The King, when an

* *Hamilton Papers*, vol. i., p. 41.

† Great Seal.

Abbot died or resigned, provided a layman for the post, and called him a commendator. This took place with Kelso Abbey. "James Stuart, son of James V.," was "commendator" in 1539. Upon his death, in 1588, the office fell to Cardinal Guise, brother of Mary of Lorraine, Dowager Queen-Regent. One of the Kers of Cesford, a little after the Reformation, was even called "Abbot" of Kelso, in order to sustain, evidently, some show of right and authority over the Church's property, and was slain in a brawl by a kinsman in August 1566. But the Abbey's wealth, about 1566, for most part, seems to have been under the hand of Sir John Maitland, afterwards Lord Thirlestane, the second son of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington. The Earl of Bothwell, who had got Coldingham—through his father's influence, no doubt, he being a bastard son of James V.—seems to have thought that Kelso Abbey would suit him better, and so he and Sir John "niffered" Kelso and Coldingham. Bothwell was commendator in 1584. But the Acts of Parliament (vol. iii., p. 454) show that Sir John was again commendator of Kelso three years later. The game went merrily on, and Sir John was made Lord High Chancellor that same year, that is in 1587, and Bothwell then grabbed both Kelso and Coldingham! Bothwell's treasonable conduct, however, deprived him of both possessions, and they fell to the Crown. The lands and possessions of Kelso Abbey, including, of course, Over and Nether Howden, were finally bestowed upon Sir Robert Ker of Cesford, afterwards, in 1599, Lord Roxburgh.

From Whitehall, on 20th December 1607, the King grants a long charter to Robert, Lord Roxburgh, and among many other favours there are given to him "the lands of Ovir and Nethir Howdens, in the bailiary of

Lauderdaill, sheriffdom of Berwick," a charter interesting also to clergymen, in respect that it contains a detailed account of various stipends paid to ministers from the Roxburgh estates. In connection with this latter item, it is worthy of notice that although the lands change hands, the original teind patrimony of the Church, Roman or Protestant, remains the same, is always recognised, always accepted, and always provided for. The land carries this with it, whoever receives it.

Again, on 12th June 1614, the King concedes, and *de novo* gives to William Ker, eldest born son and heir-apparent of Robert, Lord Roxburgh and Halydene, etc., "the lands of Over and Nether Howdens" in Lauderdale. It was on the 3rd August 1602 that Lord Robert obtained the lands of Haliden, and on the 5th of the same month a grant of the town of Kelso itself. In 1634 we have another glimpse of the Howdens still in Lord Roxburgh's hands, "Ovir and Nather Howdens" returning £26, 13s. 4d. But in 1646 they are separated, and after so many centuries together, are never apparently conjoined again in one proprietary. On 10th August of that year the King gives Over Howden lands in liferent, with manor place, house, biggings, yairds, orchard, and all their pertinents, to Sir Adam Hepburn, Lord Humbie; dissolves them from the priory of Eccles and Abbey of Kelso, and incorporates them with other lands into the free barony of Humbie.

Again, in 1647, Sir Adam extends his possessions in Lauderdale, and obtains "the lands of Trabroun and Over Howden, in conjunct right with his son and his son's wife, Agnes Foullis," which lands of Trabroun Sir James Foullis of Colintoun, Bart., eldest son of the deceased Sir David Foullis, and which lands of Over Howden, Sir Adam

Hepburn and his son, for themselves had respectively resigned.

Perhaps a short account of Sir Adam Hepburn's career may be interesting in this connection. There was an Earl Adam Hepburn, second Earl of Bothwell, who fell on Flodden field in 1513, where his valour was conspicuous. He was grandfather to James, Earl of Bothwell, who is notorious in connection with Queen Mary's history, and our Sir Adam Hepburn was no doubt closely related to the same Hepburns. He was married to Margaret, daughter of the Hon. Sir James Dalrymple of Borthwick, and was appointed clerk to the Committee of Estates, elected in June 1640 to oppose Charles I., and accompanied the Scottish Army to England that year. He was knighted 15th November 1641, and received the appointment of a Lord Ordinary at the same time. In 1643, he represented Haddington County, and continued to do so during the lifetime of King Charles I. He was appointed Collector-General and Treasurer to the Army in the last-mentioned year. When York capitulated in July 1644, he was dispatched to the Parliament of England, to urge the necessities of the Army, and to press the settlement of religion. He appears to have been of great service to his party, and through all the various committees, of war and otherwise, his name appears as one of the most active and zealous of their members. We find him at Perth in 1650 attending Charles II., and making arrangements for his coronation. He was unluckier, however, further south of the Tay, and came into unpleasant acquaintance with imprisonment in Broughty Ferry Castle. It seems that along with many more notables and 500 horse, he was surprised and captured at Alyth, and lodged in that stronghold. Stripped of all he had, he was soon shipped

south into England, by way of Tynemouth Castle, and thence to London.

It is said by one authority that he died in June 1656. It is believed, however, that his death actually occurred in December of the year 1658. He left his lands to his little daughter, who was then about two years old, and so "broke the taylie." * He was one of the Senators of the College of Justice, and was one of the Earl of Haddington's (Thomas, third earl, 1640-45) curators in 1640. About 1630, Thomas, Lord Binning, writes to "my loving friend, Mr Adame Hepburne," about his brother Patrick's debt, from "St Martin's Lane," and in many ways he seems to have been of much consequence in connection with the Haddington estates.†

It is needless to remark that the name of Hepburn was one of no small consequence in Scotland a few centuries ago, and the district of Fife and the Lothians, where their influence was greatest, was the "political heart of Scotland." The Maitlands of Lauderdale boasted of no inconsiderable share in directing the affairs of the nation, but Skelton is perhaps correct when he asserts that "the Lauderdale Maitlands were not on a level with the great governing houses of Hepburn, Hamilton, and Hume."[‡] It is certainly beyond doubt that about the middle of the seventeenth century Sir Adam Hepburn of Humble had a far larger grasp of Upper Lauderdale than had the Lauderdale themselves, the barony of Trabroun, Howden, Airhouse, Over Hartside, and Glengelt all being held in his interest. It is within comparatively recent times, indeed, that the Maitlands have crept up into Channelkirk parish.

* "Senators of the College of Justice," and Lamont's *Diary*.

† *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington*.

‡ *Maitlands of Lethington*, vol. i., p. 2.

It also appears that, notwithstanding the King's confirmation of Over Howden on 10th August 1646 to Sir Adam, these lands had been in his hands several years before that date. One authority* says, "Sir Adam Hepburn of Humbie, Knight, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, then (1631) heritor of the said lands," viz., Glengelt, Over Howden, Airhouse, etc.* In 1630, a year previous, we have from Kelso Abbey "Taxt Roll" the following: "Over Howden, pertaining to Sir John Hamilton of Strabrock, payes £11, 13s. 4d., worth 600 merks." The year 1631 would seem, therefore, to be the year of Sir Adam Hepburn's entry to Over Howden. Incidentally we learn, also, that James Wadderstone was "in Howden,"—tenant, that is—in March 1631. Lord Roxburgh was of course still Superior of these lands at this time. Four years before, viz., in 1627, Rev. Henry Cockburn, minister of Channelkirk, says that Over Howden is one of the Kirk lands in his parish, and that it is "in stok 600 merkis; personage, ane 100 lib. ; vicarrage, ane 100 merkis."

It is in 1636 that we find the King confirming the charter of John Lawson of Humbie, wherein he sold to Sir Adam Hepburn, servitor to Thomas, Earl of Haddington (Lord Binning and Byres), and clerk of the taxes, and to his heirs, etc., under reversion, the lands of Humbie, Hielie, Birkinsyde and Rownetreehauch, etc., likewise the lands of Gilchrystoun in Salton, likewise Over Hartside in Lauderdale. All which amply vindicates Sir Adam's landed importance in our dale at this period.

Note is taken in the Acts of Parliament,† that in 1633 "the lands of Howden and Commontie, and common pasturage, within the mure of Lammermoor, usit and wont

* *Decreet of Locality*, p. 154.

† *Acts* v., 129.

are given to the Laird of Ruchlaw, William Sydserff," and in 1647 they are said to be in Sir Adam's hands.* But probably this is the Howden near Haddington. In 1676 the Kers of Morriston claim half the teinds of Over Howden.† John Sleich or Sleigh seems to have taken up Sir Adam's interest in Over Howden after his death, and when we reach 1695, Wm. Cockburn, heir portioner of John Sleigh, provost of Haddington burgh, his grandfather, is returned heir to Glengelt Mill, tenths, and acres of Over Howden.‡ There is a sasine, dated 28th November 1711, in favour of Janet Fairgrieve, wife of John Watherstone of Over Howden, of a liferent of £100 Scots furth of the lands of the said John, his lands of Over Howden. The following tells its own story: "12th Dec. 1723.—Precept of *Clare Constat* by Janet Gourlay, relict of James Nicolsoun of Trabroun, Superior of the lands, narrating that the deceased John Wadderstoun, only son to the deceased Simeon Wadderstoun of Over Howden, father to James Wadderstoun, died last vest in those parts of pendicles of the barony of Trabroun called Over Howden, Upper and Nether Carse Mures, as lately possessed by Adam Somerville, tenant there, and afterwards by the said Simon and John. with pasturage in the Commonty called Wideopen, lying in the barony of Trabroun, bailiary of Lauderdale, and shire of Berwick, and that the said James is nearest and lawful heir to the said John; therefore directing that he be infeft in the said lands. To be held in feu-farm for £215 Scots yearly."

In 1739 Over Howden is possessed by James Justice of Justicehall. The superiority is still held in 1751, by Nicolson of Trabroun, but in 1758, on 25th September,

* *Acts* vi., 853.

† *Retours*.

‡ *Ibid.*

Walter and Robert Scott* are seised *in fee*, from Robert Scott their father, in those parts of the Barony of Trabroun called Upper and Nether Carsemyres, and Over Howden.† The Scotts made the dale ring with their lawsuit about "Wideopen Common" for several years after 1762.‡ The barony of Trabroun long antedates the barony of Pilmuir, but the latter having been erected by charter of *novo-damus* 27th February 1722, seems to have absorbed into itself many of the lands of the former about the middle of the eighteenth century. When Robert Scott raises his "Wideopen Common" lawsuit in 1762, his interest in the matter is said to derive from Pilmuir Estate, which comprised, among others, "the lands of Upper and Nether Carsemyres, with the corn and waulk mills of the same, and also the lands of Over Howden."§ In 1722, the barony of Pilmuir included Collielaw, Bowerhouse, Pilmuir, Wiselawmill, Overshielfield (4 merks lands of Lauder Kirklands), and the arable lands of Nether Howden.

Over Howden continued in the possession of the Justices of Justicehall till the early years of this century. On March 22, 1800, James Justice of Justicehall, as heir to Alex. Justice of Justicehall, his brother, was seised in those parts of the barony of Trabroun called Over Howden, etc., on Charter of Confirmation and Precept of *Clare Constat* by the Commissioner of Robert Scott of Trabroun, September 24, 1785.|| The reader is referred to the account of Justicehall for a narrative regarding the family of Justice. In 1816 Over Howden, with all the Justicehall estate, was in the hands of trustees for behoof of its creditors.¶

* Polwarth branch of the Scott family. † Sasines.

‡ See "Oxton." § *Acts and Decrees*, vol. 597. Mack.

|| Sasines. ¶ *Calendar of Laing Charters*.

Miss Maria Campbell Rae Justice, daughter of the bankrupt Captain Justice, became proprietrix of Over Howden in 1823, as the heir of entail. In 1834, and again in 1838, "Robert Thomson, Esq., Over Howden," appears at a heritors' meeting for his own interest. He was a merchant in Edinburgh, and on January 25 and 30, 1850, his trustees dispense Over Howden and Upper and Nether Carsemyres to Peter Niddrie, "late Surgeon in the Royal Navy," and his wife, Grace Thomson, residing (February 13, 1851) at Leamington, Warwickshire, Mrs Niddrie, Dr Niddrie's widow, Comphall, Dromore, West Sligo, still draws the rents for these properties.

Henry Francis Hepburn Scott, Baron Polwarth, as heir of line to his father, Hugh, Lord Polwarth, is seised in the superiority of Over Howden, etc., December 20, 1842, on Precept from Chancery, December 8, 1842.* Lord Polwarth's interest in the same was subsequently disposed to James, Earl of Lauderdale, May 10, 1844.

Over Howden as a property and residence seems a very desirable one. The general position of the farm-steading on the western side of the Leader, with lands that are neither too hilly nor too flat, together with its fine commanding view of the surrounding landscape, render it healthy and cheerful, comfortably workable, and a charming dwelling-place. A few trees planted around it would also add to its beauty.

The size of the farm extends to 400 acres. The soil is generally good, but too much of it is a thin moorland, especially that part to the west of the stead and lying towards Wideopen Common. The rotation is three years pasture, one oats, one turnips, then oats or barley. The

* Sasines.

tillage comprises 50 acres in turnips and 100 acres in grain. The buildings are satisfactory, and some remarks on what is believed to be the remains of an old border peel, which was here in former days, will be found in the 23rd chapter, which treats of the parish "antiquities." The water-supply is quite insufficient, unfortunately, and for a farm stocking 8 horses, 40 cattle, and 300 sheep, better provision in this respect is imperative. The yearly rent is £160, and the shootings £15. Shepherds' wages are £1 per week, and hinds' 18s.; they work 10 hours in summer, 8 in winter, and have four holidays yearly. Andrew Sharp, Esq., is the present tenant. He entered the farm in 1865, is married, and has family. He attends the parish church, and is a highly respected member of both Parish Council and School Board. There are seventeen souls in all upon the farm. The farm lies to the west of Oxton village, in distance about a mile.

In 1753 the tenant was William Rutherford; in 1800 Alexander Iddington; and during this century it has been successively farmed by Messrs Bertram, Binnie (who was in Carfraemill), James Sharp, father of the present farmer, and who immediately preceded him in the tenancy.

KIRKTONHILL.

From its position and neighbourhood, we may reasonably surmise that Kirktonhill has derived its designation from its proximity to the Church of Channelkirk. Its prominent situation, well-wooded surroundings, and broad avenue give it an air of respect which few other residences in the parish can claim.

There is reason to believe that the church, in its early periods, owned the land which is now embraced in Kirkton-

hill Farm. It is "Kirklandhill" as well as Kirktonhill : the hill of the kirk lands. As the hill on which the steading is placed rises immediately to the west of the church for a quarter of a mile or thereby, it would from the remotest time be identified with the name of the kirk. The place itself, however, does not come into historical view till towards the close of the fifteenth century, and then, and until recent times, it is joined with a place called Murehous, whose situation cannot be determined.

The light breaks upon them first in Court of Law. It is the 3rd day of August 1473. Robin Hoppringill pursues John Mowbray and his wife, Marion Hoppringill, anent the lands of Kirktonhill and Murehous, which the latter held. It had been a long law case, evidently, and both parties were present that day in Edinburgh, we are told, with all their "Charters, Evidents, Sasines, Richts, Resons, and Allegatiouns, and Preiffis, and witnes at length sene, herd, and understanding : The lords decreets and delivers that the said lands salbe lattin to borgh to the saide Johne Mowbra and Marion hoppringill, as possessoures of the samyn, and the said Recognitioun to be lousit." * This did not mean a final settlement of the case. The lands were "lattin to borgh" only, that is, possession was granted upon security during dependence of a question as to right.

In the year 1476, on the 6th of April, "the King concedes to William Moubray, son and heir-apparent to Mary or Marion Pringill, Lady of Kirktonhill and Murehous, and to his heirs, the lands of Kirktonhill and Murehous, county of Berwick, which the said Marion personally resigned—with the reservation of free tenement to the said Marion." †

The name of Hoppringle or Pringill is a prominent one

* *Acta Dominorum Auditorum.* † *Registrum Magni Sigilli.*



KIRKTONHILL.

[Free page 536]

in Lauderdale in the fifteenth century, and has always been influential throughout the Border counties. There is good reason for believing that Hoppringle on the Toddle Water, which takes its rise in this parish near Clints, is the cradle of the family. The expression "Hoppringles of that Ilk" sustains this view, as surnames were commonly derived from lands. For centuries the name was a considerable one in Lauderdale. Thomas de Hoppringle is mentioned in a deed conveying lands near Lauder to Thomas Borthwick (1249-86). In 1468, David Pringill or Hop-pringel owns Pilmuir estate. In 1463 he is styled also "of Smailhame," and has revenues from many places in Lauderdale. The Pringles of Smailholm were adherents of the House of Douglas, and may have got their Lauderdale lands in this interest. In 1473 there was parliamentary action between Oliver of Lauder and David Pringill or Hoppringill, touching the thirling of the lands of Pilmuir to the Miln of Lauder. There is a Mary Hoppringill, wife to Robert Lauder of Lauder, in 1505, but this is not the "Mary, Dame of Kirktonhill." The latter may have been the same Mary Hoppringle who married William, second Lord Borthwick, in 1458, and died in 1483. Lord William seems to have obtained Glengelt with her also. She was a widow when he married her, and was one of the King's wards. John Moubray was the name of her former husband, and father of the William Mowbray mentioned in the above deed.

In 1486, ten years afterwards, the King confirms William's charter, by which he sells and alienates the lands of Kirk-tounehill to Andrew Moubray, a burghess of Edinburgh, on the 17th July of that year. In this deed it is said that William Moubray sells, "with consent of his mother Mary," and this might seem to imply that she was then still alive

We know, however, that she may well have died in 1483, and the sale have taken place in her lifetime also, as years often elapsed between the actual purchase of property and the ratification of the same by the King. There were no superiors, however, between William and the King, and he held immediately from the Crown. The name of Moubray, we do not need to say, was an illustrious one long before this period, and is broadly written on the front of Scotland's roll of notables, though, doubtless, we are dealing here with some humble branch of the Moubray race.

The place mentioned as "Murehous" seems to have been contiguous to Kirktonhill, although another Murehous is indicated in the charters as being nearer to Lauder burgh. Not even a tradition of the former has been left us to indicate whereabouts it may have stood. Considering that all the land of Soutra Hill to the north of Kirktonhill is moorland, it is probable that its situation lay still further north in the parish, and in all likelihood on the old "Edinburgh Road." The whole district of Soutra was at one time called "Moorehousland," and was so distinguished from "Lauderdale."* As late as 1851 "Kirktonhill and Murehous" are twinned in law documents, though only the name of the latter survives the vicissitudes of time. The Exchequer Rolls give us dim information regarding the "fermes" of Kirktonhill as they pass through the accounts of Lauder Burgh, and the receipts of the Sheriff for the County of Berwick, in the years 1502-1527, where Andrew Mowbray's name occasionally appears as holding that property. Had Lauder Burgh Records extended as far back, our information might have been fuller on this point, but there is sufficient evidence extant to lead us to

* *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, p. 33.

believe that Kirktonhill about that period was somehow under the superiority of Lauder Burgh. There are dues called "aque dues," which are paid by the proprietors of Kirktonhill to Lauder Burgh as late as 1759. We take "aque" to mean "antique" or "ancient," and they seem to have had origin in the days of the Moubrays.

Our next glimpse of Kirktonhill is during the momentous and distracted years that followed upon the Reformation. The hapless Queen Mary is then connected with it, and on 15th April 1567 she conceded, and quitclaimed to Robert Mowbray, son and heir to the late Andrew Mowbray, burgess of Edinburgh, and Janet Cant, his wife, the lands of Kirktonhill and Murehous. It is interesting to remember that it was only three days before this charter was granted that Bothwell was tried by an Assize in Edinburgh for the murder of Darnley. There is no doubt that this "Robert Moubray" is the same person from whom Knox, the Reformer, held his house in Edinburgh in 1560-61. On February 14, 1560-61, the treasurer was ordered to pay "Robert Moubray, heretour of the hous occupyit be Johne Knox . . . the sum of x merkis." Knox had it at the rate of "fiftie merkis in the yeir."* This Robert Moubray had two sons, Robert and Walter. On the father's death Robert alienated the lands of Kirktonhill to Sir George Douglas of Saint German, and when Robert also dies, Walter and his wife, Margaret Leirmonth, sell Kirktonhill and Murehous to the same George "without reversion," about July 1592. The charter is confirmed by the King on 14th July 1607. Robert Moubray, the father, is described as a merchant burgess in Edinburgh.†

* "John Knox's Houses."—*Scotsman*, 4th Oct. 1898. Also, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1898-99, pp. 83-85. † Great Seal.

Seven years later, viz., in 1614,* on the 15th of March, Lady Elizabeth Bellenden, relict of James Lawson of Humbie, now Lady Ormiston, receives from the King a charter of *novodamus* of the estate of Kirktonhill and Muirhouse, which Walter Bellenden, her full brother, to whom they pertained, and which he had resigned, had obtained by declaration of recognition.† She again, in 1622, with special consent of her husband, John Cockburn of Ormiston, Lord Justice-Clerk, hands them over to her son Robert Lawson. We find five generations of Humbie Lawsons having landed interest in Channelkirk:—Richard, *cir.* 1546; then his son James (Retours, 1607), mentioned above; then James's son James; then James's son Robert, now proprietor of Kirktonhill, in 1622; and John, who was in Over Hartside till 1636, and may have owned Kirktonhill also for some time.

By charter, dated 30th July 1622,‡ in favour of Robert Lawson, he receives "All and Whole the lands of Kirktonhill and Muirhouse, with houses, biggings, yards, tofts, crofts, parts, pendicles, and pertinents whatsoever. Likewise All and Whole the Kirklands of Ginglekirk with the pertinents, along with the Mill of Ugston (now Mountmill), with the multures, sucken, and commodities thereof lying between the Kirkhaugh on the south, the Hailly Water Cleuch on the west, Bain's Croft on the north, and the lands of Glengelt on the east parts, along with the Little Meadow, commonly called

* Great Seal.

† This points to the peculiar relations which existed at one time between "superior" and "vassal." "The casualty of *recognition* was the forfeiture of the vassal's whole lands to the superior, in the event of his alienating, without the superior's consent, more than half of his lands to a stranger, *i.e.*, any person other than the vassal's heir."—*Juridical Styles*, vol. i., fifth edition, p. 6.

‡ *Decreet of Locality*, p. 267. Great Seal.

the Little Haugh of land belonging thereto, called the Kirkhaugh."

The Rev. Henry Cockburn says, in 1627, with regard to the teinds of Kirktonhill, (24) "Kirktonhill, 200 merkis in stok; personage, four scoir merkis; viccarage, 50 merkis. This is fewd land holding of Dryburgh. (25) The Kirkland of Kirkhaugh may pay xl lib. in stok and teind. It is not fewd land, but being viccar's land of old, and now withholden from ministry at that kirk, hinders thair satling, and maid all my predecessouris non-residentis, neither can I get grasse to two kye, to my great greiffe and skaith."

The expression "fewd land holding of Dryburgh" points to the ancient possession by the Church of Channelkirk of all Kirktonhill lands. Dryburgh Abbey received all Channelkirk lands when Hugh de Morville gave the Church itself to that House. In the "Taxt Roll" of that Abbey there is this entry: "13 Oct. 1630 . . . Lawson of Humbie for his Kirkland in Chengilkirk estimat in his absens to be worth of frie rent yearlie ane hundreth threttie thrie punds, vjs. viij d. Taxt to iij. lib. x s. x d." This Lawson is "Robert," it appears, as he is mentioned in the roll of date 1634. James Ritcheson was farmer in Kirktonhill in 1630. He was 60 years old then.

Kirktonhill lands were soon after this date "adjudged from Lawson at the instance of John Henryson, who obtained a precept from Chancery for infefting him therein, dated 20th December 1643, and was thereupon infeft conform to his sasine dated 15th August, and recorded 15th Sept. 1644."* Another authority avers that "the lands of Kirktonhill were acquired by the above John Henryson from Janet Lawson and John Cockburn in 1643."† Still another authority

* *Decreet of Locality*, p. 268.

† Great Seal.

asserts that the lands of Kirktonhill and those of Over Hartside were owned by John Henderson in 1632.* This may be true of the former, but it is not so clear with regard to Over Hartside. (*Vide* "Hartside.")

John Henderson had a sad time of it with his teinds, and they cost him much trouble and anxiety. He figures occasionally in the Presbytery Records in the dispute that arose. The Rev. David Liddell, minister of the parish, who came in 1650 to Channelkirk, had evidently been on terms of friendship with Mr Henderson (or Henryson), as, being near neighbours, was but seemly and mutually advantageous. The total teind from Kirktonhill to the Church was ten bolls of victual and twenty pounds Scots. The minister was desirous of having a bit of ground—no doubt for pasturage purposes—and Henryson and he in 1660 made a bargain anent the Kirkhaugh.† It will be remembered that the minister, Cockburn, in 1627, complained that the Kirkhaugh, the "viccar's land of old," was "withholden from ministry at that kirk," and hindered the settling of a minister in Channelkirk. For a reduction, therefore, of a boll of victual off the teind, the Rev. David Liddell was to have the Kirkhaugh. Henryson was required, that is, to pay nine bolls instead of ten as his teind. All went smoothly as long as Liddell was minister. His successor, Wm. Arrot, in 1697 also fell in with the arrangement, and no difficulty presented itself till Arrot was called to Montrose. The church remained vacant for nearly six years, and the Presbytery, of course, then took Channelkirk under their wing. They discovered the private arrangement between the ministers and the farmer, and, as it had had no ratification from them or from any church court, and

* *Decreet of Locality*, p. 242.

† *Ibid.*, p. 208.

being quite a private transaction, it was regarded as invalid and only holding during the incumbent's term of office who had made it. Moreover, they seemed to consider that, being church land, the Kirkhaugh belonged to them by ancient right, and was no part of Kirktonhill estate, and that it had been wrongously included in it, and that Henryson could not claim reduction of his teind on that account. Consequently, when John had to pay full teind—ten bolls instead of nine,—he seized upon the Kirkhaugh once more, and the church seat which seems to have gone with it, and considerable heat was generated over the matter. The case appears to have caused enough stir during the whole time of the kirk vacancy, viz., between 1697 and 1702, and both Kirktonhill and Earlstoun Presbytery endured some heart-burning ere it subsided. It caused some trouble even at the beginning of this century. The family of Henderson continued in the proprietorship of Kirktonhill for more than a hundred years, as we shall note presently. We observe in passing that the Retours of 1676, 1687, and 1692 make mention of the Kers of Morriston, viz., Mark, Andrew, John, and Andrew, four generations, as holding half the teinds of Kirktonhill at these dates, even as their forbears and descendants did before and after them.

The Hendersons bear to have come into this parish from Todrig, which was the residence of John of Kirktonhill's father, William. John appears to have been married to Catherine Congleton about 1682. She was the daughter of Joseph James Congleton, Skedsbuss, in Haddington. There are several sasines in connection with the Hendersons' holdings of Kirktonhill, as the property, in the course of years, passed from one relative to another. But it would be tedious to quote these. William Henryson, John's son,

had Kirktonhill disposed to him in 1714, and was infested 1741.* In 1744 mention is made in Lauder Burgh Records of "aque dues" from Wm. Henryson of Kirktonhill, and this continues till 1777. All goes on smoothly till about 1750, when John, his son, obtains it. We learn that he was a medical doctor in Manchester, and that he was married to Isobel Borthwick. Muirhouse was at this time tenanted by one James Watherston, who seemed to have been more prosperous than his landlord. Dr Henderson borrowed £460 sterling from him, and gave him a heritable bond over the ground rights and property of Kirktonhill lands in security. He failed to redeem this, it appears, and so James Watherston was duly infest in Kirktonhill. In 1753 James sold his rights to Mrs Jane Renton in Over Bowerhouse. In 1754 Mrs Renton sold them to Simon Watherston of Netherfield;† and in the same year Dr Henderson completely cleared out of the parish by selling his full rights of Over Hartside, Redwick, Kirktonhill, Muirhouse, Channelkirk lands and the Kirkhaugh, to Simon Watherston aforesaid, in liferent, and to James Watherston, his eldest son, in fee, "heritably and irredeemably, without any manner of reversion." Dynasties succeed dynasties in dominions, and families succeed families in properties. Life and living obey the same laws, whether they move on narrow farms or wide continents, just as waters do, whether they run in the village burn or across the high seas. The Hendersons go after more than a hundred years of possession, and the Waterstons take the vacant place.

Of James Waterston, laird of Kirktonhill, one pleasant circumstance, noticed in Chapter XII., is notable. It was

* *Decreet of Locality*, p. 205.

† See Lauder Records, 1781, 2nd May, p. 109.

in November 1760, and the parish needed a school. Consequently, on the bleak 17th November of that year, the Kirk-Session meets and the minister reports that Mr Dalziel of Hartside and he "had treated with James Watherstone of Kirktonhill anent the stance of said house." Heritors and Kirk-Session * had empowered them to do so. "Which, accordingly, being done, the said James Watherstone was prevailed on to gift to the Kirk-Session and Parish of Channelkirk that spot of ground for the stance of said house lying immediately on the west end of the yard presently possessed by the schoolmaster, and frankly consented that said schoolhouse should be built and stand there rent free in all time coming, the schoolmaster being only obliged to pay, yearly, one shilling sterling for said kaile yard." It is now the spot of ground used for the manse green. "The Session gratefully acknowledge their obligation for said gift, and order this to be insert in this day's minute." Alas! the kail-yard, the school, the schoolhouse, the village itself have all vanished away, leaving James Watherstone's kindness and the Kirk-Session's gratitude alone surviving the cannibal tooth of time.

On 29th February 1777, "James Watherston pays 'aque dues' for Kirktonhill equal to £62, 8s. Scots to Lauder Burgh."† James continued in Kirktonhill till 1781. In November of that year he disposes it to Elizabeth Waterston, his sister, evidently in fee, and to Captain Henry Torrance, her husband, tenant in Seggie, Fifeshire, in liferent.‡ All the rest of his property in Channelkirk is disposed on like conditions. Consequently, on 10th February 1786, the Captain has a proxy at a heritors'

* Kirk Records.

† Lauder Burgh Records.

‡ Sasines.

meeting, and on 7th May 1790 he himself is present, his first and last appearance in that place. By-and-by difficulties of various kinds seem to have beset the property. The teinds were a dour matter to adjust, and law-cases ensued which must have curtailed Captain Torrance's profits. The Kirkhaugh, commonplace and placid as it looks to-day, was a hot subject every time it was handled, and barrow-loads of law-language were used up in the controversies over it. That old agreement between John Henryson and Professor Liddell in 1660 seemed so reasonable from the proprietors' view: and yet was so desperately unsatisfactory in the estimation of every one else. But other running sores in the property are evident, and so, in 1792, it is bonded for £1500 to Adam Rolland of Gask, a bond which passes to William Sibbald, Edinburgh, in 1802. It is cleared off, however, in 1807, but we read that "Captain Torrance ceased to be proprietor after crop 1806."

Robert Sheppard, merchant, Edinburgh, in 1807 comes into Over Hartside, Redwick, Kirktonhill, Muirhouse, and Kirklands of Ginglekirk—under a burden of £5000—on disposition by Elizabeth or Betty Watterston, with consent of Henry Torrance, late Captain in the Edinburgh Regiment of Militia, her husband, and James Watherston Torrance, his son.*

Mr Sheppard appears at a heritors' meeting as proprietor of Kirktonhill on 28th August 1807. His fortunes do not seem to have brightened on leaving Edinburgh and merchandise, for rural life and farming. Burden upon burden is laid upon his possessions for security, and he continues to stagger on in a semi-insolvent state till 1817,

* Sasines.

when "the trustees for the creditors of Robert Sheppard are seised in April 26 of that year in the lands of Kirktonhill, etc., on disposition by the said Robert Sheppard, April 16, 1817."

It seems that he had been a somewhat successful tea-merchant, but tradition does not hand down an eloquent story regarding his abilities as a farmer. He took it into his head that gold was to be found on Racho or Rauchy Brae, where a dwelling-house used to stand, north-west of Kirktonhill steading half-a-mile, across the Rauchy Burn, and which has now disappeared. The venture was not crowned with anything except the fool's cap, but it proved the peculiar enthusiasm of the man. He afterwards planted the broken ground with strawberries. Another of his idiosyncracies was to pour oil on the heather in order to make it burn! His generosity and hospitality, too, were proverbial, but peculiar. He kept always a barrel of sugar, for instance, just inside his door, in order that all who preferred it might help themselves to a handful. These are "bits" still retailed in the district regarding him. The Kirk Records help to sustain his character for peculiarities in a more authentic manner. John M'Dougal, schoolmaster and Session-clerk, testifies that, on the 14th day of March 1817, "the following children, viz., Helen, Jean Stewart, Elizabeth Forbes, Susan Haggart, and James Stewart, belonging to Robert Sheppard, Esq. of Kirktonhill, were baptised in Kirktonhill to Chalmers Izett, Esq., in my presence, and in presence of Mr Peter Forbes, merchant in Edinburgh, by the Rev. John Brown, minister of Channelkirk." Mr Peter Forbes was one of Mr Sheppard's creditors. He and Thomas Martin, W.S., Edinburgh, another creditor, had Kirktonhill disposed to them by Sheppard in 1817, and they held it till 1821, when

it was sold to William Patrick, Esq., W.S., also of Edinburgh. Sheppard is dead in 1821.

William Patrick, Esq. of Roughwood, was third son of John Patrick, Esq. of Freehorn, Ayrshire. He was W.S. on 28th June 1793. He was born in 1770, and consequently was full-fledged at the age of 23. He never married, and died on 28th February 1861, aged 91. He was 51 when he came to Kirktonhill estate. He seems to have retained it till 1840, when it was finally made over to John Borthwick, Esq., Crookston. Mr Borthwick appears to have had disposed to him, in 1836, a large share of the bond under which it lay, but final disposition and settlement only took place in 1840. His trustees were seised in the property in 1846. The present John Borthwick, Esq. of Crookston, is proprietor in this year 1900, who also owns, in Channelkirk parish, Annfield, Glengelt estate, Mountmill, Clints, and Braefoot.

The farm of Mountmill is at present farmed along with Kirktonhill by Mr James Dykes, farmer, resident in the latter place; his son, Mr Thomas Dykes, resident in Mountmill, being managing farmer there. Kirktonhill and Mountmill count together 900 acres, and the rent is £325. The soil is poor generally, being for the most part on steep hilly ground, a circumstance which also renders ploughing, cartage, and all transit of goods a laborious business. Several of the fields cannot be ploughed except one way, the return journey being empty. Its rotation is on the sixth shift; 400 acres are tilled, 500 acres are in moor, wood, or moorish pasture. The farm buildings are all old, and not in very good order, the house itself standing in much need of a thorough overhauling, and of being put into harmony with its beautiful natural surroundings and imposing situation. The water-

supply was for some time exceedingly bad, but is now in capital order, and the supply is ample. The general stock kept comprises :—8 horses, 40 cattle, and from 25 to 30 scores of sheep. There are about twenty souls on the farm. Ploughmen are paid in money, 16s. 6d. per week, women 9s. per week — ten hours in summer, nine in winter.

Mr Dykes entered the farm in 1881. He also farms the minister's glebe, at a rent of £9, 10s. yearly, and the relations between the manse and Kirktonhill are most amicable and sociable.

The places on the estate which are of antiquarian interest are the Camp and the Holy Water Cleuch, which are noticed in their place.

There were anciently two pendicles called Redwick and Raughy or Racho. The former is now known as Rednick, and the latter was occupied by Mr Blaikie of Headshaw, lately deceased, when he shepherded there in his youth. The old house is now gone. It is usually mentioned along with Over Hartside, and Rednick with Kirktonhill. Rauchy (pronounced Rashy) is evidently a corruption of Raeshaw, or Roeshaw : the shaw or wood where the roe was anciently to be found. In the North of Scotland the name of *Rath*, or *Rathe*, was given to a small portion of land or homestead.* If the name ever crept so far south as Lauderdale, it is just possible that "Rauchy" might be a colloquialism for that term. But we lean to the former meaning, and the place-name, Hartside (originally Hart's Head), in the near neighbourhood, appears to give some encouragement to the view.

* *Celtic Scotland*, Book III., p. 243.

JUSTICEHALL

We continue the account of this place from 1742, to which year the chapter on "Oxton" brings it. It is then in the proprietorship of James Justice, "one of the Principal Clerks of Session," who gave it this designation; and the following notice of him and his family explains the history of the name, and also reveals the place itself in its palmiest days.

Sir James Justice, descended from a family of that name in England, came to Scotland about the end of the seventeenth century, and became Clerk to the Scottish Parliament. In Thomson's *Acts of Parliament*, Sir James is styled Principal Clerk of Session, and is Commissioner of Supply for Edinburgh in 1690. He takes the oath of allegiance as a Clerk of Parliament, 22nd April 1693, and is noticed in a minute of 29th May 1693. £200 was granted to him for attendance in Parliament, 1707, no doubt for his services as clerk. He was Commissioner of Supply for Edinburgh in 1690. He purchased the estate of Crichton, it seems, with its celebrated castle, in Midlothian. There is a notice of him in Earlston Presbytery Records to the following effect:—"4 Sept. 1701.—As also received and read a letter from Sir James Justice of Crichton, the consideration of all which is delayed till a fuller meeting." Crichton Church bell has also a story to tell concerning him. It bears the following,—“Crichton Bel, founded ano 1619 V. M. P. augmented, refounded. Ex dono be Sir James Justice of East Crichton 1702, M^M S^S M.I.R. P. Kilgour fecit.” This estate of Crichton he left to his son James, one of the Principal Clerks to the Court of Session. The son was an enthusiast in horticulture, and wrote a book in 1755, entitled *The Scots Gardener's Director*, which was held

in much respect formerly owing to its treatment of gardening with reference to the Scottish soil and climate. His eagerness in this study carried him far, even to spending of large sums in importing foreign seeds, roots, and trees. But buying rare tulips was his special mania,—£50 and sometimes more for a single one, not being considered too much money to give,—and this extravagance, combined with other causes, floated him out of his Crichton property, it seems, and he was compelled to sell it about the year 1735. With the remnant of his means he came, about 1739, across Soutra Hill, nine miles from the scene of his splendour, and settled in the vicinity of Oxton. He built a mansion-house there, and called it Justicehall, which still retains the name. On 22nd October 1739, sasine is granted to James Justice and Margaret Murray, and Alexander Justice, their son, of all the lands of Ugston, which proceeds upon a charter under the Great Seal, 21st June, and 11th and 12th July of the same year, whereby the said lands and others are called then and henceforth, the lands of Justicehall instead of Ugston. We hear no more of his tulip craze, and doubtless he passed his humdrum days by the Clora's babbling stream, recalling the former dreams of his pride, and gossiping with the villagers. He seems to have taken no share in the work of the Church, though he must have been mildly cognisant of the power she then exerted over his neighbours, as is vouched by the following:—"1744, April 11th. — After prayer, Sederunt, Minister, and Elders, *ut supra*, James Clerk being called, compeared, interrogate if he carried Creills from Justicehall on the Lord's Day to any other place. He answered that he did, and exprest his sorrow for the same. After he was rebuked, and admonished never to commit the

like in time coming, was dismissed." * James Clerk appears to have been a weaver in Rednick, and was pulled up rather sharply for his offence, according to the strict discipline of the times. It is not to be supposed, however, that Mr Justice quite forsook horticulture. His enthusiasm was still high enough to enable him to bring a shipload of Holland earth all the way from that country to Justicehall, believing that in their native soil the tulips would flourish more wondrously! Justicehall was laid out with much taste, trees planted, and roads made, all which have disappeared as if they had not been. Other days, other manners. About 1798 he is styled *Sir James Justice*.†

"By his second marriage, Mr Justice left an only son, who was born about the year 1755, but at what period he succeeded his father is not exactly known." His first wife was, it appears, a daughter of Alexander of Cringalty, but died without issue. At a meeting of the heritors of the parish, 17th February 1775, Mr Pierie of Threeburnford acts as "Factor" for Justice Hall. Mr Justice was evidently either dead, or had left the district. His son James entered the army as an officer in the Marine Service, and endured the hazards of war when the Americans asserted their independence, and was honoured with the rank of Captain. In 1784 he meets with the heritors of Channelkirk on the third day of December, as James Justice of Justicehall, but on 10th February 1786 he is there once more as "Capt." Justice.

The Captain's ambitions, by his wider experiences of stirring public life, rose far beyond watching tulips unfold their beauty in the early summer. Literature seems to have attracted him more strongly, and especially the drama.

* Kirk Records.

† *Douglas Baronage*.

"He was well known as an amateur performer," though his genius seems to have been more imitative than original, copying Cook, Kemble, and the eminent histrionic exponents of his day. So successful, however, was he in his performances, that it is believed if he had been thoroughly trained in the dramatic art, he might, with his handsome personal appearance and commanding figure, have lifted the family ship from its sandy, stranded situation, upon the golden waves of a flowing fortune. He had other difficulties, it seems,—not with mutinous Yankees abroad, but with an imperious wife at home in Justicehall. From being serious, this became to the Captain a standing comicality, and after entertaining his friends with declamations from Shakespeare and the popular poets, he would treat them to "bits" from plays of his own composition,—a special one, "Hell upon Earth, or the Miseries of Matrimony," containing many scenes which too faithfully reflected the Captain's own experiences. We can fancy how the douce Presbyterians of Oxton would animadvert on the eccentric and unhappy Captain's strange vagaries in Justicehall, when, as sometimes happened, a company of strolling players would be found "birlin' at the wine" of a forenoon there; and under the enthusiastic guidance of this "King o' gudedefallows," displaying to their own delight the favourite pieces of their repertoire. "Revelries by night" are more or less condoned; but "playactorin'" in the soberest hours of the day could not but shock the nerves of every decent Oxtonian who had piously pondered his Catechism.

Perhaps something of this gives the key to the Captain's domestic wretchedness. No self-respecting wife, bred and born outside the peculiar atmosphere of the stage, could cheerfully consent to see her rooms filled at such hours

and in such scenes, with Thespian "seedy" ones; and especially with those who under stress of fortune had been blown across the barren heath of the Lammermoors to find an audience among the sparsely populated farms of Lauderdale. There was also the further reason that Mrs Justice (formerly Miss Campbell) had presented him with a little daughter, the sole fruit of their union, and a mother's feelings may have been roused to resent the intrusion of such displays before the gaze of her offspring, and have infused into her the courage of her cause to defy her husband's questionable taste. He, it appears, was as amiable as he was handsome, and as kind-hearted as he was clever, but his passion for the drama seems to have required other surroundings and other company to gratify it than the secluded fields of Ulfskill and the matrimonial quiet of Justicehall. The result of it all was separation, and the Captain was left alone in "Bachelor Hall," as he jokingly described his home, to wander through the fields, like Isaac, meditating in dishabille, and to brave out his misery in the company of any boon or bosom friend who might chance to call. Something of blame seems to have lain at Mrs Justice's door also. She had her share of spirit as well as he. She expressed it in action, too, more real and effective, it seems, than the art of imitation and similitude professes to do. "She was a good sort of person," the Captain has been pleased to say, "but a little hot-tempered." It seems that they had only been married three days when in some volcanic moment she sent a leg of mutton flying at his head! A prime leg of Lammermoor mutton, if it be hostile, may be a weapon well worth a vigilant defence, but as we have only the Captain's own account, unbalanced by Mrs Justice's, we may set some of

it down to a dramatic imagination, and perhaps to the semi-delirious antics and aberrations of the honeymoon.

It appears that this Captain Justice did not hold the whole property at Justicehall in his own right till the last year of last century. His brother, "Alexander Justice of Justicehall," seems to have died then; and on 22nd March, 1800, "James Justice of Justicehall, as heir to Alexander Justice of Justicehall, his brother, is seised in Ugston and parts thereof called Luckenhaugh and Pickelra, with the Mill of Ugston (Mountmill), the Forty-shilling lands of Ugston, and Temple lands in the town and territory of Ugston, with a share of the moss of Glengelt—on Precept of Chancery, February 24, 1800."* The lands of Over Howden, with Upper and Nether Carsemyres (*i.e.*, Oxton Shotts, and Nether Carsemyres), had also been in the hands of the Justices since 24th September 1785, from Robert Scott of Trabroun, and on the same day that the Captain is seised heir of his brother, there is this also to be noted:—"Elizabeth Sarah Campbell, spouse of James Justice of Justicehall, seised in liferent, March 22, 1800,—in half the estate of Justicehall"—which comprehended, in the lofty aims of the Captain, all the above-mentioned lands.† In such affluent circumstances his wife could afford to caress her husband with legs of mutton and carry her head as proudly as he dared to do. In 1812 he is called upon at the minister's request to grant warrant as Justice of the Peace against an offender in the parish.

But the star of Captain Justice had passed the zenith, and was doomed to set in gloom and disaster ere many years passed away. The story goes back to the day when Sir James Justice sold his estate of Crichton to Mark

* Sasines.

† *Ibid.*

Pringle. This is the same Pringle who killed, in 1707, in a duel in Raeburn Meadow, Selkirk, William Scott of Raeburn, the great-granduncle of Sir Walter Scott, and had to flee to Spain. He had realised money enough to effect the above purchase. A clause had been inserted in the deed of conveyance by which Sir James warranted, or guaranteed, the purchaser and his successors against all augmentations of stipend which the minister of Crichton parish might obtain subsequent to the date of sale. In the course of years, Crichton minister obtained augmentations of stipend which the proprietors of Crichton called upon Captain Justice to make good, as the representative of the granter of the deed of conveyance, so as to relieve them from the share of increased stipend thus allocated upon them. Captain Justice refused to do so, asserting that the guarantee or "warrantice" which his father had given had expired, that it was limited to the endurance of certain leases of teinds originally granted by Mr Hepburn of Humbie.* The Court of Session decided the case in favour of Captain Justice, but the House of Lords reversed the decision, and he was left with a lost cause, and a liability reaching to £9000 against him and his estate. The estate was sold to different purchasers to liquidate this obligation by decree of the House of Lords, and the poor play-acting Captain was compelled practically to leave Justicehall without a penny. The story is told sadly enough in the following extract from the *Calendar of Laing Charters*, No. 3304:—"4th April 1816.—Deed of Trust by the creditors of James Justice of Justicehall, granting to certain trustees the Forty-shilling lands of Ugston, and the Temple lands lying in the town and territory of Ugston,

* See *Pamphlets relating to Edinburgh*, among which is *Old Edinburgh Beaux and Belles*, 1886.

and those parts of the lands and barony of Trabroun called Over Howden and Upper and Nether Carsemyres (excluding the household furniture of said James), to be held in trust and disposed of for behoof of the creditors. Edinburgh, 4th April 1816." But it appears the real blow fell four or five years earlier than this date.

It is impossible not to feel the deepest sympathy with Captain Justice. He was easy in his nature and morals, was a gay Lothario among the *beau monde* of Princes Street, and loved a kindred spirit to reciprocate the flow of soul over the wine and the impassioned declamations of his favourite dramatists. His wife could not live with him, and his brilliant course in life had been more than once bedimmed by incidents which do not rank high in correctness or propriety, but he was kind-hearted, gentlemanly, and true, with no duplicity, or weakness for the worship of the crowd before his aristocratic greatness. The oldest persons in the village recall yet his princely form and bearing, for he was over six feet in stature, and had the features of George the Fourth; and they delight to expatiate on his ways with much tender affection. But here he is in the grip of creditors, and a blasted fortune, his household furniture alone reserved to him, and the heavy weight of over sixty years resting on his head. His wife gone, his child gone, and now the pleasant sequestered home that held them! "Age and want, oh! ill-matched pair," says the poet. But the Captain seems to have borne his disasters bravely. Bitter grief, and the heart that bows down, must have been his experience in these wretched spring days of 1816. Yet he nobly braces himself to endure. He will neither hang nor bury himself in an unknown locality where at least his miseries should not be sharpened by familiar associations. Waterloo was

not a year old by two months, and the captain knew that many of his gallant countrymen had there found a fate far more severe. He decided to spend the remainder of his days in the village of Oxton near by, and, perhaps, when we consider it, it may be as terrible to die slowly amid poverty, and surrounded by scenes of brighter days, than among the storm of bullets on the far-away battlefield. "Sorrow's crown of sorrow is remembering happier things." Unless we could appeal to the ghost of Hercules who tried both, we shall perhaps never know whether or not it is an easier task to club down lions abroad than to wrestle with snakes at home.

He lingered on for several years after the fall of his fortune, going out and in among the villagers. We find him at heritors' meetings in 1816, 1818, and 1819, making his last appearance on 31st October 1822. His death must have taken place in the early days of August 1823, as we find under 10th August.—"Captain Justice, best mortcloth, from Ugston," * signifying the day of his burial. He died in the house adjoining, and immediately to the west of, the smithy of Mr Alex. Reid, in the south-east room of the second storey, now used as a small grocery, and was buried in Channelkirk churchyard.

From a collection of papers bearing on the Channelkirk teind question before the Court of Session, 1811-1827, we glean that Miss Maria Campbell Rae Justice, the only child of the unfortunate Captain, became proprietor of Over Howden in 1823, and was the entailed heir of that property. She claimed freedom from all liability to stipend underpayments, which was one of the disputed points before the Lords in the lawsuit, because, as was averred, she

* Kirk Records.

did not represent her father either in Over Howden or Oxton.

On the 30th of March and 1st of April 1813, the trustees of Sir John Callander of Westertoun were seised in all the property called Justicehall, "in warrandice of the teinds of the barony of Crichton."* At this date "they were in possession of the said lands, and drew the rents thereof," on Charter of Resignation, Great Seal, February 3, 1813.† The "trustees" are again seised in the same lands—the town and lands of Ugston—Justicehall—"Redeemable on payment of £1642, 10s., on Charter of Adjudication, Great Seal, July 5, 1817. The story is further developed in the teind case as follows:—"In the year 1817, the trustees of the late Sir John Callander, the authors of the other objector, Mr Burn Callander, obtained a decree of Adjudication (to which Mr B. Callander has now acquired right) against the late Mr Justice of the lands of Ugston or Justicehall, for payment of a debt which affected that property prior to the execution of the entail under which Mr Justice held the same. And in virtue of this Adjudication the objector, Mr Callander, and his authors, the trustees of Sir John Callander, entered into possession of these lands of Ugston in 1818, and have drawn the rents of the same ever since." This was said in the year 1829, and the Mr Burn Callander referred to was William Burn Callander, Esq. of Prestonhall, who, in November 1833, disposed Justicehall to Sir James Spittal, merchant, Edinburgh, viz.: Ugston; Two-merk lands of Ugston (Pickelraw); Oxton Mill and Mill lands; Forty-shilling lands of Ugston and Temple lands of Ugston—"all which are now called Justicehall." These properties fell to his son, James

* Sasines.

† *Decreet of Locality*, p. 247.

Spittal, on 29th March 1844; and we find them in the hands of his trustees in July 1855.

We observe that when any of the proprietors of Justicehall obtain possession, for the first time, the sasine is given "with exceptions." This seems to point to the "part" or "parts" which the Somervells of Airhouse held in these lands of Justicehall from sometime before 1776, when the "part" is found included in the security of a bond for £1000, given by George Somervail of Airhouse, and William Somervail, merchant, Glasgow, his brother, to George Miller, brewer, Abbey of Holyroodhouse. When Lord Lauderdale buys Airhouse in May 1858, this "part" is carefully noted.

This dubiety about what share of Ugston lands each proprietor owned became troublesome. Mr Justice went to law with Mr Somerville of Airhouse, and the minister, Mr Murray, in 1800, to decide the part of teind which should be localled on the property of each. Each—Somerville and Justice—was then declared to be owner of "one half of the said lands of Ugston," and teinded each to the extent of £26, 13s. 6d.* This was set aside subsequently, and it was declared not to be proven that *exactly* a half of Ugston lands belonged to Mr Somerville and Mr Justice respectively. The difficulty seems to have grown out of the separation of Ugston lands, in the seventeenth century, into small proprietorships.†

In 1856 John James Parker, W.S., gets a liferent of all Justicehall lands, with the house and the piece of ground it stands on, and his wife, Hannah Spittal, is "seised in fee," on disposition by the trustees of James Spittal, merchant, Edinburgh. In 1857 the Governors of Cauvin's

* *Decreet of Locality*, p. 179.

† *Ibid.*, p. 185.

Hospital have a bond of £1000 over these lands. Mr Parker appears at his first heritors' meeting, 3rd June 1856. He was the fourth son of John Parker, Principal Extractor in the Court of Session, and was born 1st October 1829. He married Hannah, only child of the above-mentioned James Spittal, Edinburgh, on 31st July 1855.

The farm consists of a little more than 60 acres, and is rented at £71, 2s. 3d. yearly. The stock is necessarily not large. The soil is very good. Those principally interested in it are:—Miss Caroline Hannah Parker, Miss Isabella Shield Parker, and Anthony Scott Parker, The Orchards, Cheltenham. There is a forlorn look about the house, as if it had seen better days, and many of the fine trees planted around it by Mr Justice have been cleared away. The fine entrance from the bridge, which he also laid down, has been rooted out, and nothing left of it but “a corn-enclosed baulk.” Of course, the proprietor or proprietors are all “absentees.” The present tenant is Mr Simon Bathgate.

CHAPTER XIX

THREEBURNFORD—NETHER HOWDEN—BOWERHOUSE— HERIOTSHALL.

Threburneforde in 1569—Anciently called Futhewethynis or Fulewithnis—Trinity College, Edinburgh—Wedaleford—The Three Burns—The Borthwicks' Possession—The Allans, Portioners—John Cumming, Minister at Humble—Alexander Pierie, Writer—The Falconers of Woodcote Park—The Taylors—Situation and Area—Tenants.

Nether Howden—Kirk Lands—The Kers—The Mill—William Murray—The Achesons—William Hunter—Charles Binning—Rev. Dr Webster—Lord Tweeddale—The Tenants.

Bowerhouse—The name—Possessed by the Borthwicks—Andro Law—Kers of Morriestoun—Charles Binning—The Thomsons—Fairholm—Lord Marchmont—The Earl of Lauderdale—The Robertsons—Ten Rigs—Situation and Area—Tenants.

Heriotshall from 1742—The Two Husband Lands of Ugston—The Heriots—The Forty-Shilling Lands of Ugston—The Murrays of Wooplaw—Rev. Thomas Murray—The Dobsons—The Masons—Situation and Area—Tenants.

THREEBURNFORD

THIS farm is always credited with possessing a more than ordinary share of that remoteness and isolation which are believed to be characteristics of the whole parish. Whatever it may have been in the past, its isolation is doomed to vanish before the encroachments of the railway which is being laid in its immediate vicinity. But we are not inclined to think that it was a solitary place in bygone days.



THREEBURNFORD

On the contrary, it must have been a place of frequent visitation, seeing that the Girthgate runs past it, where many a weary wayfarer, and doubtless many a hunted criminal, pressed on their way to the "Girths" at Wedale on the south, or Soltre Aisle on the north. This view may receive fuller confirmation from the following gleanings.

On the 24th November 1569 the King confirmed the charter of Lord William Youngar, Prebendary of the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity, near Edinburgh, styled Threburneforde—in which, with consent of the Provost and Prebendaries of the same, for a large sum of money paid, and for other gratuities, he demitted to Robert Borthwick, son of the deceased William Borthwick, senior of Soltray, the lands of Threburneforde, with house and building, in the bailiary of Lauderdale, who must return to the said Prebendary five pounds as ancient fee-farm, with some other obligations.*

Here we find Threburnford in the hands of Trinity College, Edinburgh, one of whose Prebendaries takes his landed appellation from it, demitting it to Robert Borthwick of Soltray. How did it come into the possession of the Provost and Prebendaries of Trinity College?

The answer to this question seems to be found in the Charters of Dryburgh Abbey and those of Kelso and the *Domus de Soltre*, Nos. 187, 98, and 13 respectively. The gist of them is the same. There were 104 acres in Channelkirk Parish which brought revenue to the Dryburgh Abbot as head of the Abbey. These acres were called Fulewithnis, and they were situated at Wedaleford. The Hospital of Soltre farmed them and paid tithes and dues to Channelkirk Church, as the Mother Church through which Dryburgh

* *Registrum Magni Sigilli.*

Abbey originally received them, but which now, in 1220 A.D. (1200 A.D. say Soltre Charters), Dryburgh Abbey graciously, "being charitably disposed, gives and frees the House of Soltre, and the Brethren there, from all these tithes and dues." Only the Soltray Brethren, according to the convention between the two houses, must pay to Dryburgh Abbey as an acknowledgment of superiority over these acres, one pound of pepper and another of cumin, yearly, at Roxburgh Fair.

Allan of Galloway is said to have given Kelso monks 8s. annually in consideration that they should give up all claim to the land called Fulwidnes which he had given in alms to the Hospital of Soltre. Dryburgh Abbey appears to have held a superiority over it, notwithstanding, and hence the "Convention." We think we are justified in believing these 104 acres—called a carucate of land—to have been the ancient Threeburnford. We have arrived at this conclusion from the following considerations:—

1. This place called Fulewithnis, or, as Soltray Charters spell it, Futhewethynis, was at this date (about 1200 A.D.) in the hands of Soltre Brethren as their property, with a merely nominal rent over it.
2. There is no trace that they relinquished this grant to any one down till the year 1462.
3. In that year King James the Second's widow founded Trinity College, Edinburgh, and all the endowments of Soutra Hospital were bestowed upon it. Fulewithnis would go with these to the Provost and Prebendaries of it, and may account for a Prebendary of that College holding land in Channelkirk parish in 1569.
4. This was the only case where the Soutray Brethren held land in this parish at any time (with the exception of Hartside and Clints), and the likelihood seems all the greater that when Borthwick of Soltray took a lease

of Threeburnford from the Prebendary of Trinity College, he was actually treating for the same acres which the Master of Soltray and the Abbot of Dryburgh negotiated in the year 1200. If we are correct in this assumption, Threeburnford was originally called Fulewithnis, and it was situated at Wedaleford. Wedale, as treated by one authority, was part of the forest of Selkirk and Traquair, and was specially given by David I. to Melrose Abbey about 1136, and it is defined as "bounded on the south-west by the River Gala, on the east by the Leder, and on the north by the lands of the Morvilles in Lauderdale."* Skene and Veitch, however, have another view of it at an earlier stage in its existence, and place it originally near Heriot Water. Commemorative of a woful scene of bloodshed and battle, the name in course of time would doubtless widen in area, and from a small locality, gradually embrace the entire territory of the Gala valley, and in these early times a road must have existed between "the Stow of Weddale"† and the one which comes up from it by way of Michelstown, Inchkeith, Threeburnford, and Hartside. It is clearly the route which travellers would prefer to take in communicating between Stow dale and Upper Lauderdale. But when "Stow" as a name superseded "Wedale," and the valley, moreover, became "Gala" Valley, the name Wedaleford would become less and less distinctive as a directive name, and as the *Three Burns* which exist here had to be forded by all travellers coming up the valley to Hartside or Soutra Isle, the "Three Burns' Ford" would give clearer outline to the locality, and use and wont would then fix it as its designation.

* *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, p. 262.

† Called so by John Harding, time of James I. of Scotland.

The fact that "the Stow of Weddale" possessed special privileges of sanctuary, and that the same privileges were offered by Soltray Hospital, would create a direct interest in these two localities strong enough to ensure a road between them. It is undoubtedly clear, from the Dryburgh Charters, *that this "Wedaleford" was in Channelkirk parish, as well as that Soltre Hospital held acres at that place,* and unless we assume it also to have been at Threeburnford, there does not seem any solution possible to the problem as to how a Prebendary of Trinity College, Edinburgh, holding property direct from Soltre Hospital, held Threeburnford in 1569. There is further confirmation of this.

The Lord Provost and Town Council of Edinburgh got possession of Trinity College shortly after the Reformation, and King James confirmed the charter in 1587, and consequently we find them exercising their superiority over Threeburnford in the following deed—"23rd Nov. 1631, Charter by Alex. Clark, of Stentoun, Provost of the Burgh of Edinburgh, William Dick, Thos. Charteris, Robert Achesoun, and of John Smith, bailies of said burgh, as Superiors of the lands, granting to William Borthwick of Cruikston the lands of Soultray, Soultray Hill, Reidhall, and Hauginschaw, in the Sherifffdom of Edinburgh; also *Threeburnford*, lying in the same shire and bailiary of Lauderdale, apprised by William Borthwick from the Ladies Anna and Jean Ker, heiresses of the late Robert, Earl of Lothian: To be held for a yearly rental of . . . £8 for Threeburnford."* Here we have further proof that Threeburnford was in possession of Edinburgh Magistrates, and it is rational to assume that *it was there by reason of being a part of Trinity College endowments taken over by them.*

* *Calendar of Laing Charters*, No. 2096.

If this be granted, Threeburnford has a clear historical record from a date considerably before the year 1200 A.D. Originally owned by Channelkirk Church, it passed into the possession of Dryburgh Abbey by the gift of Channelkirk to Dryburgh. Its name then was Fulewithnis or Futhewithynis, and it was situated at Wedaleford. It is then worked and leased from Dryburgh Abbey by the Brethren of Soutra Hospital, the advantage of this being apparent when it is remembered that the Hospital owned Gilston and Brotherstones (The Brother's "Tuns") two or three miles further north, in the vicinity of the Girthgate, and had also a superiority over Hartside and Clints. About 1200 or 1220 Soltre Hospital practically obtained entire possession of it from Dryburgh monks. It is retained by the Brethren of Soutra Hospital till 1462, when, along with all their possessions, it became, as we have already suggested, part of the endowments of Trinity College, Edinburgh. Shortly after the Reformation, the Trinity College itself was owned by Edinburgh City, whose magistrates are its Superiors. It stood thus in 1631.

In 1627 the then minister of Channelkirk says: "Thrie-burnefuird is in stok 8 scoir lib.; personage, 20 lib.; viccarage, 20 lib." In a paper purporting to be a copy of the Locality of Channelkirk Teinds, it is given:—"Johnstoneburn (Borthwick)—His lands of Threeburnfoot, of teynd rent one boll bear, two bolls oats, twelve teynd lamb with the wool, pryce 33s. 4d."* But Edinburgh magistrates were still Superiors over it.

There is a family of Allans who are called portioners in Threeburnford from 1599 to 1626.† William is first, who dies in 1625, Thomas, his heir, coming in for half

* *Decreet of Locality*, p. 242.

† *Retours*.

the lands of Threeburnford, with pasture in the Common of Ugston. Then Thomas Allan is served heir of Hugh Allan, "portioner in Threeburnford," on 19th January 1626. William Borthwick is seised in the lands of Threeburnford in April 1663.* A family of Fairgrieves, father and son, were tenants in it from 1693 till about 1763, William Murray following them. The father, George Fairgrieve, seems to have been prosperous in it, for on 1st February 1702, he could afford to lend the proprietor, Major William Borthwick, Johnstoneburn, 500 merks.†

In 1724 the lands change hands. "William Ramsay of Templehall, for John Cumming Ramsay, his second son, condescended that the lands of Threeburnford were purchased by Mr John Cumming, his wife's father, from Borthwick of Fallahill, 7th February 1724, and that the lands hold of the town of Edinburgh."‡ "Mr John Cumming" was the minister of Humble, and Mr Dalzell, who was then in Hartside, was on no good terms with the "said John." On 1st October 1728 Mr Cumming has a disposition granted to him by Andrew Ker of Moriestoun,§ of the half of the free teinds of Threeburnford, and he is seised in these 8th October 1729.|| In 1742 he is taxed £1, 8s. 10d. for the Channelkirk schoolmaster's salary, in virtue of his owning Threeburnford.¶ Ultimately he wills these lands to his grandson, John Cumming Ramsay, second son of William Ramsay of Templehall. The date is not quite evident, but it must have been before 1762.

Before 1772 sometime, Alexander Pierie, writer Edinburgh, becomes possessed of Threeburnford. In 1786 it passes into

* General Register, fol. 309.

‡ *Acts and Decrees*, vol. 597. Mack.

† Sasines.

† Sasines.

§ *Decree of Locality*, p. 220.

¶ Kirk Records.

the hands of his trustees, and in 1792 it is disposed to Alexander Falconer of Woodcote Park, Haddingtonshire. A year before this date, Mr Falconer, succeeding his father Thomas, who owned Reidhall and Soutra, laid out that estate to such an extent in woods, beech hedges, and hawthorn, as to justify his changing its name to that of Woodcote Park. In 1795 he died, and was buried in Fala churchyard. George Home Falconer, his son, is "seised" in Threeburnford on 3rd February 1803, and again on 2nd January 1804, "as heir to Alex. Falconer of Woodcote Park, his father, on Charter of Confirmation, and Pr. Cl. Con. by the tutors dative of the said Geo. H. Falconer, 19 Dec. 1803." He was a soldier, and served his country in the battle of Waterloo, and was promoted to a captaincy. He died prematurely in 1820, and is buried beside his father.

George Home Falconer had three sisters, one of whom was married to Lieut.-Col. T. E. Napier—later, Sir Thomas E. Napier, of Thirlstane—brother to Admiral Napier, and Woodcote Park was her dowry. Mr Ogilvie of Chesters, Ancrum, married another sister. Soutra Mains belonged to her.

At a heritors' meeting on 1st May 1821, the presence of "Col. Napier of Threeburnford" is noted. On 15th July 1823, the gallant colonel appears "for Wm. Ogilvie of Threeburnford." Mrs Murray is said to be teinded for Threeburnford in 1827. On 11th and 15th May 1841 the following sasine introduces a new proprietor to Threeburnford.

"John Taylor, tenant in Kirktonhill, seised May 21, 1841, in the lands of Threeburnford, with pasturage in the Common of Ugston, on disposition by Alexina Falconer,

with consent of William Ogilvie of Chesters, her husband, and of Margaret Falconer and Col. Thomas Erskine Napier, her husband, May 11th and 15th, 1841."

Therefore, at a heritors' meeting on 15th November 1841, "John Taylor, Esq. of Threeburnford," duly appears.* Alexander Taylor, Esq., appears for him on 26th August 1848; on 22nd November 1852 it is "James Taylor, Esq. of Threeburnford"; on 8th May 1876, "Thomas Taylor, Esq.," appears "for the trustees of the late John Taylor, Esq. of Threeburnford." The present proprietor is Joseph Taylor, who is reputed to be a liberal landlord. He has the "Diel's Buist" on him, however, as an "Absentee." In the opinion of the people of the parish, it takes a thick coating of good wool to overgrow that smudge.

The farm-steading stands on a steep bank rising towards the west, from a stream which at this point gives to the Leader River the source of one of its tributaries. It is old, but in good condition and comfortable. The water-supply is fairly good, and drainage satisfactory. The farm is in area 379 acres, and is rented for £146 yearly. The land is composed of a light soil, and is worked on the fifth shift rotation. It supports 30 cattle, 200 ewes, and 5 horses, with the usual farmyard accessories. 250 acres are in tillage, 127 in pasture, and 2 acres woods. The want of shelter in winter for stock is a drawback. A narrow strip of wood planted conveniently would help the ewes to cherish in stormy seasons, and save the lambs. Exposed to the east blasts, the open slope of land ascending without a break from the "three burns" to the height of the "Rishilaw House," receives the full severity of our bitterest February and March winds, and at such a time no little damage is

* Heritors' Records.

done to the farmer's profits. A few trees would be a great improvement.

It is approached from the Edinburgh Road which passes over Soutra Hill by way of the "Oxton Road" and Mountmill Farm, proceeding past Hartside through as pretty a little glen as one could wish to behold; the steep sloping braes on either side being clothed with the "gay green birk," the broom, and the bracken, the hawthorn and the evergreen juniper, in abundance; the brawling Airhouse Water, dear to trout fishers, keeping the pedestrian merry company all the way. Another approach to it, not so dear to pedestrians who have to catch trains, lies across the moors to the west, by way of Middletown and Cortleferry to Fountainhall station. It is a good hour's walk to it either from Edinburgh Road or Fountainhall.

The present farmer is Thomas Bell, son of James Bell, deceased in February of this year, 1900, and who entered the farm in 1897. There are nine souls on the place. Mr Bell had farmed in the parish altogether for thirty-three years on Heriotshall, Oxton Mains, and Threeburnford. He was a native of the parish, and his father was for many years a farm servant in Channelkirk. He was a Parish Councillor, and was much respected.

The Girthgate which runs past this farm, and the legend connected with one of its early tenants, are noticed in the chapter on "Antiquities."

This notice of Threeburnford would be incomplete without some observations regarding Mr Walter Brodie, Mr Bell's predecessor in the tenancy, and his brother-in-law. His death in Lauder, whither he had retired, on the 3rd of October 1898, cast quite a gloom over Lauderdale. Both in Lauder parish and in Channelkirk there were few public

functions with which he was not honourably connected. He was born in Blainslie in 1825. He left there in 1857, with wife and family, to farm Heriotshall. He was many years in Lauder in the service of the Earls of Lauderdale till 1881, when he took a lease of Threeburnford Farm. Sociable, sincere, and amiable, he was not only esteemed, but beloved. He was for many years a leading mind in Lauder U.P. Church, but did not hesitate to take the chair at an Established Church meeting in Oxton, held to protest against Disestablishment at last Parliament elections. He had strong sympathies with the Church of Scotland, and was a Unionist in politics, but over both politics and religion he threw the tact and kindness of a Christian gentleman. He was buried in Lauder Old Churchyard, universally mourned.

At the beginning of this century John Moffat farmed Threeburnford; Walter Renwick followed him. He was there a long time, and was noted as a keen fisher; his son was an elder in Channelkirk Church. A friend of Renwick's carried on the farm after him; then Mr Taylor, farmer, Kirktonhill, having bought Threeburnford, farmed it for a short time, a duty which devolved upon his nephew by-and-by. Mr Brodie then succeeded to it.

NETHER HOWDEN.

The original and ancient "Holdene" having been treated in our account of its modern representative, Over Howden, much of what we have narrated concerning that place necessarily includes the earlier fortunes of Nether Howden also, seeing that the latter was embraced in the area of the former.

So far as we have been able to discover, Nether Howden has no historical reference prior to 1539 A.D., when John

Tennent receives it from the King, to whom he was "verlote." It is a safe conjecture, however, that gives it status as a place of considerable importance before that date. The original "Holdene" territory seems to have been divided for agricultural purposes about the beginning of the 16th century, and the two place-names, Over Howden and Nether Howden, would then come naturally into vogue for purposes of distinction. Along with Over Howden it belonged to Kelso Abbey, and fell to the Kers of Cessford in the spoliation of the Church Lands. An authority thus states it :—

"As regards the temporalities, there were also excepted from the annexation to the Crown all the lands of temporal lordships which had been previously alienated, and thus a vast amount of property which rightfully belonged to the Church was left in the possession of nobles and others who had acquired it against every principle of law and justice. In this way the greater portion of what formed part of the Abbey Lands of Kelso is now owned by the Duke of Roxburgh, inherited from his ancestor, Ker of Cessford, who had, in the manner indicated, obtained a grant of the lands." *

The following document explains itself :—

"At Holyrood House, 31 May 1603, the King—for the good service of Thomas Ker of Cavers, of Master George Ker, his father, before him, and of Rudolph Ker, his grandfather, before him, and according to an agreement made good—with consent, etc., ratified all the charters and assedations made by the commendators and Convent of Kelso, by Francis, formerly Earl of Bothwell, by the King or the King's predecessors, or by any Pope whatsoever, to the said Thomas Ker, his father, and grandfather, or to other predecessors of his, or to John Tennent of Listoun-

* *Church of Scotland*, vol. iv., p. 54.

shiels, or his predecessors, or made by the said John to the said George, of the lands, etc., written below : notwithstanding the absence of the said Earl. Moreover, although the lands underwritten had of old, for many generations, and beyond recollection, been possessed by the said Thomas and his predecessors, he (the King) anew, in fee-farm, hands them over to the said Thomas, to his heirs and assignees whomsoever—the lands of Nether Howden and Hairlaw, the Mill of Nether Howden, and the multures of it, with common pasture and privilege to cast and win fewall, fail, and duffettis, and pull hedder in the Common of Ugistoun, in the bailiary of Lawderdaill, Sheriffdom of Berwick. . . . Returning for Nether Howden, with pertinents, £15." . . . *

As this ratification is made in 1603, and we have it said then that Nether Howden had been for many generations, and beyond memory, in the hands of the Kers, we may safely assign it a separate existence a hundred years earlier, and be well within reasonable bounds. The Mill here called the " Mill of Nether Howden " is now the place called Wiselaw Mill, and falls to be treated in Chapter XX., on " The Mills."

There is a long charter, dated 20th December 1607, which gives Robert, Lord Roxburgh, among many other " lands," the lands of " Ovir and Nethir Howdennis " ; and we learn from the minister's account, of date 1627, that " Neather Hawden holding of the Abacie of Kelso " yields " in stok 600 merkis ; personage, ane 100 lib. ; viccarage, 20 lib." †

Lord Roxburgh's eldest son, William Ker, receives Nether Howden on June 12, 1614, by a charter of *novodamus* from the King, along with many other lands and churches.

* *Registrum Magni Sigilli.*

† Great Seal.

and it continues in the possession of the Kers till the year 1647.

In 1647, on the 26th January, the King's chamberlain, William Murray, has not only Nether Howden given to him, but the town and lands of Kelso, the lands of Humbie, and much else. But in June of that year, Lord Roxburgh and William Murray having resigned these, the former has Nether Howden sealed anew to him. This arrangement was again altered at the close of the same year. On the 17th December 1647 John Achesoun or Aitchison, advocate, obtains Nether Howden in liferent, and his eldest son, James Achesoun, in fee, with the mill, and all privileges held formerly by the Convent of Kelso, Earl Bothwell, the Ker family, and John Tennent, the "verlote of our chalmer." In 1664 the father seems to be dead, and his son James "of Houdoun" is by right of holding in fee styled "hereditary proprietor of the lands of Ugstoun, mill, and mill lands thereof."* The Presbytery Records bear that James took a warm interest in the parish church, and during the long contention anent electing a minister for the vacancy which lasted from June 1697 till September 1702, he was a staunch supporter of William Knox, who lost the church by one vote.

In 1665 Agnes and John Edgar are seised in "the just and equal half of the lands of Nether Howden, houses," etc., which half seems again to have been halved equally between them.† Jean Edgar was wife to John Aitchison,—that is to say, she was James Aitchison's mother, and her daughter Jean married John Spotiswood, advocate, who, with consent of these parties, obtained in 1701 the "just and equal half of Nether Howden,"‡ etc., "possessed by Mr James Aitchison. James, who resided in Edinburgh, got this half in 1692, with

* *Calendar of Laing Charters*, No. 2587. † Sasines. ‡ *Ibid.*

privileges of Wideopen Common, etc., fee-farm £7. 10s., with mill, "now called Vyslaw, or Ryslaw Mill" (Wiselaw Mill).*

Adam Gordon, burgess in Edinburgh, is styled "heritable proprietor of Nether Howden lands" at this time, and Spotiswood receives from him a contract of alienation. Andrew Ker of Morriston draws the teinds of Nether Howden in 1676, but in 1700 we find him seised in an annual rent of £20 Scots, furth of Wiselaw Mill, and in the same year, in the mill itself and mill lands, and half the lands of Nether Howden. William Watherstone in Dunse, and wife, draw an annual rent of £60 Scots furth of these lands in 1698. The Aitchisons had been "hard up" in their money matters evidently. In 1650 and 1684, Lord Roxburgh is still declared the Superior of these lands, which were included in the entail of his estates.† In connection with the above transaction regarding Wiselaw Mill, we learn that James Aitchison's second son, Gilbert, held a heritor's rights in the property,‡ a fact which is supported by the Presbytery Records of Earlstoun.

Charles Binning, solicitor, enters upon the "arable lands of Nether Howden" in 1722.§ They are said to have been "disponed to him by William Hunter of Nether Howden."|| The heritors of Channelkirk meet in 1742 to allocate the schoolmaster's salary, and this note is given: "Glengelt and Nether Howden, belonging to the heirs of the deceased William Hunter, merchant in Edinburgh, eleven pounds and two pennies."¶ He is also described as a "merchant in Dalkeith." We find him figuring in transactions, dated 1731 and 1739,** connected with Glengelt,

* Retours. † *Ibid.*

§ *Acts and Decrees*, vol. 597.

¶ Kirk Records.

‡ Sasines.

|| *Decree of Locality*, p. 225.

** *Locality*, p. 161.

which was also his property, and as he is dead in 1742, that event must have taken place between the two last-mentioned years. He bequeathed, it appears, Glengelt to his daughter Agnes, or "Ann," and Nether Howden to his daughter Christian,* the latter, to all appearance, only coming into full possession of her property on 3rd February 1759.† She had reasons, no doubt, for willing away Nether Howden and all its pertinents to the Rev. Dr Alexander Webster, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, on 26th July 1760. This clergyman was somewhat famous in his day. Principal John Cunningham thus discourses of him:‡ "To Dr Alex. Webster, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, the Church is chiefly indebted for having originated and brought to maturity the Widows' Fund. All his contemporaries describe Dr Webster as a remarkable man—possessed of a native dignity of manner, readiness of wit, and fluency of speech." "In too many jolly companies the minister of the Tolbooth Church was the jolliest of all. No one in the city could joke with him; no one could drink with him; when all others were drunk, Dr Webster was still perfectly sober." Dr Carlyle, Inveresk, calls Dr Webster "a five-bottle man," and says this quality brought him "the nickname of Dr Bonum Magnum."§ "But Dr Webster was much more than a mere toper and jester—he was a benevolent man. He was a profound statistician at a time when statistics were very little known." "He was a distinguished political economist, an elegant preacher, an accomplished man."‡ Miss Hunter of Nether Howden had,

* *Locality*, p. 157.

† *Acts and Decrees*, vol. 567.

‡ *Church History*, vol. ii., p. 319. See also Kerr's *Report on Berwick-shire*, 1813, p. 470.

§ *Autobiography*, p. 239.

no doubt, shared the general admiration and respect in which he was held, and proved the fact in a very substantial manner. The Reverend Doctor appears to have held Nether Howden till 1778. Sasine was granted by him on the 29th May of that year, "wherein the lands of Nether Howden are conveyed to George, Marquis of Tweeddale, with all its parts and pendicles, crofts, tofts, etc., and share in Wideopen Common.* With the property, Dr Webster also gave up "all right to his seat, room, and desk in Channelkirk Church, as proprietor of these lands." Lord Lauderdale held, in 1788 and in 1790, a "half of Nether Howden in warrandice," along with Wiselaw Mill. The Marquis of Tweeddale still possesses the property of Nether Howden.

John Bruntón was tenant in 1752, William Yule in 1755, and Walter Iddinston in 1779, the last of whom the then minister of the parish reflected upon as somewhat of a niggard. Before 1800, and some time after that date, Nether Howden was farmed by Mr Mercer. Mr Robert Thomson followed him in the tenancy for upwards of fifty years. The latter gentleman is remembered as a first-class farmer, as "most particular," and one who diligently looked after the pennies in order to secure the pounds.

The present tenant is Mr David Tweedie, who entered the farm in 1865. Its rental is £218, 4s. 9d. Mr Tweedie is a member of the School Board, and chairman of the Parish Council, and attends the U.P. Church in Lauder. The farm land is reported to be of a light loamy nature, and cropped on the six years' rotation system; 460 acres are in tillage. Buildings are satisfactory, and water-supply

* Sasines.

fair. The amount of stock varies according to the time of year, and in 1891 Mr Tweedie suffered severe loss in the drowning of eighty-two lambs in the haugh near Wiselaw Mill, when the Leader overflowed its banks, and did great damage throughout the length of the valley. The "hands" on the farm are expected to work ten hours in summer, and in winter from daylight till dark. The Rev. Henry Home, who was minister in the parish during the first half of last century, was an ancestor of Mr Tweedie, but no other of his "forebears" has ever lived in this parish, with the exception of William Eckford, Mr Home's son-in-law. There are thirty-two souls resident on the farm. There is a park on it called "The Heart of Lauderdale," but for what reason it seems impossible to say. The old Derestrete runs through several of the fields from the east end of the village to the neighbourhood of Midburn, as it goes towards Blackchester Camp, and is quite evident during ploughing time. (See chapter on "Antiquities.")

BOWERHOUSE

Bowerhouse, with Midburn and Shielfield, rests on the southern boundary of the parish. The steading stands on one of a series of land-waves which, north of Trabrown and Pilmuir, is succeeded by that of Collielaw, Over Howden, and Airhouse, each steading situated on the ridge of each wave, and each wave having a deeper hollow between, as they roll northwards, till they finally terminate in the huge roller of Soutra itself. The importance of Bowerhouse as a residence would seem to be more modern in date than the others just mentioned. It is not brought into historical view till towards the end of the fifteenth century. Its name partly explains

this. *Bower* is from the old English *bour* or *bur*, a *room*, a *dwelling*; the Anglo-Saxon *bur*; and is akin to the German *bauer*, a peasant. Its root is the same as that of *beer* and *byre*. It may originally have been the outdwellings, or houses of the serfs or workers in the olden times on the Collielaw estate. Under the rule of the De Morvilles, the Galloways, and the Balliols, the larger estates of Lauderdale remained intact, but when the Douglasses came in under the banner of Robert the Bruce, and more followers required particular rewards for services rendered, the land seems to have been subdivided to a larger extent than formerly in order to meet this political necessity. It was about this time that Bowerhouse to all appearance arose to the individuality which it has since possessed along with the other residences in its neighbourhood. It seems to have been purely Saxon in origin and settlement, whereas the names on either side of it, such as Pilmuir, Trabrown, and Airhouse, on the strength of their names, at least, point to a Celtic, and, consequently, a much earlier origin.

When it first looms above the horizon of the past, the princely House of Stuart had given its third James to the throne of Scotland. Where the deed was drawn we are not informed, but it is in the year 1473 that the King confirms the charter of William, Lord Borthwick, in which he gives to his son Thomas, the lands of Collielaw and Bourhouse.* Here we may observe that the fact that the names of these two places came together so early, and so often afterwards in law instruments, seems to sustain our surmise that they may have been originally one estate. The same fact leads us in our narrative to traverse the same ground, and frequently the same path which has been already overtaken in our account

* *Registrum Magni Sigilli.*



BOWERHOUSE

[Face page 580]

of Collielaw. It will become us, therefore, to be as brief as possible.

Fifteen years before the above-mentioned date, viz., in 1458, James II. (just two years before he was accidentally killed at Roxburgh) conceded Glengelt to the same Lord Borthwick. The latter settled his son James Borthwick there in 1467, and now in 1473 Sir Thomas receives a landed down-sitting in Collielaw and Bowerhouse. The Borthwicks were lordly and powerful then. Before the year 1503, however, Bourhouse is given to Allan Borthwick, cousin to the above Sir Thomas, along with Collielaw, but the latter and his wife, Helen Rutherford, have free tenement in it reserved to them, and to the survivor of the two.*

In 1510 David Hoppringle of Smailholm receives annual revenues from certain lands in Lauderdale, and among them is Bowerhouse, which yields him 6s. 8d.† In 1513 Lord William Borthwick obtains sasine of "Bourhousis," and the name denotes for the first time that there were two places of this name—the same which have continued almost down to our own time as Over and Nether Bowerhouse.‡ But the name "Bourhous" is often used to indicate both in the old records. The death of Lord Borthwick on Flodden Field in the above year accounts, doubtless, for the renewal of rights.

Hoppringle of Smailholm's annual revenue of 6s. 8d. comes once more into view in 1535;§ and in 1538 the Great Seal shows the wide extent of Lord Borthwick's territory, which included in this parish at that time "Glengelt, Collielaw, and Bourhouse." The same formula of landed rights is given by the same authority in 1543, and again in 1571. We

* Exchequer Rolls, and *Registrum Magni Sigilli*.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Sasines.

§ Exchequer Rolls.

learn from another source that in October 1573, the year following Knox's death, James Borthwick, heir of William, master of Borthwick, and his full brother, still held the above places.* "Bourhousis" is changed to "Burnhous," and though there is a place of this name in the Borthwick estates to-day, we conclude, from the constant association of "Glengelt, Collielaw, and Bowerhouse" in the charters, that "Burnhous" is a misspelling for "Bourhous" in this instance.

When we reach the year 1601, Collielaw and Bowerhouse are separated. The Heriots of Trabrown possess the former, and it does not appear who holds the latter. The years that lie between 1567 and 1578 embrace a period of wide political and religious turbulence in Scotland, and were the days when the nation's king was a child ; and Moray, Lennox, Mar, and Morton, as Regents, endeavoured to direct its affairs. Moray was assassinated at Linlithgow, and Lennox shot in Stirling ; Mar died suddenly, oppressed, perhaps, by the too great burdens of State ; and Morton only resigned his perilous position to die a bloody death three years afterwards. Of this time it has been said, " There had taken place a series of events of blood and treason, and lust and revenge, that have made this decennium as fertile of tragedy, and controversy, and mystery, as the decennium of the siege of Troy." The landowners were sure to feel the concussions of the various powerful factions, and in many cases be shaken out of their possessions altogether. The Borthwicks became forfeit in law at this time, and Lauderdale knew them no more till about the middle of the last century.

In 1627 the minister of the parish says, " Bowrhouses may pay in rent, being plenishit, 300 merkis ; personage,

* Retours.

ane 100 merkis; viccarage, xl lib." There is a hint in the words "being plenishit" that it was not a residence at that time. He mentions all the other farms in the parish, but makes this reservation only in the case of Bowerhouse. In 1631 Andro Law is designated "Heretor of the lands of Bourhouses," and is then at law with the Earl of Mar and Alex. Cranstoun of Morieston concerning his teinds. The case may have ruined Andro, for in 1632 Bowerhouse is in the hands of the Kers of Morrieston along with Collielaw.*

It is "returned" as being in the possession of the Kers in the years 1676, 1687, and 1692.† From that notable family Bowerhouse passed into the hands of Charles Binning, solicitor, of Pilmuir, on 27th February 1722, and becomes part of that barony. Sasine is given to Binning on 28th August 1723.‡ In 1742 the Kirk Records note that "Bourhouse, belonging to Charles Binning of Pilmure, advocate," have allocated to them £2, 16s. 6d. as their proportion of the schoolmaster's salary in Channelkirk. But in 1743 Mr Binning alienates and disposes to John Thomson and his heirs "All and Whole the said Mr Charles Binning, his roun and land of Nether Bourhouse, with teinds, and annuity of said teinds, to be holden in feu-farm for the yearly payment to the said Mr C. Binning of £10, 5s. 6d. of feu-duty." John Thomson disposes the half of Nether Bowerhouse to his son James in 1771, and the latter receives, on 2nd October, sasine in his favour as "feuar in Nether Bourhouse," "All and Hail the just and equal half of the lands of N. Bowerhouse, and allotment in the Common of Wideopen, etc."§

The Binnings, while retaining superiority over Nether

* *Decreet of Locality*, p. 241.

‡ *Acts and Decreets*.

† Retours.

§ Sasines.

Bowerhouse, also appear to have kept Over Bowerhouse in their own hand. Elizabeth, Catherine, and Isobell Binning are seised 26th October 1761, in "All and Haill the lands of Collielaw and Bowerhouse"; and the latter may refer more particularly to Over Bowerhouse. When Charles Binning died, the barony of Pilmuir, with Over Bowerhouse, went to Adam Fairholm, Esq., banker, Edinburgh.

In 1770 a sasine is given in favour of Wm. Riddell, W.S., in liferent, and Lord Marchmont in fee, of Collielaw and Nether Bowerhouse, but in 1777 Mrs Elizabeth Binning, widow of the deceased Andrew Buchanan, and Mrs Isobel Binning, youngest daughter of the deceased Charles Binning of Pilmuir, advocate, make and grant to James, Earl of Lauderdale, a disposition and assignation in his favour of "All and Whole the lands and barony of Pilmuir," which included the Five-pound land of Pilmuir, Blackchester, Muirhouse of Halkerland, Little Laurence Lands, Scots Croft, Collielaw, Bowerhouse, Wiselaw Mill, withucken and sequels, multure and thirlage of the lands of Nether Howden and Over Shielfield. This refers to Over Bowerhouse, evidently, as John and James Thomson, father and son respectively, owned Nether Bowerhouse. The Binnings still held the superiority over both properties, it would appear, but Lord Lauderdale had the *dominium utile* of Over Bowerhouse, and the Thomsons the same rights in Nether Bowerhouse.

Nether Bowerhouse remained in the Thomson family, viz., John, grandfather, James, son, and James, junr., grandson, till 1793. The last mentioned still kept *Ten Rigs*, however, till 1816. In 1793 Nether Bowerhouse was purchased by John Robertson, farmer, Plewlands, and George Robertson, farmer, Granton. The Thomsons had it bonded to

James Somerville, Ivilaw, to the extent of £300, and would seem to have found it an unprofitable concern.

James, Earl of Lauderdale, on the death of James, "the late Earl," is seised in all Lauderdale Estates in 1790, and among the possessions, Over Bowerhouse is noted.

With regard to Nether Bowerhouse, the co-proprietor, George Robertson, is, later in the year of 1793, put aside for some reason, and Margaret Hepburn, his wife, and the trustees for their children have his rights in the half of that property in liferent and fee respectively. Before March 1799 he is married again to Helen Noble, who gets the liferent as his wife. He preferred to have it settled that way, no doubt, on account of pressure in other quarters. In 1806 the Earl of Lauderdale receives the full superiority and property of "Bourhouses," which still seems to mean Over Bowerhouse, seeing that in 1810 the Robertsons of Plewlands and Granton still hold the room and lands of Nether Bowerhouse.

Matters continued in this relation till about 1853, when we find the Robertsons gone from Bowerhouse, and Lord Lauderdale in possession of both properties. They still remain with him.

The tenement and portion of ground called "Ten Rigs," "which used to be" part of the lands of Nether Bowerhouse, was sold by "James Thomson, late of Bowerhouse, now Tenant, Dalhousie," on 18th December 1816, to William Eckford, Pilmuir, and Janet Aitchison, his wife, and they were seised in fee and liferent respectively on the 17th January 1817. Many such "crofts" would seem to have existed in Channelkirk Parish, but when the large proprietors bought them, the big farms swamped the little ones, and because also that it meant extra expense to keep up farmhouses and the usual attendant housing and comforts

for live stock, these were allowed to fall into decay and disappear. This means, of course, decrease of population, and another door closed to the industrious peasant who aspires to farm for himself, for he finds it impossible with his small savings to undertake a large farm, though his way might be quite easy with such stepping-stones as crofts like "Ten Rigs" afforded. Moreover, it takes away tenants, who, if they are not wealthy, yet still remain in the parish and share the duties of the land, while the large farmer simply puts in a steward and takes a house elsewhere, more convenient for his own comfort, and draws the profits. The system has been long a drawback to Channelkirk.

The entire farm of Bowerhouse, now embracing in its scope Over and Nether Bowerhouses, does not wholly fall within the boundaries of this parish. About three-fourths of it are in Channelkirk Parish, and the other quarter in that of Lauder. It comprises 750 acres as a whole, and has a present rental of £400. The soil is very varied, and, in general, 270 acres are in crop each year, 460 in pasture and 20 are in wood. The turnpike approaches are all uphill, the steadings being situated on a considerable eminence, but the county keeps the road good only to Nether Bowerhouse. The usual rotation is oats, turnips, oats sown with grass seeds, barley or tares, then grass for two years. The buildings afford plenty of room for improvements. The water-supply is, however, plentiful, and much has been done for drainage, although still more is required. The amount of stock at present is 400 half-bred ewes, 150 half-bred ewe hoggs, 5 cows, 6 or 8 horses, and some feeding cattle and sheep. Markets attended are Earlston and St Boswells. Shepherds' wages are those obtaining in the valley, but as they have usually sheep and other perquisites,

their wages vary with prices of stock. Hinds have mostly a money wage now, £42 per year, with a quarter of an acre of potatoes, free house and garden, coals carted free, no taxes, free housing and bedding for pig or pigs. The hours are ten hours a day, and nearer seven when the day is short in winter. The tenants are John Fleming, Esq., Craigsford Mains, Earlston, and his son John; the latter since 1883. The latter gentleman is a member of both School Board and Parish Council. His father took the farm in 1870. There are thirty-six souls on the farm. The view from the farmhouse is very fine, and in summer very beautiful, though the winter has also its grandeur, and is nowhere seen to better advantage than from this situation, the dale overlooked being here at its broadest, probably five miles from crest to crest of the hills, and the scenery the most varied in hill and glen and winding waters,

“Deep waving fields and pastures green,
With gentle slopes and groves between.”

For other references to Bowerhouse the reader is directed to the chapter on “Antiquities.” At the beginning of this century a family of the name of Peacock farmed Upper Bowerhouse. Mr Thorburn succeeded, then the two brother Mercers, one of whom died lately in Selkirk. Mr Bathgate followed, and the Flemings succeeded Mr Bathgate.

HERIOTSHALL

The genesis of Heriotshall is attempted in the Oxtoun chapter, and its history there brought down to 1742. We find it then in the hands of John Murray of Wooplaw. Its old designation was “The Two Husband Lands of Ugston,”

and was included within the barony lands of that territory. It preserves a rigid individual existence, however, from about the beginning of the seventeenth century, when it appears to have come under the name of Heriotshall from its connection with the Heriots of Airhouse, but was not generally so called until later. The minister of the parish in 1627, for example, simply styles it "the Two Husband Lands of Ugston." It is also so called when Walter Riddell, The Haining, about 1631, holds Ugston lands ("except the Two Husband Lands belonging to Lord Cranstoun"), and in the many notices of the possession of the lands of Ugston by the Somervilles of Airhouse on the one hand, and Justice of Justicehall on the other, "the Two Husband Lands" are never included in their properties by that designation.

There seems to be considerable confusion regarding it in this respect, and when the teinds were localled early in this century, it was found difficult to determine whether it should be included in Ugston (Oxton), or treated separately. In 1627 the minister mentions all the kirk lands within the parish, and among them are "the Two Husband Lands." He says they are "My Lord Cranstoun's" lands in Huxstone. Over Howden and Nether Howden are the only other kirk lands in Ugston territory. But when James Cheyne, W.S., in 1644 is seised in the "village and lands of Ugston," the "Two Husband Lands" are not included. Yet the "Forty-shilling Lands of Ugston, sometime pertaining to the Monastery of Dryburgh," are reckoned among them. These are ostensibly "kirk lands." And the question arises whether the "Forty-shilling Lands of Ugston" may not be identical with the "Two Husband Lands," seeing they are kirk lands, and only *one* species of such is mentioned by the minister in 1627? Another confusing element is the fact

that these "Two Husband Lands" are, in 1728, said to be "lying in the barony of Hartside." What seems most fatal to their identity with the "Forty-shilling Lands of Ugston" is the fact that Forty-shilling Land was equal to a ploughgate,* which is equal to 104 acres, whereas "Two Husband Lands" were only equal to 52 acres, or exactly half a ploughgate. It does not appear, therefore, that the "Two Husband Lands of Ugston" can be made identical with the Ugston Forty-shilling Lands.

That these "Two Husband Lands" were part of Ugston territory from time immemorial, and that they came ultimately to be called Heriotshall, are facts well ascertained; and their long sustained separation from the rest of Ugston lands is due, perhaps, to Heriotshall having been in Lord Cranstoun's hands when all the other land of Ugston was possessed by Walter Riddell of The Haining, in Selkirkshire. And while the Somervilles are said to hold half Ugston lands, and Justice of Justicehall the other half, we must remember that what is really meant is that each held half of the Ugston land which Riddell owned in 1631. This does not appear to have embraced Heriotshall. Moreover, because that Heriotshall is always outside the catalogue of the "Halves" of Ugston lands so frequently mentioned as belonging to the Justices on the one hand and the Somervilles on the other, it cannot be "Pickelraw," "Luckenhaugh," the "Two-merk Land," the "Forty-shilling Land," the "Temple Land," etc., which are repeatedly enumerated in these "Halves" as "of Oxton."

The Murrays of Wooplaw held it from the beginning till the end of last century. John Murray, as we have said, possesses it in 1742, when we find the heritors assessing

* Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 226.

themselves for the schoolmaster's salary.* His son "James Murray of Heriotshall, farmer, Corsbie, appears first as heritor for that place in 1773. He bonded it for £1000 to the Marquis of Tweeddale. He died in 1795, and left it to his only son and heir, John Murray, who held Heriotshall till 1799. He sold it then to the Rev. Thomas Murray, minister of the parish, who gets sasine of it on 29th November 1802. He was doubtless related to the Wooplaw Murrays. He held it till 1807, when it went into the hands of trustees, one of whom was Rev. Archibald Singers, minister of Fala (1790-1830). Several feus on Heriotshall lands were granted in 1791, one to Robert Inglis, overseer of Roads, Ugston, another to John Lambert, mason, Ugston, and yet another to Andrew Mercer, Ugston, and still one more to Andrew Thomson, mason, Ugston. A few years earlier the same growth is visible in feuing. We wish to point out these as an evidence of increasing prosperity at that time among the working classes of our district. Indeed, from the beginning of last century downwards, there are abundant instances among farmers and tradesmen, that the labourer, the shepherd, and the ploughman, by patient industry, raised themselves from an inferior to a superior condition of life. It is a very strong characteristic of the workmen of Upper Lauderdale to this day.

Here is another proof of this: "March 8, 1809.—Robert Dobson, in Ugston, seised, 2nd March 1809, in the two husband lands of Ugston called Heriotshall—on Disposition by Rev. Thomas Murray to the said Robert Dobson and John Dobson, then tenants in Collielaw, May 16, 1808, and Disposition and Assignment by the said John Dobson, November 14, 1808.

* Kirk Records.

On 17th April 1809 Robert Dobson disposes of Heriots-hall to Alexander Dobson, son of James Dobson, mason, Selkirk, and Robert Dobson, builder, Edinburgh, under burdens to various relatives. Various persons are concerned in small properties and grounds in Ugston and Heriotshall about the years 1815-1817. "John Mason of Heriotshall, seised 2nd April 1819, in the two husband lands of Ugston (called Heriotshall), and teinds, in the barony of Hartside—on Disposition by Alexander Dobson at Wigan, Lancashire, and Robert Dobson, builder, Edinburgh, December 9. 15. 1813.

The Masons are sometimes said to be of "Justicehall" * also, but were only tenants, it seems. After Captain Justice left Justicehall, one of the Masons was tenant in that place, and naturally Captain Justice, living in his cramped room in Oxton, hated to see a "fremit man" making himself free in the home which his forebears had raised and called their own. One day Captain Justice was coming slowly up the vennel to his room, and emerged from it in time to see the tall form of tenant Mason turning away from the smithy adjoining. Instantly his proud spirit burst through all dictates of prudence, and hurling his heavy stick at the back of Mason, shouted, "Whalebone!" This was the Captain's way of expressing his contempt for the plebeian who had made his money in the whaling trade, and who dared to occupy a professional family's estate under a descendant's very eye! We trust his dinner sat better on his stomach after such relief. The irate Captain: with whom we deeply sympathise.

John Mason was in possession of Heriotshall before 29th April 1818, as we find him attending a heritors'

* Heritors' Records.

meeting on that date. Robert Mason holds it on 11th November 1825, by the same evidence. It has continued in the hands of the Masons all through this century, we believe, and the two most interested in it at this date (June 1900) are Mrs Whiteford, wife of Dr James Whiteford, Greenock, and Mr William Gilmour Mason, farmer, Westfortune, Drem.

The situation of the farm and farmhouse, the latter of which has been but recently built, is pleasantly seen from the village of Ugston, a few hundred yards to the west. Its area comprises 65 acres, with a rental of £75. The soil is good, and all the roads about it are in good order. It is worked on the "four-shift" rotation; 57 acres are in tillage, 6 in pasture, and 2 in wood. The buildings are very good since recent repairs. The water-supply is about to be improved, and drainage is all that can be desired. The usual stock are kept to the amount of 107 head. The markets attended are St Boswells and Edinburgh, and the systems of sale are found satisfactory. The present tenant is Mr Robert Hunter. Neither he nor his father was born in the parish, and Heriotshall is the only place he has occupied in it. He attends the parish church, is married, and has family. There are nine souls resident on Heriotshall at the present time. We regret to add that the proprietors are non-resident and take no personal interest in the parish or the people.

As we saw in the account of Oxtou, the first tenant of the "Two Husband Lands" was John Baty, 23rd June 1482, and then John Wod, 10th November 1486. George Lauder farms it from 1723 till 1761, and was thus tenant for thirty-eight years.

This century has seen as its tenants (1) Mr Mason,

Elder in Channelkirk, 1842; (2) David Lees; (3) Walter Brodie, who left it to be ground officer on Lauderdale Estates, and latterly was farmer in Threeburnford; (4) James Bell, Threeburnford, recently deceased; and (5) Robert Hunter, the present tenant.

CHAPTER XX

THE MILLS

The Miller—Thirlage—The Mills of the Parish and their Sucken—Mill of Oton—Proprietary—Carfrae Mill—Adam the Mill-knave—Carfrae Mill Inn—Tenants—Area of Farm—Wiselaw Mill—History and Name—Tenants.

THE MILL OF OTON—CARFRAE MILL—WISELAW MILL.

THE ancient mills were, in their way, as essential to the well-being of the parish as the ancient kirks, and no barony or territory was without one. They flourished in the days when it was as common to break heads as to bruise corn, and the mill and the miller were as often, perhaps, associated with the one as with the other. Unfortunately the mill was not always held in the highest respect, owing to the tyrannous system which it exerted over the farms and people in its neighbourhood, and deep were the curses breathed out upon the miller who happened to abuse his power, and fleece the helpless peasants to a larger extent than his multures justified. This was the worst feature of them, no doubt, but many pleasanter ones might be set against it, though so fiercely was the thralldom or thirlage of the mills resented on many an occasion, that the more genial incidents connected with the grinding of the

corn were overshadowed by it. The system of thirling or thralling was slow to yield before the solvent influences of the social life of the people, which taught them independence, and the right to buy and sell in whatever market they deemed most proper and advantageous to themselves. No doubt it lived because it was part of that feudalism which made monopoly one of its first principles, and exclusiveness a second nature. Tax by king, tithe by pope, tallage and tollage by inferior lord and bishop, baron or burgess in country or town, were but broader applications of the same economic rule which converted the population of a district into *suckeners*, and identified *multures* with the meal mill. It would be unwise, however, to suppose that because such a system is out of touch with modern thought and feeling that it must have been a hardship in all times. There is room to suppose that perhaps the feudalism of the Middle Ages was as salutary in the circumstances of that period as any other system is found to be in other social and political surroundings. So long as the parental hand suffices for dispensing the feudal rule, and the judicial rod is kept in happy disuse,—so long, that is, as the most powerful are also wisely and affectionately protective of a contented people's interests, and there is no need of law and force to exact dues and obedience, the feudal system will be found to be as true to the natural laws of a country as the father's impositions are to the family in the home, or the universal Rule, reflected in the government of the Highest. But a country grows out of its leading-strings as certainly as do young people, and in such a case every wise restraint which becomes a galling fetter will become hateful, and under the impulse of liberty, a long-suffering people may take the government

into their own hands if more lenient and discriminating counsels do not prevail. Want of power to do this, and not want of will, seems to have alone reconciled the Scotch *suckeners* to the methods of extortion which were constantly practised at their meal mills. The mills were usually the property of some abbey or religious house, or in the possession of a powerful "baron bold." The miller tenanted the mill, and ground the corn of all the farms within a certain district for multure. Multure was a regular payment for grinding the meal. This might have been perfectly legitimate if thirlage had not been behind it like the hammer behind the wedge. It was this that made the "multures" to mean "extortions." For every farm was thirled or thrall'd to its mill, and the farmer and all on the land had to carry their corn to that mill and no other, to have it threshed and ground. Hence there was compulsion in the case. Any attempt to carry the corn to any other mill where it might be threshed for a more reasonable multure was visited by fine and force of law. The area of land so thrall'd to such a mill, and which might embrace several farms, was called, with reference to its obligation, "the Sucken," and all the people on it "the Suckeners." It sometimes happened that the miller demanded additional perquisites to his "multure," such as "the lock," which was a small quantity, and the "gowpen," which was a full handful, and these "sequels," as they were termed, were a prolific source of fierce contentions. The following extract explains the system:—

The servitude of thirlage to a mill involved the payment of certain multures and the performance of a variety of mill services. The thirlage might be—

1. Of all growing corn.

2. Of all grindable corn.
3. Of corn brought within the thirl.
4. Of corns that should thole fire and water ; and
5. Of corns necessary for family use.

When thirlage was constituted, the proprietor of the ground which was thirled or astricted to a mill could not build a mill within the astricted ground, that there might be no temptation to defeat the thirlage. In numerous instances the Court of Session have ordered the removal of such mills. The nature of the dues demanded will be best understood from a short statement of terms used in connection with thirlage :—

- (1.) MULTURES were the chief produce of the mills, consisting sometimes of grain (see Drymulture below) and sometimes of a proportion of the meal ground at the mill, varying according to one authority from a thirtieth to about one-twelfth of the grain or meal. There was no limit to the amount that might be imposed.
- (2.) SEQUELS included the smaller duties of Knaveship, bannock, lock and gouden, which fell to the servants of the mill.
- (3.) THIRL OF SUCKEN, the lands astricted.
- (4.) SUCKENERS, the possessors of the astricted lands.
- (5.) INSUCKEN MULTURES were those paid by parties under astriction.
- (6.) OUTSUCKEN MULTURES were those paid by voluntary employers from beyond the district or thirl. These were not so heavy as the insucken multures, and were more nearly of the value of the service rendered.
- (7.) DRYMULTURE was a *quantum* laid upon a person's corn whether he had it grinded or not.*

As the miller stood between the monks, or barons, and the people, he had to bear the fire of the dealers as well as the frown of his superiors, and it needed a tough heart in a tough body to resist such opposing pressures. But the very solitariness of his position naturally bred in him

* *Hawick News*, 18th February 1882. Paper by Nenion Elliot, Esq., S.S.C., Teind Office, Edinburgh.

a certain reckless courage and wanton gay defiance; and thus in the ballads he is often represented as jolly and bold, fond of the malt, and a hearty set-to with those who might think their head was harder to break than his; and sometimes, be it breathed, a little lecherous:—

“The miller was a stout carl for the nones,
Full big he was of brawn, and eke of bones.”*

“But then a miller,” says Scott, “should always be of manly make, and has been described so since the days of Chaucer and James I.”†

The parish of Channelkirk seems to have been able to boast of three mills of barony from a very early period. These were:—Oxton Mill, Carfrae Mill, and Wiselaw Mill.

The parish generally divided itself, territorially, into three divisions, and each division seems to have had its own mill. First, the barony of Carfrae, including all the land lying on the banks of the Kelphope Water, was served by the Mill of Carfrae, now Carfraemill; second, the barony or territory of Oxton, including, apparently, Over Howden, Nether Howden, and the lands around these, was served by Wiselaw Mill; and third, the barony of Glengelt, which was supplied by Mount Mill. To what extent the farms in the neighbourhood of each mill was thirled to it, we cannot now say, but it seems clear, at least, that all the lands of Carfrae, Headshaw, Midlie, Ferniecles, Kelphope, Hillhouse, Herniecleuch, Hasleden, Carfraemill, and Friars-knowes, were originally thirled to the Mill of Carfrae. We shall see presently that Wiselaw Mill had also its rights of thirlage, and indisputably the same system would prevail

* *Canterbury Tales*.

† *Monastery*, chap. xiii.

with regard to the Mill of Ulfkilston (Oxton), or Mount Mill. It may also be safely assumed that the three mills in question must have existed contemporaneously with the territories or "lands" on which they were localised. From the nature and need of things this seems evident. With regard to Carfrae Mill and the Mill of Oxton, there appears to be no reasonable doubt of this, and as Collilaw, as an estate, seems to have been as early in existence as any in the parish, the mill which would fall naturally to serve its population and that of the lands adjacent to it would be Wiselaw Mill. There is just a suspicion that Oxton territory, which seems to have included at one time all Over Howden and Nether Howden, and perhaps more, may have been thirled to Mount Mill (Oxton Mill), but Wiselaw Mill may have had Bowerhouses and Collielaw and the lands south of it, thirled to it, although it does not fall to be mentioned so early in legal documents as the other two. With such abundance of water-power flowing through the valley, there could be little difficulty in working mills; but while Mount Mill and Wiselaw Mill keep the same stations they have held for several hundred years, the present site of Carfrae Mill does not, perhaps, quite correspond to the exact situation of the original Mill of Carfrae, which from Pont's map, and from other considerations, seems to have been somewhat further up the Kelphope Water, and nearer to Carfrae House.

THE MILL OF OXTON BARONY

The Mill of Ulfkilston (now Mount Mill) is mentioned as early as *cir.* 1206 A.D., in the charter by which Alan, Earl of Galway, conveys 520 acres of Oxton territory to

Kelso Abbey. He says the monks may also possess the mill if they wish it. Perhaps there may have been reasons for their not accepting the mill though the land was welcomed, for we find the Mill of Ulfkilston's tithes confirmed, *cir.* 1220, under the Bishop of St Andrews, William Malvoisine, in whose bishopric Kelso Abbey and its properties were not enrolled. The monks of that Abbey had therefore not thought good to take the mill with the five carucates of Lord Alan of Galway's gift. In the year 1273, Lord William Abernethy owns it, and gives from it to Dryburgh Abbey, two marks annually, to sustain light, that is, candles, before the Virgin's Image there.* About 1300 A.D.† these two marks are confirmed as being "from the gift of Lord Wm. of Abernethy in the Mill of Ulkeston," to the possessions under the superiority of St Andrews diocese, and about 1380‡ Lord William's son and heir, also Lord William Abernethy, gifts to Dryburgh Abbey the whole "Mill of Ulkeston in the valley of Lauder, with multure, and each yearly revenue derived from it, or the value of what is derived from it, in free and perpetual charity, without any reserve, to be held and possessed with all its belongings by them and their successors, without demanding any secular service or exaction."§ The interest of the Lords of Abernethy in Lauderdale had a wider significance when we remember that they were united, according to Wyntoun, with the Black Priest of Wedale (Stow), and Macduff (reputed Thane) of Fife, in the privileges known as "the law of the Clan Macduff," which were to place the King in his chair on coronation day, to lead the vanguard in every battle fought under the Royal Standard, and to

* Dryburgh Charters, No. 175. † *Ibid.*, No. 292. ‡ *Ibid.*, No. 312.

§ *Ibid.*, Nos. 292 and 312.



MOUNTMILL, SITE OF THE "MILL OF ULFKILSTON"

[*face page* 600

have liberty of "girth" to their manslayers within the ninth degree of kinship. Skene quotes it thus :—

" Off this lawch are thre capytale,
That is the Blak Prest off Weddale,
The Thayne off Fyffe, and the thryd syne
Quha ewyre be Lord of Abbyrnethyne." *

Thus from the beginning of the thirteenth to nearly the close of the fourteenth century, the Mill of Ulfkilston has a clear historical record, and seeing that it is well established at that date, it may reasonably be assumed to have been a contemporary of Oxton itself.

When this mill emerges into light again after the troubles of the Reformation, we find in 1588 that the King hands it over in fee-farm to James Cranstoun, legitimate son of Robert Cranstoun de Faluodscheill ("vic. Selkirk"), along with the Templar lands of Chingilkirk. He receives "the Mill of Ugstoun with multures, sequels, and the sucken, with the small meadow, the little haugh of land called the Kirkhaugh."† The "Sucken" is defined in this charter to be "between the Kirk Water on the south, the Holy Water cleuch on the west, the Bains Croft on the north, and the lands of Glengelt on the east." These "multures" extended chiefly to the lands of Oxton and the houses and lands in Channelkirk.‡ Originally, and very probably, the "Sucken" of the mill would embrace a much wider area than this, but when the Sinclairs of Carfrae and the Mundevilles of Glengelt were so influential and numerous as to build chapels within their own walls for their private use, the possession of a mill also

* *Celtic Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 304.

† *Registrum Magni Sigilli*.

‡ *Decreet of Locality*, p. 272.

for the service of the people on their estates may be taken for granted. There is some trace remaining of a mill-lead still visible at Glengelt, though, for reasons that will appear, no mill can have existed there since 1748, by which time it had evidently passed away. * The charter just quoted above is similar to one dated 13th August 1622, upon which Robert Lawson was infeft "All and Whole the lands of Kirktonhill and Muirhouse, with homes, biggings, etc., etc., along with the Mill of Ugston, with the multures," etc. †

From Lawson's hands the mill passes to those of John Henryson, also Laird of Kirktonhill, who is infeft therein 20th December 1643. The lands are described in the same way as in the case of Cranstoun and Lawson.

James Achiesone of Houdon, in 1664, is hereditary proprietor of Ugston, mill and mill lands thereof, and is Superior of said lands wadset by Mr James Cheyne, W.S., to the late John Home and his second wife, heirs under reversion. ‡

The mill comes into the possession of the Borthwicks of Crookston between the dates 1664 and 1682, and perhaps not long after the former year. §

John Robertson, proprietor of Glengelt in 1695, holds also, we learn, the mill and mill lands, and the lands of Ginglekirk. The mill comes first into notice at this date, it would appear, as "Glengelt Mill." From the fact that the same proprietor held Glengelt and the Mill of Ugston, this change of name was quite natural. It caused some confusion about the teinds, however, and especially with reference to the exact area of valuation.

It would seem that the Mill of Ugston next becomes

* *Decreet of Locality*, p. 272.

† *Ibid.*, p. 267.

‡ *Calendar of Laing Charters*.

§ *Decreet of Locality*, p. 271.

the property of Mrs Agnes Hunter, wife of John Borthwick, Crookston, in 1748, and has been retained in that family up to this day. It is now quite a ruin, though the machinery of the mill still rusts within its walls, and has ground meal, we believe, not so many years ago. For just as it may have been the earliest of Channelkirk mills to perform that kindly and necessary office for the early settlers in Upper Lauderdale, so its millstones were the last to cease from labour, when, with the others, it found its occupation gone. All honour to the venerable place! If old time could but give back the varied blythe and bitter scenes which have been transacted within the sound of its cogs and happers, there would be for us, undoubtedly, many a record of deep social interest, as fit, perhaps, to provoke the hearty roar of laughter as to draw the plaintive tear. The quiet peacefulness of the Kirkhaugh now falls around it, both mill and haugh being overshadowed from the heights above them by the deeper associations of the church and churchyard, and while Mountmill Burn, which was wont to dash against its "trows," sweeps past it, unheeding, on its winding way to the Leader, the sparrow, the starling, and the swallow find a fitting nest among the decaying beams of its roofs and floors; and the cowering sheep and cattle gladly shelter beneath its walls from winter's bitter storms and the keen driving rain-blasts of spring. It is now called Mountmill, and has been known by that name since from about 1695, or perhaps earlier, when the name of "Glengelt Mill" struggled with it for pre-eminence. The name seems to be a corruption of Monk Mill, for the place has from time immemorial been associated with the "monks," and there is no "mount" of any special significance near it; and standing as it does in a haugh, the name of *Mountmill* seems meaning

less, and, like other names in the parish, is doubtless due to local peculiarities of pronunciation. The last miller who ground meal in it was James Hope of Kirktonhill.

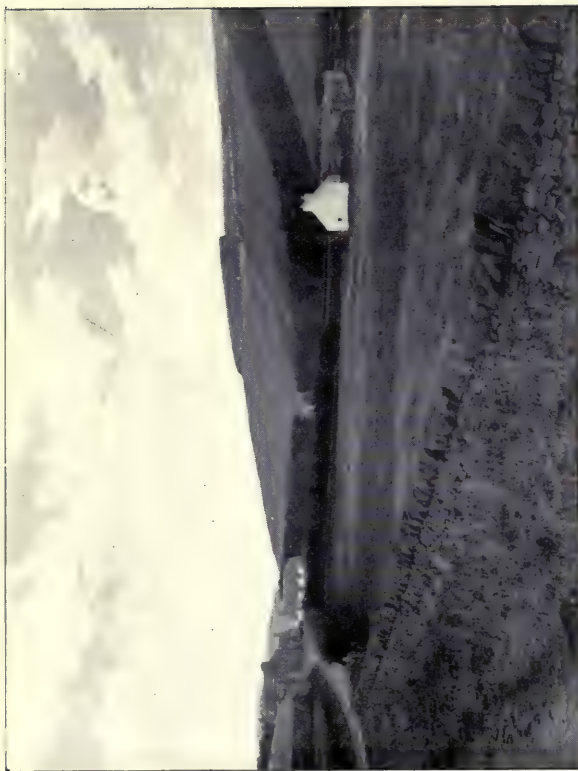
CARFRAE MILL

The Mill of Carfrae first finds mention about 1196 A.D. But, like Carfrae itself, it must have been in existence some considerable time before that year, as when it is then spoken of, it is as a mill in full working order, a distinct part of the Carfrae estate, and yielding both rent and meal to those connected with it. William de Morville, Lord of Lauderdale, when he gifted the Carfrae lands to Henry de Sinclair, who was his Sheriff and the progenitor of the Sinclairs of Herdmanston in Haddingtonshire, drafts a special section of his charter in which the mill has separate concession and confirmation. "Concessi etiam illi ut in feodo suo, Molendinum suum habeat sine multura,"—"I have likewise conceded to him, as in his feu, the Mill he possesses without multure."* As De Morville died in 1196, the grant must have been made before that time. Carfrae Mill is thus, historically, the oldest of Channelkirk Mills; but actually it may not have been so, the Mill of Oxton (Mountmill) being also very old, although it is not mentioned so early.

In a charter already noticed with reference to the Mill of Ulkeston (Oxton), there is a witness who signs himself "Adam Milneknave de Carfrae."† This is in 1380 A.D., and the presence of the apprentice miller of Carfrae Mill is not without interest for us. He signs last in the list, and

* *Diplomata Scotiae*, No. 81; and Father Hay's *Genealogie of the Sinclairs*.

† *Liber de Dryburgh*, No. 312.



CARRAE MILL

perhaps was the humblest of all those who testified. He was so, if we are right in assuming that "Milneknave" is not his surname, but his trade designation. It is true that surnames were becoming more frequent by that time, and in this same charter we find, for example, John Mautalent, Master of Thyrlystane, and Hugh Hayde of Merton; but as only the Sinclairs of Herdmanston, the proprietors, could be territorially designated "de Carfrae," there appears to be no error in our viewing Adam as the veritable *knabe* or *knave*, that is, apprentice of the Mill of Carfrae. Doubtless Adam had his own battle to fight in those days; as his chief and he would find the entire population arrayed against them as legalised oppressors. Doubtless, also, Adam was as sturdy as was the miller to withstand all interference, and was just as likely to give scathe as get it. The mill was life and joy, work and worship, to such men, dwelling as they did in daily resistance to pressure from every circumstance around them. "The poor old slut," Hob Miller would say, "I am beholden to her for my living, and bound to stand by her, as I say to my mill knaves, in right and in wrong."*

The House of Herdmanston having so long retained possession of Carfrae, it was to be expected that its mill would seldom be noticed in written documents, as it is, for most part, when estates change hands that an enumeration is rendered of its various belongings. Not till the year 1545, therefore, is Carfrae Mill again discernible to us.† Queen Mary was then reigning, and she confirms certain properties to Sir John Sinclair of Herdmanston and his spouse Margaret, and amongst these are two parts of the lands and the steading of Carfrae, and of the mill, in the

* Scott's *Monastery*, chap. xiii.

† Great Seal.

bailiary of Lauderdale. Further notices of it, which it is not necessary to quote to any extent, are to be found in the Great Seal, of dates 1569, 1581, 1629, and 1641. These give us nothing materially novel regarding the fortunes of the mill beyond what we know.

At a meeting of the Sub-Commissioners held in Lauder Tolbooth "the tent day of December 1630," James Dodds in Tulleshill, 50 years of age, deponit that the "personadge teinds" of Carphra Mylne will and may be worthe in constant rent, *com. ann.* 11^e mks. (1100 merks). In 1627 Carfrae Mill is described as being "in stok 300 merkis," and yielding parsonage teinds equal to 40 merks, and vicarage teinds to the value of 20 merkis. In 1631 we ascertain from the valuation of the High Commission that the barony of Carfrae comprehended within its territory "Carfrae Mill, and mill lands thereof."

The subsequent history of the mill is practically the same as that of Carfrae itself, until about the middle of last century, when the farm and inn appear to have taken that more pronounced individuality which has been preserved down till our own days. The prosperity of the dale was greatly advanced then by the new road which was made from Lauder to the foot of the Leader by Drygrange, and thence over the new bridge across the Tweed at that place, to Jedburgh. In 1771 Lauder had six annual fairs, and two market days every week, and we are told that "on account of the road from Edinburgh to England by Kelso and Jedburgh being brought through Lauder, it is becomed one of the greatest throwfairs betwixt the Capitall of the United Kingdoms."* Coaches began to run regularly through the dale, and wayside inns became plentiful.

* Lauder Burgh Records.

Carfrae Mill assumed this character, and has long been noted far and wide for its hospitable comforts and substantial travelling advantages. Few country halting places have so many pleasing suggestions of geniality to offer; and the rural surroundings of wood and water, haugh and hill, give a sense of rest and repose to the eye, which is gratefully supplemented by the repast to be enjoyed within.

About the beginning of this century, James Turnbull, Carfraemill, first began to run four coaches between Kelso and Edinburgh, at the same time that Robert Anderson, New Channelkirk Inn, inaugurated a four-wheeled goods waggon drawn by two horses. John Penrith, Pendrich, or Pittendreich, occupied Carfraemill before Turnbull, and was the last to grind meal at the old mill, which gave the place its name. The mill-lead ran from near Rigside, opposite Nether Howden, and was thus worked by the waters of the Leader and not by Kelphope Water or the ancient "Mosburne." John Wilson appears to have preceded Pendrich, and was buried from Carfraemill on the 13th of June 1779. Thomas Burnlies was in it about 1768. From about this time the farm and the inn seem to have been combined; an arrangement which still continues.

After James Turnbull, William Binnie had a lease of it before he went to farm Over Howden. Mr Jamieson succeeded Binnie. A step-son of his named Torrie finished his lease, and George Henderson, recently deceased, followed him in the tenancy. It was for a few years held by Mr Henderson's two sons, Peter and George, who conjointly farmed and conducted the hotel business, but we believe it is now solely in the hands of the former, the latter gentleman having gone to England.

The farm of Carfrae Mill extends to a little more than

120 acres. Nearly all of it is capable of cultivation. The present rental is £150 per annum. The soil generally is of a gravelly nature, but rather clayish on the fields opposite the neighbouring farm of Nether Howden, and peaty for about two acres above the hotel near the Edinburgh road. The rotation of crops is what is called the "fifth shift." About three-fourths of the ground is arable, the rest being kept in permanent pasture. Narrow strips of fir plantations are conveniently planted on the marshes which give both means of shelter and beauty to the place. The farm buildings are not now, as a whole, satisfactory. They are old-fashioned, having been built originally to suit the stabling of horses in the old coaching days. In those times the entire range of buildings, which form a square, was taken up in this way, and was capable of putting up 40 or 50 horses at one time; some improvements on them were made a few years ago, but the greater portion is in a downfalling condition. There is a plentiful supply of water both in the inn and in the steading, but it has to be pumped by hand labour in both places. The quality is very good. Drainage is now satisfactory, some recent attention to the hotel having been much required in this respect, and well bestowed. The land is well adapted for sheep, of which an average of 200 is kept all the year round. Two pairs of horses, and about a score of cattle of all kinds, with poultry in abundance, complete the stock. The markets attended are Newton St Boswells, Dalkeith, and occasionally Edinburgh. The only somewhat notable place on the farm is "Binnie's Sepulchre," called so after the farmer mentioned above. It is in the fir plantation, on the right side of the road leading from Carfraemill to Gifford. Here, in the coaching times, were buried somewhere about 30 horses which had died of

glanders. This fatal disease, affecting the throat and glands of the lower jaw, had broken out, and carried off his stock to that amount in a few days. There was no Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act in those times to remedy matters.

The late farmer, George Henderson—"Old George" as he was familiarly called—was a fine type of "mine host" of a country inn. He could tell a story of bygone times at any hour of the day, and still leave a good hundred more in the wallet for another turn. No person relished them more than the Marquess of Tweeddale, when he would drive that way; and George never ceased to regard him as a very kind and agreeable landlord. Nothing could be more pleasing or appropriate to the view than to see him standing out in the sunny forenoon near the inn door, bent with eild, with an old-fashioned kerchief round his neck and another hanging half out of his pocket, leaning on his staff, while turkeys and ducks and dogs, pigeons, and poultry of all kinds, waddled and strutted and fluttered about him. And the traveller, drawing near, could not fail to observe the rural picture enlarge and emphasise itself, in the converging streams before the house, their sparkle carrying the eye up Kelphope and Leader glens; in the robust bridge that spans the water on his right, the modest hamlet of Thimbleha' sending up its smoke, the picturesque smithy and joinery of Boghall a little apart to the south-east, and the fir-speckled hills rising all round in the background, green to the top, and flecked with straying sheep. And if the deep bass of the threshing mill, with its horses soberly pacing round, and the gentler tones of wind and stream commingled with George's vivacious voice as he earnestly and humorously related a "tale of the days of old," our traveller would be

bound to admit that on one day of his journey, at least, he had found pleasant entertainment. Never, either, was it known to eclipse the good cheer proffered by the landlady. Mr Henderson went the way of all the earth on 27th March 1897.

Servants' hours in summer and winter, their wages and holidays, etc., are the same which generally prevail in the valley. Carfraemill people, of whom there may be a total of ten or twelve souls, usually attend Lauder Parish Church. Mr George Henderson, who had the lease with his brother Peter, was for six years precentor in Channelkirk Church, and was greatly esteemed by all.

WISELAW MILL

There seems to have been, very early, if not perhaps contemporary with Oxtou Mill, sufficient need of a mill near the south end of the parish. Perhaps this justifies our supposition that Wiselaw Mill, the Mill of Nether Howden in later times, has existed from a very remote date. Sir Vivian de Molineaux, with his lands of Collielaw in the thirteenth century, and the Barony of Pilmuir later on, which included the Bowerhouses, may have sent their sheaves to Lauder Mill on the one hand, or Carfrac Mill on the other, but it is not likely. The distance seems to forbid the idea, and we know of no evidence of thirlage in connection with either.

The year when Queen Elizabeth died, and the Scottish James VI. became of England James I. and VI., the year, viz., 1603, is the date which gives us the earliest glimpse of Wiselaw Mill. Quiet enough it is in these nineteenth century days, no doubt, but it must have been a stirring spot

in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the mill wheels went merrily round grinding the grain brought to it by its *suckeners*, and the stalwart millers, as we fancy them, always as ready to joke on friendly terms with the submissive as they were to exact their multures from the refractory. It is known then as "the Mill of Nether Howden," and it must have been so for at least a hundred years earlier. In the same charter of the King which tells us that it belonged at that date to the Kers of Cavers, it is also said that they "had held it for many generations and beyond recollection."* Nether Howden Mill, or Wiselaw Mill as we now know it, may be said, therefore, to begin its historical life about 1500 A.D., though, doubtless, its actual life must have commenced much earlier.

In 1603 it belonged to the Kers of Cavers, as has been said, and it is merely noticed then as "the Mill of Nether Howden and the multures of it." Perhaps we may safely assume that the fortunes of the mill were ever afterwards linked with those of Nether Howden itself, until Charles Binning's time, when Wiselaw Mill and Bowerhouse became connected; and as the owners of that farm have already been traced, we need but mention the names of them here for the sake of clearness. Robert, Lord Roxburgh, acquires both "Ovir and Nethir Howdennis" in 1607, and doubtless the mill would go with them. The ownership of the teinds, however, did not always go with ownership of the land. The Abbey of Kelso still held these. In 1627 the minister of the parish sets down the following item after mentioning Nether Howden. "Waisill Milne in stok ane 100 merkis; personage, 10 merkis; viccarage, 4 lib." About 1632, James Aitcheson, owner of Nether Howden, may be supposed to

* *Registrum Magni Sigilli.*

have held Wiselaw Mill also. The following shows it to be in the same family later in the century :—" At Court, holden at Lauder, 2nd December 1685,—The same day compeired Agnes Edgar outwith the presence of John Atcheson of Houdoun, her spouse, and she outwith his presence acknowledged that she had subscribed ane disposition and renunciation of the mill lands of Waislawmill, and ane heritable bond for five hundred merks: The annual rent of which is to be uplifted and taken out of the lands in Nether Houdoun, which disposition and heritable bond is granted to John Atcheson, elder of Nether Houdoun, and Jean . . . his spouse."* From the Aitchesons it would go into the hands of William Hunter, merchant in Edinburgh, between 1731 and 1742, and about the latter date into those of Charles Binning, Esq., advocate, of Pilmuir. Andrew Ker of Morriston seems to have become possessed of the mill after this, as we are told that James, Earl of Lauderdale, about 1792-3, raised a Process of Reduction of the Locality, and traced his right to his lands and teinds from Ker, and that he was infest "All and Whole the Mill of Nether Howden, called Wiselaw Mill, with the kilns and shealing hills thereto belonging, with the lead and both leadsteals of the said mill, millhead, milldam, and whole liberties, privileges, and pertinents whereof upon the Water of Leader, multure, sucken, and knaveships of the said miln, and particularly the multure, sucken, sequel, knaveship, and thirlage of the town and teinds of Nether Howden, which are all astricted to the said mill; together with that piece of ground of the said lands of Nether Howden lying above and below the said mill, called Wiselaw Mill, upon both sides of the Water of Leader, bounded in manner mentioned in the disposition

* Lauder Burgh Records, vol. iii.

of the said ground by William Hunter of Nether Howden to Mr Charles Binning of Pilmuir, advocate."*

The above-mentioned James, Earl of Lauderdale, was seised in the "Mill of Nether Howden, called Waislymill," 3rd February 1790.† It is still in the hands of Lord Lauderdale.

The name *Wiselaw* is first written "Waisill" in 1627. There is no "law" or "hill" near it, and this part must be considered as corrupt. The place is situated on flat fen ground through which the Leader flows, and it is perhaps impossible to say what the original name meant, except it were the common word "weasel." The Old English of "weasel" is "wesele," and the Anglo-Saxon is "wesle," forms which might easily fall into "Waisill," and "Wisely," or "Wiselaw."

In 1770 Wiselaw Mill was tenanted by William Renton, who had formerly farmed Over Bowerhouse. Mr Brown tenanted it about the beginning of this century. William Armstrong farmed there in 1837, and a considerable time afterwards Mr Wilson followed him, and it is now a "led" farm by Mr Fortune of Midburn. It rents at £51, 5s. 1d., and the house at £5. It is a pleasant residence, lying in the centre of the dale, with the Leader Water flowing past, and flat fields of loamy, arable soil stretching around it. The main road through Lauderdale adjoins it at a distance of a few hundred yards. The mill has long ceased to grind meal and has passed away, but evidence of its existence in the "lead" and "weir" are still visible.

* *Decreet of Locality*, p. 224 ; and *Registrum Magni Sigilli*.

† Sasines.

CHAPTER XXI

SHIELFIELD—OXTON MAINS—MIDBURN—BURNFOOT— PARKFOOT—ANNFIELD—INCHKEITH.

Shielfield—The Erskines—Over and Nether Shielfield—Kirk Land—
Area and Situation ; Oxtan Mains—Proprietors—Area, Situation
and Tenants ; Midburn—Soil and Area ; Burnfoot—Carsemyres
—Ugston Shotts—Tenants ; Parkfoot—Braefoot ; Annfield ;
Inchkeith.

SHIELFIELD, SHIELDFIELD, SHIELFAULD, SCHIELFALD.

It is perhaps not possible to assert positively about what time the place known as Shielfield, part of which lies within Channelkirk Parish, came to receive such designation. From the pastoral character of the district, we surmise it derives the name originally from the sheeling-fold of the sheep, a derivation which colours so many Border place-names. As kirk land, and probably Lauder kirk lands, it was, before the Reformation, in the hands of the Abbot of Dryburgh Abbey ; and, consequently, was directly at the disposal of the Erskine family, who saw the last of the Commendatorship of that religious house. Robert Erskine was commendator in 1531, for example ; Thomas Erskine filled the office in 1541, and was succeeded by David Erskine, the last commendator. After the Reformation, John Erskine, Earl of Mar, received Dryburgh Abbey as part of his

temporal lordship of Cardross; and Shielfield, of course, became his property. The Erskines of Shielfield are a branch of the same family.

The Shielfield of to-day is, as of yore, held by an Erskine. It has never, we believe, been other than a farmhouse.

The Erskines of Shielfield had quite a romantic origin. The Abbot of Dryburgh, James Stewart, about 1523, disputed with the Haliburtons of Mertoun regarding some of the Abbey lands which the latter claimed. The feud was somewhat bitter, and was only settled by the King's arbitration, in 1535, in favour of the Haliburtons. But the vendetta did not quite pass away until 1536, when the eldest son of David Haliburton married the Abbot's daughter, Elizabeth Stewart. They had for offspring an only daughter named Elizabeth Haliburton, who, being her father's heir, was destined by them to marry one of her cousins to preserve the possessions in the family. But the Abbot was determined that the King's arbitration would not be called into the case this time, and that he would have his own way in settling the match. He carried off the bride by force, therefore, and married her to Alexander Erskine, a relative of his own, and from this marriage sprang the Erskines of Shielfield. About 1540 there is mention of two Shielfields: Upper or Over Shielfield, which was called "the Four-merk kirk lands of Lauder"; and Nether Shielfield. Over Shielfield appears to have lain near to Halkersland, somewhat to the south-west of Bowerhouse.

In 1606 we ascertain that Ralph Erskine of Shielfield was "cautioner" for James Haig of Bermerside, who is noticed under "Carfrae." This Erskine was father to the Rev. Henry Erskine, who was, again, father of Ebenezer

Erskine, founder of the Secession Church, and Ralph Erskine, minister of Dunfermline, author of the once famous "Gospel Sonnets." They were "two of a family of fifteen children whom the proud House of Mar need not be ashamed to acknowledge as scions."*

Over and Nether Shielfield are among the lands given, or leased, to Andrew and Margaret Home, in 1560, by David Erskine, Commendator of Dryburgh Abbey. Alexander Home of Manderston is infeft by the same person in 1562, 24th February, in the "kirk lands of Lauder." A Precept of *Clare Constat* infefts Ralph Erskine as heir to Alexander Erskine, his father, in 1580, in "Nethir Scheilfeild," within the regality of Lauderdale. Nether Shielfield is also in Ralph Erskine's hands, along with Carsmyre, (Grassmyres), now extinct, about 1620. In 1606 the "kirk lands of Lauder," Over and Nether Shielfield, are mentioned in an Act of Parliament† as "now annexed to his hienes crowne," and were given by the King to the Earl of Mar, though the Commendator was to have from them the "Rentis, proventis, and emoluments whatsoever." Lord Mar, in 1610, has conceded to him "the kirk lands of Lauder, the lands of Ovir and Nethir Scheilfeld (or Scheilfeildis, Wgtoun (or Wgstoun), Banglaw, Barnis," etc., etc., the kirk lands of Mertoun, Maxtoun, Lesudden, Chingilkirk, Lanark, etc., etc.‡

The Sub-Commissioners who undertook in 1630 to assist the High Commissioners on Teinds met at Lauder, and John Erskine compears and witnesses regarding his property of Nether Shieldfield in March 1631. This is probably the same John Erskine who, with his son, was wounded by Cromwell's soldiers in 1651. They, the soldiers, were

* Cunningham's *Church History*, vol. ii., p. 287.

† IV., c. 91, 343.

‡ Great Seal.

quartered at Thirlstane Castle then, and went plundering all around the neighbouring district, and encountered Erskine and his sons near Dryburgh.

Over and Nether Shielfield are returned in 1637 as being heired by David Erskine, son of Henry Erskine of Cardross, but in 1638 John Home, merchant in Edinburgh, is heir to his father, John Home, merchant burgess in Edinburgh, in the Four-merk lands of Lauder, called Over Shielfield, near the burgh of Lauder. The Erskines seem to have retained the superiority of Over Shielfield. James Erskine of Scheilfield is designated a "worthie and discreet" gentleman in 1658. Over Shielfield is in the hands of the Kers of Morriestoun by 1687, passes to the Binnings of Pilmuir, and from them, in 1777, becomes the property of James, Earl of Lauderdale.

About 1779 we find Nether Shielfield in the hands of Sir John Scott of Ancrum. The Rev. James Erskine of St Boswells, who was married to Henrietta Scott, held it before 1788, and he disposes it in that year. His trustees are seised in the same property, 6th January 1790. They are joined in the interest of it by his children, Charles Patrick, Christian, and William Erskine; Mr Ogilvie of Chesters; The Bank of Scotland, Kelso; his widow; and Mr Cunningham, tenant, Dryburgh; all of whom are seised in it and other properties, in January 1793, in security of sums of money, on bond and disposition by Henry Erskine, 22nd May 1792, whose interest in it still holds in 1795, when he is Captain Henry Erskine of the Edinburgh Battalion, and in 1802, when he is Major Henry Erskine of Shielfield. The gallant Major died in 1819, and was succeeded by his brother, Charles Erskine, who died in 1825. James Erskine, son of Charles, became possessor of

Shielfield, and held it till 1875, and was succeeded by the present owner, Charles Erskine, Esq., The Priory, Melrose.

It must have been about the year 1862 that Shielfield entered the parish of Channelkirk to the extent of £11 rental, as Mr Erskine pays stipend in that year to Channelkirk minister. In the Cess and Valuation Roll of the parish for 1853 Shielfield is not included. In 1863 "Mr James Erskine, Melrose," is assessed as a heritor in this parish, and as he also pays stipend in 1862, it must have been furth of the lands of Shielfield.

The whole size of the farm is 159 acres. It is of a light, sandy soil, and occupies a pleasing situation in the heart of the valley. It has a good water-supply, and the county highways touch its fields at several points. There are eleven souls on the farm at present. It is farmed by Alexander Young, and George, his son, both Lauderdale men, as the father of Alexander was before him. They entered the farm on the 26th of November 1888. Both are members of Channelkirk Church. Descendants of the Hogarth family, who were in Oxtou Mains, were tenants before the Youngs.

OXTON MAINS

Ugston, or Oxtou Mains (*Mains*, abbreviated from *Domains*), is noticed in the account of Oxtou down to the year 1742. It is then in the possession of the Somervilles of Airhouse. It seems to be designated in law instruments as "the Forty-shilling Lands of Ugston," but we give that opinion as only the clearest which we have been able to form on the matter. It is to be remembered that Oxtou lands, or "territory," from being originally very wide in extent, have in the course of the last three hundred years been absorbed

by other surrounding properties, and chiefly by those of Airhouse and Justicehall. The town and lands of Ugston, with its pendicles of Luckenhaugh and Pickleraw, the Forty-shilling lands of Ugston, the Temple lands of Ugston, etc., etc., are all, therefore, in the phrases of the sasines, charters, dispositions, and such like documents, said to be "parts" of both Airhouse and Justicehall estates. But as far as Oxtion Mains is concerned, and actually as a farm, it does not seem to have ever left the Somervilles of Airhouse, from the time of their acquiring it till it came into the ownership of the Earl of Lauderdale. The difficulty of defining these various properties, and the "parts" which Airhouse and Justicehall severally held of them, is apparent in the law cases which were brought before the Court of Session in the early years of this century, regarding the proportion of teinds which each property in the parish should contribute to the augmentations of stipend. For purposes of teinding, Airhouse and Justicehall were held to have each a *half* of Oxtion town and lands, including the pertinents and properties above noticed,* and in Sir John Callander's sasine of Justicehall estate, it is observed that the "Forty-shilling Lands of Ugston, with the pertinents sometime belonging to the Monastery of Dryburgh, *lie among* the said lands of Ugston."† This is equivalent to a confession that any definition of them was now impossible, all boundaries having become obliterated in the lapse of time.

The Somervilles of Airhouse, in 1792-93, grant a feu from the lands of Ugston Mains to George Mitchell in Ugston, "of 5200 square feet of Ugston Mains, with houses on it on the west side of the road leading through Oxtion towards Lauder," and sasine is granted again in 1818, when

* *Locality*, p. 248.

† Sasines.

George's wife, Margaret Lambert, obtains a liferent of the same.* In 1858, along with all Airhouse lands, it became the property of James, Lord Lauderdale, and it is still in the hands of the Lauderdale family.

The farm steading occupies a quiet, sequestered situation on the north side of the Clora Burn, a few hundred yards west-south-west from Oxtou village, on slightly rising ground, and has a pleasant air of rural felicity in all its surroundings. The farm is by no means a large one, extending only to 100 acres of lightish soil, cultivated on the fifth rotation, and carrying 100 sheep and about a score of cattle. The approaches to it are good, the buildings are in comfortable repair, the water-supply is all that can be desired, and drainage fairly satisfactory. The farmhouse, with its Swiss-like roof overhanging the gables, strikes the eye as picturesque and inviting, and affords a restful contrast to the rigidly stiff wall outlines of the usual "farm-toon." There are nine souls on the farm at present, and it is tenanted by Mr William Elliot. He entered on Whitsunday 1897, and pays a rental of £110 yearly. Hinds' wages are 15s. 6d. weekly, with free house, 800 yards of potatoes, and coals driven free. Their hours are ten in summer, and in winter from daylight till dark as a rule, with one hour and a half to dinner. Mr Elliot was born in Edinburgh, and came into Lauderdale for the first time when he obtained the lease of "The Mains," though his forbears are Borderers, his father having been born near Selkirk. He is a member of Channelkirk Church. In the early years of this century it was tenanted by Mr Hogarth. Alexander Black followed him, and is now a prosperous man in Canada. He occupied it about the year 1835. Mr Wilson, long in Southfield, followed him, but his

* Sasines.

mother and sisters alone resided in it. Thomas Wilson farmed it after him, and was father-in-law to the farmer who followed in the lease, viz., James Bell, of Threeburnford, recently deceased.

MIDBURN

Midburn Farm lies on the southern boundary of the parish, the major part of it being in the parish of Lauder. The Mid Burn runs through its lands and gives the place its name. It is bounded by the lands of Bowerhouse, Collielaw, Shielfield, Blackburn, and the camp lands of Blackchester. Its land was anciently included within the larger properties lying around it, and embraced in the barony of Pilmuir. In 1627 the minister mentions "every rowme" in Channelkirk parish which contributed stipend, and "Midburn" is not among the number. It probably came into existence about the end of the seventeenth century. When the Kers of Morrieston relinquished Collielaw and Bowerhouse in 1722 to Charles Binning (Benin), Midburn lands seem to have been part of these. It is not mentioned as a farm in Channelkirk in 1742, but in 1762 it is noted along with Over Shielfield, Pilmuir, Blackchester, Halkerlaw, and Wiselaw Mill, as comprising the barony of Pilmuir.* It is then in the possession of Adam Fairholm, banker, Edinburgh. In 1777 James, Earl of Lauderdale, has disposition and assignation made in his favour of "All and Whole the Lands and Barony of Pilmuir," which included :—

1. The Five-Pound Land of Pilmuir.
2. Blackchester.
3. Muirhouse of Halkerland.

* *Acts and Decrees*, vol. 597.

4. Little Laurence Lands.
5. Scots Croft.
6. Collielaw.
7. Bowerhouse (Over Bowerhouse).
8. Wiselaw Mill.
9. Sucken and Sequels, Multure and Thirlage of Nether Howden and Over Shielfield.

We may observe here that most of these places were included in Galashiels Burgh of Barony in 1599.*

From its nearness to Blackchester, Collielaw, and Bowerhouse, we may reasonably assume that Midburn was included, as the less within the greater, in the above list, under one or other of these properties. For the same reason it is not mentioned for itself in the "Cess and Valuation Roll" for 1853, nor is it said to give teind to Channelkirk stipend under "Midburn." In the Valuation Roll for 1898-99 the rent of the farmhouse and that portion of the farm which lies in this parish—about 47 acres—is set down at £53, 19s. The whole extent of the farm amounts to 154 acres. The soil is variable, some of it being heavy and not easily workable, and other parts of a light, shallow nature. The roads to it are county roads, and adjoin the steading. It is worked on the fifth rotation, and is all arable. There is need of plantation shelter, if it were possible, as there is no growing wood on the farm. The buildings, farmhouse, and steading are not very presentable, being old and in need of improvements. The water-supply is not very convenient, and has to be hand-carried from a distance. Drainage is fairly good, but the drains being 3½ ft. deep, do little good, comparatively, where the soil is heavy. The market of Earlston is occasionally attended by the farmer, but in general, all fat cattle and sheep are sent to Newcastle, and the grain sold privately.

* *History of Selkirkshire*, vol. ii., p. 484.

The hours of labour in summer are from six o'clock morning till eleven forenoon; then from one o'clock till six evening. In winter, from morning light till darkness sets in, with an hour and a half for dinner.

Robert Fortune, the present tenant, entered at Whitsunday 1880 on a nineteen years' lease. There are nine souls on the farm. Mr Fortune also farms Wiselaw Mill. He is married and has a family of six sons and one daughter. He is a member of Channelkirk Church.

There is a camp in the neighbourhood of Midburn called Blackchester; and a stone cross, without any inscription, lies near the steading, both of which are noticed in the chapter on "Antiquities."

The steading stands 649 ft. above sea-level, and the "Burn," from which it derives its name, is also a part of the southern boundary of Channelkirk parish which divides it from Lauder. It is situated $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Lauder Burgh and $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Channelkirk Church.

BURNFOOT (*Carsemyres*)

This farm steading is perhaps the most modern of all the places of the parish. It seems to have come into existence about thirty years ago, and is the descendant of Old Burnfoot, which stood nearer the "Burn" side. Old Burnfoot itself was modern, and like New Channelkirk and others, sprang up about the end of last century. Mr Thomson, Mr Bertram, Mrs Lees, whose husband was killed by a fall from his gig, Mr Davidson (originally hailing from Melrose), farmed it successively during this century. Mr Walkinshaw, who was in Parkfoot, followed Mr Davidson, and in his time Ugston Shotts (the ruins of which are yet to be seen, and which was then farmed by Mr Andrew Sharp, farmer of Justicehall,

and after him by his son), was joined in the lease with Burnfoot. Since then, Burnfoot has been the principal steadings, and Ugston Shotts has decayed. The farmer of the latter place in 1800 was William Murray. John Gilchrist is the present tenant, and one of the parish councillors.

The ancient predecessor of Burnfoot was *Carsemyres*. It has been long extinct, only one tree, at the junction of the turnpike road with Howden Burn, now marking its site.

Carsemyres, like Shielfield, was for long under Dryburgh Abbey. David Erskine, the last Commendator, grants Ralph Erskine, son of Alexander Erskine, the founder of the Shielfield Erskines, a considerable amount of property in 1580, and among the rest, "that part of the lands called the Kersmyre with Nethir Scheelfeild."

In 1535 we ascertain from the rental of Dryburgh that "Carsmyr" was one of the "annualis," and paid to the Abbot 6s. 8d., a statement which is renewed in the years 1540 and 1545.

In 1634 Nether Shielfield and Kersmyre are "fewit to Raff Erskine." This "Raff" was the ancestor of the well-known Ralph and Ebenezer Erskine, who were so much heard of in dissenting literature during last century.

From this time downwards, Carsemyres, or "Grassmyres," as it was colloquially termed, remained with the Erskines. In 1788 it is in the hands of James Erskine of Shielfield, minister of St Boswells. There is at this date also an "Upper Carsemyres"; which was "Ugston Shotts" latterly, but which never seems to have been owned by the Erskines.

When Mr Justice of Justicehall was infest in Over Howden in 1800, he also obtains "Upper and Nether Carsemyres"; all three are said to be "parts of the barony of Trabrown," and the Charter of Confirmation and Precept of

Clare Constat is by "the Commissioners of Robert Scot of Trabrown," and dated 24th September 1785. The last date denotes when Alexander Justice of Justicehall, brother to the above, received the two "Carsemyres" and Over Howden. This century's changes for them may be summed up briefly as follows:—

In 1842 we find Lord Polwarth (Henry Francis Hepburn Scott) infest in these lands as heir to his father, Lord Hugh Hepburn Scott of Polwarth; in 1844 they pass to James, Earl of Lauderdale; and in 1850 they came into Mrs Niddrie's possession, where they now rest. "Grassmyres" was still visible to the Ordnance Surveyors in 1857, but it has now gone the way of all things, the old tree alone left standing as a memorial of days long ago. Burnfoot is its modern representative, and is a comfortable and prosperous farm. As the ancient name implies, the lands are mostly carse lands (the Welsh *cors*, bog, fen; and Anglo-Saxon *myre*, swampy ground), originally, no doubt, given over to marshy reedy growths, but now, although always flat, yet fertile and profitable. Farm and farmhouse rent at £150 per annum, the shootings of Over Howden and Burnfoot letting at £15. The farm is all arable ground, and the fields are easily approachable for cart traffic. It is well supplied with water, is well drained and fenced, and the steading is in good repair. The latter stands on the side of the road which leads southwards from Oxton to Lauder, almost midway between Oxton and Collielaw, and was built, as has been suggested above, and according to our authority, about thirty years ago. There are no notable places or incidents, so far as we are aware, in connection with it.

Ugston Shotts, to which reference has been made above as originally "Upper Carsemyres," was, as we have seen, a

"led" farm for some time, and was united with Burnfoot during the time when Mr Walkinshaw farmed there. Before his time, about the beginning of this century, it was farmed by Mr Wright. Mr Pringle followed him in the lease, then the Sharps, father and son, grandfather and father of the present tenant of Over Howden. Pringle seems to have been the last tenant who actually resided in Ugston Shotts.

PARKFOOT

This place is noticed in Chapter XVII, under "Air-house."

BRAEFOOT

Braefoot is at present situated at the junction of the Manse road and the road leading to Mountmill, and consists of one dwelling-house occupied by the gamekeeper for the Kirktonhill district. It was built in 1843. Originally, Braefoot was a hamlet of four or five dwelling-houses, standing almost due east from the present site, on the rising ground to the east side of the Manse road. During last century, it accommodated a smith-shop and joiner-shop with several families. This is supported by the variety of names noted as having been borne by those who were buried from it, viz., Mary Alexander in 1763, and John Thomson in 1765, while James Scott was smith there in 1766, and did the work connected with the kirk and manse. James Pringle was "wright" or joiner there in 1770, and fitted up a new tent for the accommodation of the people and ministers at sacrament time, for which he was paid £70, 4s. Scots, or £5, 17s. in our present money. Mr Reid, grandfather to the blacksmith now in

Oxton of that name, was, when a young man, blacksmith in Braefoot. It was a custom, nearly seventy years ago, for the young men to play a game which consisted principally of rolling a heavy leaden ball, like a cannon ball, along the ground with their hands, and Braefoot was one goal, and Peasmountford the other. Two parties contended, as in the games of "shinty" or football. The present yearly rental or value of Braefoot is £10, 10s., and James Thomas Pringle, Torwoodlea, is liferenter. It stands on Mountmill lands.

ANNFIELD

Annfield, a quiet, solitary, licensed house at an intermediate distance between Glengelt and Carfrae Mill on Edinburgh road, has no claim to that antiquity which is a characteristic of so many places in the parish. It is of the same age as the public road which passes it, and which was opened in the year 1832. The name is said to have been given to it by the proprietor, out of regard to a much respected sister. It has always been a licensed inn, and since it had existence, three tenants have held it up to the present day, viz., Thomas Crooks, William Chalmers, and the present tenant, James Robertson. It is rented at £12 per annum, and is the property of John Borthwick, Esq. of Crookston.

INCHKEITH

This farm, a very small part of which lies in this parish, is situated on its extreme south boundary behind Collielaw Hill, and in the vicinity of Longmuir Moss. It is mentioned about 1762 in connection with the Wide-

open Common Case, but nothing notable relating to Channelkirk seems to be connected with it. It is the property of Lord Lauderdale, and is farmed by George and William Anderson. The rent of the part in this parish amounts to £2, 5s.

CHAPTER XXII

EXTINCT PLACES

Sumuindnight—Venneshende—Langsyde—Channelkirk Village—Muirhouse—Peasmountford—Pickieston—Old Collielaw—The Dass—Bain's Croft—Rigside—Midlie—Southfield—Butterdean—Longhope—Hillhouse—Dodfoot—Carfrae Common—Carfraegate—Upper Carfraegate—Headshaw Hauch—Ugston Shotts—Ten Rigs—Walker's Croft—Oxton Brig End—Rednick—Alderhope—Rauchy—Longcleuch—Herniecleuch—Hazeldean—The King's Inch—Malt-Barns.

1. *Sumuindnight*, about 1196 A.D., lay west from Kelphope neighbourhood, on the broad moor of Soutra Hill. From certain indications it appears to have been near the house now called "The Den." It was a boundary mark of Carfrae lands. The name is a singular one, and is clearly a corruption of some expression like St Moinenn's Height, regarding which we can now only conjecture.*

2. *Venneshende* is of the same date, and is also mentioned in a similar connection. It appears to have been located about Friarsknowes, or perhaps nearer Lammer Law. If the spelling be southern, it might mean Fen's End, or End of the Fen. In Kent "*fen*" would be "*ven*," and *hende* for *ende* was good Anglo-French. It may have been so pronounced by the southern followers of De Morville, and who came north under his ægis. "Fen-land" is moorland,

* Father Haye's *Genealogie of the Sinclairs*.

bogland, or marshland, but is usually applied to low, level ground. The wide heathery plateau of the Lammer Law may have suggested the connection.*

3. *Langsyde*, about 1327, referred to as "above" the Kirk Haugh at Mountmill. We are inclined to believe that its situation must have been that of Butterdean, near Airhouse.†

4. *Channelkirk Village*, which is yet represented by a shepherd's house, is the spot to which the *Irish Life* of St Cuthbert points as being the abode of the "pious man in Lothian," in whose care the boy-saint was placed about 630-35. No trace of its ancient name is now discoverable. A naked remnant of old walls which still lines the road on either side, with here and there a door jamb still visible in the dykes, reminds us that the place was a flourishing one, and inhabited not many years ago. Opposite the manse, to the north-west, in the middle of the glebe, stood a row of cottages which have all disappeared since the middle of this century. On the north side of the road adjoining the manse stood the inn where Sir John Cope breakfasted on the morning of his defeat at Prestonpans, and where Prince Charlie's soldiers refreshed themselves and bivouacked on their way south. The village school occupied the site of ground on the west side of the present manse green. A farmhouse stood near the above inn, and was called "Old Channelkirk" when "New Channelkirk" came into existence at the end of last century. James Wilson was farmer in it about 1670. George Thomson was tenant in it in 1816; and the Rev. John Brown and he used to have "rippetts." Thomson left for Langat, and was followed in Old Channelkirk Farm by Robert Hogg. Mr Hogg was

* Haye's *Genealogy of the Sinclairs*.

† *Liber de Dryburgh*, Charter No. 185.

the last tenant. He discovered the children's bodies in the Conduit (now Bairnie's Conduit), where the corpse-lifters had placed them. His death was unfortunate and mysterious. Coming from Blackshiels one night over Soutra Hill, he wandered off his road into Lindean ravine. He was found in the water next day, dead. There was no sign of violence. Old Channelkirk Farm is mentioned in Rev. Walter Keith's time. It was then a combination of farm and hotel, or "public-house."

5. *Muirhouse* stood somewhere near Kirktonhill, but, like Langside, has left little trace of its whereabouts. The region of Soutra was called in general *Muirhouseland* in 1532, and perhaps the house, or farm, may have been located further north on Soutra Hill on the old road which crossed Soutra; and from its solitary situation would naturally give its designation to that district in the language of travellers and the people of Upper Lauderdale. It was long incorporated with Kirktonhill estate, but except in law instruments it seems to have become extinct before the beginning of last century. There is a Muirhouse and the site of Muirhouse Castle, near Stow, but it cannot be either of these.*

6. *Peasmountford*.—This place, which lives as a memory, but not as a dwelling, in the recollection of our oldest inhabitant, stood on the side of the present Oxton road, near the bridge which spans Mountmill Burn. The railway track crosses the highway near to its site. When there was no bridge at this place, a ford was necessary, but why it was called Peasemount Ford does not appear. No trace of it now exists.†

7. *Pickieston*, from, probably, *Pixie's stone*, as such stones,

* See "Kirktonhill."

† *Decreet of Locality*.

so-called locally, have been found near it, appears to have been a croft, or a row of cottar's houses near to Heriotshall. It is now more a locality than a site, and is in the district west from Heriotshall steading, on the Oxtou road. It is long ago obliterated.*

8. *Old Colliclaw*.—See "Colliclaw."

9. *The Dass*.—This place was long used as the "ootby shepherd's house" for Nether Howden Farm. It was inhabited as late, at least, as 1861, when Andrew Lindsay inhabited it. The name is derived from *deas*, *dess*, or *deis*, which denotes any raised or terrace-like ground. It stood half-a-mile north from Inchkeith Farm, and a mile south-west from Over Bowerhouse. The last corpse "snatched" from Channelkirk Churchyard was that of a stout woman who lived and died at the Dass.† The last occupant was William Lindsay, shepherd, who left for Carse o' Gowrie about 1865, to farm.

10. *Bain's Croft*, about 1588, was the northern boundary of the "Sucken" of Oxtou Mill, now Mountmill.‡

11. *Rigsid*, about 1581, was included in Carfrae lands, and was in existence and inhabited about the beginning of this century. It stood on the west side of the Edinburgh road, above Carfrae Mill, almost opposite to Nether Howden.§

12. *Midlie*, about 1471 "*Medil*," was included in Carfrae lands originally, and was afterwards associated with Headshaw property. It stood about three-quarters of a mile north from Headshaw steading on the old road in that locality. In 1627 "Midlie is in stok ane 100 merkis; personage, 20

* Great Seal.

‡ Great Seal.

† Kirk Records.

§ *Ibid.*

merkis ; vicarage, 20 lib. It is sometimes called "Midlem" and "Middlemass."*

13. *Southfield* is a decayed farm on Airhouse lands, overlooking Threeburnford. Its walls are still standing, and are partly in use for farm purposes, but it is no longer tenanted. It is one of the small holdings which came into existence during the last century, but has sunk under the tendency of the times to have all farms large. James Wilson was farmer in it in 1816, and was still there in 1842. He is remembered as being fond of a joke. He would enter the field and converse with his workpeople, then go down to the foot of it, hang his hat up so that it could be seen, and steal round by the dyke to meet them at the top unawares, and would find them all idle and talking probably, under the belief that he with his hat were both at the other end of the field.

14. *Butterdean* may have been the ancient *Langsyde*. It is occasionally called Airhouse Mains. It is now a roofless ruin, but seems to have held a few families in olden times. George Lyall was farmer in it in 1816. He left it to keep a public-house in Oxton, in the house at present occupied and owned by James N. Reid, where he died. Robert Tait, grandfather of the present Taites of Oxton, was its next tenant, and after him, George Waldie, who died recently at Addinston. It fell ruinous afterwards.

15. *Longhope*.—In the lapse of years some names, like "Oxton," are contracted : but names like Airhouse and Longhope prove that a lengthening process is also at work. Longhope in the 12th century was *Langilde* or *Langald*, afterwards shortened into *Langat*. The original *Langilde* is probably from the Norse *gill* (Lang-gill), meaning a narrow valley

* Great Seal ; *Acta Dominorum Auditorum*.

containing a stream. In all likelihood it was the name first given to the Kelphope Glen, which is properly a long narrow valley with the Burn—the ancient Mosburne—running through it. The house built at the correi or ravine to which the name “Langat” is now restricted was to all appearance the only one in the glen in 1196, and the glen would naturally be called Langild just as it is now for the same reason called Kelphope. George Thomson, who was tenant in Old Channelkirk in 1816, came to Langat afterwards. One of his sons, named John, was a minister, and sometimes preached in Channelkirk, but he never got a kirk in the patronage days. He is remembered as “nae great haund, though guid eneuch!” The father died in 1831. After his tenancy, the croft or farm was made into a “led” farm along with Addinston.

16. *Hillhouse Dodfoot* stood between the two waters of Kelphope and Hillhouse nearly a half mile from Carfraemill. John Somerville lived in it between the years 1776 and 1796. It was a noted place in the district for shebeening, and a rendezvous of gaiety for the mirth-makers.

17. *Carfrae Common*.—Passing over Soutra Hill by the Redbraes, the old ruin of this place is still visible from the road, lying on the north side of Headshaw Water—the *Leader* proper. The loneliness of such a residence, especially in winter, is apparent to the view. In 1837 it was occupied by Robert Lindsay, shepherd, grandfather of the present Lindsays in Carfrae, who were all born there, and after his time his son occupied it. He was its last occupant.

18. *Carfraegate* was originally two dwelling-houses on the old Edinburgh road opposite Annfield Inn. The garden enclosure and five or six elm trees still mark the place. It was for some time in use as a public-house. Joseph

Glendinning was in it in 1839. John Robertson, forrester, was the last occupant. It stood a considerable time after the new road was made through Lauderdale in 1832, which shifted the traffic away from it, and it has been occupied by people still living in Oxton.

Upper Carfraegate is not one of the extinct places in the parish, being yet occupied as a dwelling-house, and stands midway between Carfrae and Headshaw steadings.

19. *Headshaw Hauch* stood on Headshaw Burn, near to the reservoir or source of Oxton new water-supply, a little above New Channelkirk Farm-steading, where the ruin of it may yet be seen. It was occupied in 1842, and perhaps a few years later.

20. *Ugston Shotts* was formerly *Upper Carsemyres*, and the remains of its walls still stand in the corner of one of Burnfoot fields, a little to the north-west of Burnfoot steading. Burnfoot took its place, and was built nearer the turnpike.

21. *Ten Rigs* was taken down twenty years ago, and the stones used for dykes. It was a small croft which stood near Midburn, on the farm road which connects the roads of Midburn and Bowerhouse. Some of the present generation had their first "fee" in it as lads.

22. *Walker's Croft* was in existence in 1764, but seems to have speedily vanished as a name after that date. It was somewhere near to Oxton village, but its exact locality cannot be determined. Perhaps it was a variant name for "Luckencroft," the south-west field bounding Oxton.

23. *Oxton Brig End* was a small crofting farm, situated on the Clora Burn at the west side of Oxton Bridge. Some old walls yet show its place. It was also known as

Airhouse Burnside. It was farmed as late in the century as 1842 by Alexander More.

24. *Rednick* or *Redwick*, mentioned so frequently with Kirktonhill estate, was situated, perhaps, a mile direct north from that steading. William Cranston, a weaver, was, we believe, the last occupant, about 1783. His family were in poor circumstances for some reasons, and he himself never seems to have been in good health.*

25. *Alderhope* was a hamlet which stood on the Armit Water in the Longcleuch. It has only disappeared within recent years. David Davidson, belonging to Haddington, kept school there for several years. He published a volume of poems in 1834, and thus sings the praises of the parish's west boundary:—

“O Armit is a burnie clear,
And unto me shall still be dear;
While I through life my course shall steer
I'll aye mind Armit Water.

It is shut up in a deep glen,
An' few its beauties even ken;
Yet I my feeble voice will len'
In praising Armit Water.

But O! it's sweet, it's sweet to see,
The peaceful shepherd on the lea,
Conversin' with the Ane in Three
On the banks o' Armit Water.”†

The Armit rises in Hen's Moss, near Lowrie's Den, flows past Cross Chain Hill, King's Inch, Makimrich, Gilston, onwards by Crookston to the Gala Water. It is reputed a good trouting stream.

* Kirk Records.

† *Reminiscences of Haddington County.*

26. *Rauchy* stood north from Kirktonhill steading, on Hartside land, on the upland rising from Rauchy Burn. The name, which was "Rashie" in 1762, is a corruption of Rae-shaw, or Roe-shaw, the haunt of the roe, and corroborates the character of the district expressed in the adjoining farm of *Hart's Head* (Hartside). It was occupied by shepherds within living memory.

27. *Longcleuch* was the "ootby shepherd's" place for Hartside. It is often mentioned with Nether Hartside property. It is situated on the Armit Water, half a mile north-west from the top of Hartside Hill.

28. *Herniecleuch*.—See under "Carfrae."

29. *Hazeldean*.—See under "Carfrae."

30. *King's Inch*.—This place is practically extinct in regard to the uses to which it was put in bygone days. It is a small bit of ground situated on the Girthgate at a distance of about half-a-mile south of Soutra Isle, and has an appearance quite distinct from the surrounding moor. It was No Man's Land, and was the resting-place from time immemorial of drovers when taking their cattle to and from market. Tinkers, gipsies, muggers, and tramps of every name claimed the same right to it, and within living memory, it is vouched to us, as many as thirty tents have been seen pitched on it at one time. Perhaps, at certain seasons, as many as one hundred people would temporarily colonise the "Inch." Many a tinker's child has first seen the light there. When, however, it was no longer used by drovers and respectable traders, and fell to the sole occupation of the "mugger" multitude, it was found to be a mere centre for mischief and plunder, and as speedily as possible the "Inch" was annexed to civilisation by being incorporated within the neighbouring

estate. The name seems to be derived from *insula*, an island, or what is encompassed or surrounded: an isle; as the North Inch of Perth; Inchkeith. "North-Insulam de Perth" is a phrase used in Fordun for North Inch. And belonging to no one, it would naturally fall to be considered the *King's Insulam*, or abbreviated *King's Ins* or *Inch*.

31. *Malt-Barns*.—There is a place of this name still in existence, and situated opposite Boghall, but the original *Malt-Barns* stood farther down Leader Water, at the junction of Nether Howden and Carfraemill lands.

Other places, no longer inhabited, if not noticed here, will be found under the account of the lands on which they stood.

CHAPTER XXIII

ANTIQUITIES

The Camps : At Channelkirk—At Kirktonhill—At Hillhouse—At Carfrae ;
Carfrae Peel—Ancient Burial—Bowerhouse—Over Howden—
Nether Howden—The Roman Road—The Girthgate—Resting House
—Holy Water Cleuch—Stone Cross at Midburn—Curious Memorial
Stone at Threeburnford—The Kirk Cross and Sundial—Old Roads.

THE few objects of antiquarian interest in this parish which naturally obtrude themselves first on the attention of the curious, are, from their bulk and prominence, the ancient camps or forts. We are told by Dr Christison that "nearly 1100 can still be traced in Scotland, testifying to the significant part they must have played in the early history of our country."* It appears there are twenty-three, and perhaps one or two more, in Lauderdale alone, and ten or twelve of these are either within Channelkirk parish, or closely adjoining its boundaries. In provincial language they are called "Rings," and are variously traced to a "Roman" or "British" origin. There are few who give to them any attention at all but feel confident also in pronouncing a definite opinion regarding their genesis and purpose. The profounder students are more cautious. "There is no class of ancient remains within our country," says Dr Joseph Anderson, "of which we

* *Early Fortifications*, p. 111.

have less precise knowledge than the hill forts. The reason of this is not their rarity, because they form, perhaps, the most numerous and widely distributed class of ancient structures now existing. But the ordinary methods of obtaining precise knowledge of their form, structure, and contents have not been applied to them, and the ordinary agencies of destruction incident to a high condition of social and agricultural progress have long been busy amongst them. They differ essentially from all other constructions, because they are adaptations of naturally elevated sites for defensive purposes. The natural site is the defensive position, and the fort itself derives its form, and in many cases also its character of construction, from the form and nature of the eminence or promontory on which it is built." * This puts the case clearly and concisely, and explains the purpose, the position and why chosen, and the reason for the variation in shape of these forts. Perhaps there was one on every considerable hill in this parish. Airhouse Hill and Headshaw Hill are the only exceptions, and it is probable that cultivation may have obliterated those which existed there, although obliteration is not such an easy matter as it is sometimes said to be. For even when the ground is ploughed level, the growths above it betray the buried contour, and pencil out the features of ditch and mound as clearly as if the fort had remained untouched. This is distinctly seen in the cases of Carfrae and Over Howden, where the "rings" on the braird or young grass puzzle the ploughman as he takes his evening stroll in their neighbourhood. But no one rambling through Upper Lauderdale need fear to be presented only with pencil-marking on the surface of

* *Scotland in Pagan Times*, p. 260.

the ground, as his reward for fort-hunting. Most of the existing forts there would yet give noble account of themselves were the times and circumstances so direful and pressing as to call-in their help for defence purposes in a hand-to-hand struggle. Many hundreds of men could easily ambush in Addinston Fort, or in that of Kirktonhill, or of Bowerhouse, or of Hillhouse. And nearly all the others have their wall-mounds sufficiently well raised to afford grateful shelter to shivering sheep and lambs during the trying spring months. Lauderdale, indeed, is specially fortunate in several specimens which afford every advantage for investigation.

It were needless to recapitulate here all the arguments which have been put forth by able and discriminating theorists in support of their particular views of the origin and use of these structures. All this has been better done in books and treatises too numerous to mention, and bearing directly on this subject. We simply state our conviction that these forts primarily served defensive purposes. Enclosures for cattle, or places of worship they may also have been, but it seems impossible to set aside the strongest interrogation in the inquiry unless that one providing for self-preservation is first answered. All else is secondary to this. Human life is the most valuable thing on the earth, and man loves it most, and makes it his foremost consideration. Worship, wealth, comfort, cows, and the rest, share his fortunes subsequently, but life is a per-essential fact as much for the aboriginal savage as the most civilised; and no question in parliament or pow-wow takes precedence of it. Hence it is reasonable to assume that these camps or forts were originally reared in self-defence. Their positions on naturally defended sites, where the steep slope

of ground below would afford a strong advantage to the besieged, sustain this view also, although the absence of a water-supply, at least in the case of those in Channelkirk, appears to point to the use of these forts as strongholds of retreat (like the Blockhouses of the American settlers), when the struggle was like to be of a short and decisive character, rather than to continuous residences. The duplication and triplication of circles, or mound "rings," and ditches, together with other similar formations of a straight or curvilinear shape, also corroborate the theory of defence as their creating cause. But which people created them, and at what period they were called into existence, are questions that perhaps are better to be deprived of their usual tantalising echo.

We proceed to notice each of these places of defence which lie within the parish.

Channelkirk.—Major-General Roy, in his *Military Antiquities*, published in 1793, affirms the Camp at Channelkirk to be a Roman one, of the class which he styles temporary. That is to say, it was a camp thrown up while the army was on the march, and was not meant to be permanent. He supposes that some part of Agricola's army, either in entering or returning from Scotland, had taken the eastern route, and passed by Channelkirk, building a temporary camp while they halted there for a short time. He says four of this species of camp exist, "the one at Channelkirk on the eastern communication leading towards the Forth, and three on the western communication, viz., one at Lockerby, and another at Tassiesholm in Annandale, and the third at Cleghorn in Clydesdale.

"That on the east communication is situated a little way to the northward of Channelkirk, on the road from

thence to Edinburgh, which leads through the camp. One gate, with the traverse covering it, exists on the west side; from which circumstance it seems to be one of Agricola's camps, though less perfect than the greater part of those we shall after this have occasion to describe. Its dimensions cannot now be accurately determined, but it appears to have been of the same kind as those more entire ones on the west road, particularly that at Cleghorn, which is 600 yards in length by 420 in breadth."* He assumes Channelkirk Camp to have been of similar size, and calculates that it would contain "upwards of two Roman legions on the Polybian establishment—that is to say, 10,500 men."

"Near the south-west angle of this camp there is a small post, or redoubt, that seems either to have been joined to the camp itself, or to have been connected with it by means of a line." This "redoubt" refers to what in all probability was a *separate* camp of another kind, and constructed by the people who built the curvilinear form of forts, in contrast to the Roman rectangular shape, of which Channelkirk Camp is here said to be a specimen.

We must bear in mind that during the final decades of the last century, and somewhat earlier, there was an inclination to see traces of the Roman occupation everywhere; and every "fort" or "camp," or anything which would assume that shape under a pressure of fancy, was set down under that designation. The enthusiasm of the Oldbucks did the rest.—"Is not here the Decuman gate? and there, but for the ravage of the horrid plough, as a learned friend calls it, would be the Pretorian gate. On the left hand, you may see some slight vestiges of the

* *Military Antiquities*, pp. 60-61, and plate vi.

porta sinistra, and on the right, one side of the *porta dextra* well-nigh entire." To which Blue Gown sceptics enough have replied, "Pretorian here, Praetorian there, I mind the bigging o't!"*

On the other hand, General Roy was a man of great military experience, and had no interest in inventing camps where there were none, and much of the contour of the camp which he describes still remains out of the destruction of the "horrid" ploughs, to justify his belief that he actually beheld here a veritable Roman camp of the kind called "occasional," or "temporary."

Chalmers, writing about 1810, says of camps in Lauderdale: "But the Roman station of greatest consequence in this district is the camp at Channelkirk in Upper Lauderdale. This station appears to have been of considerable extent, though cultivation has obscured its magnitude. The church, churchyard, and the minister's glebe of Channelkirk, containing nearly five acres, are comprehended in the area of this singular camp."† He says Mr Kinghorn's MS. survey of it, in 1803, was one of his authorities. The destruction which has overtaken the camp since Roy's day is indicated by the fact that, whereas his sketch of it works out to make his north side 1377 ft. in length approximately, there are only 500 ft. or thereby visible now, or nearly 170 yards. The "traverse" has completely disappeared, and the other part of the camp which he describes, viz., the west side, is hardly discernible, and but for a field dyke having been built along its top in recent years, it also would have been annihilated by the "horrid" ploughs. The entrance before which the "traverse" was

* Scott's *Antiquary*, chap. iv.

† *Caledonia*. See under *Channelkirk* in Index.

placed is, however, recognisable; and at this spot, and at others in its proximity, the outline of the wall-mound's foundations are observable. The gateway, or entrance, measures 23 ft. in width. From the gate towards the south, the slope of the rampart, or wall-mound, is measurable for 10 ft. at an angle of 30° . The west wall is not quite straight, as Roy's sketch seems to indicate, but from the "traverse," going southerly, is slightly curvilinear, and concave to the inside of the camp. This has been caused by the nature of the ground, to all appearance, as the entire west wall is in the close vicinity of a ravine through which the Rauchy Burn flows, and the wall follows its outlines.

On July 8th, 1897, and succeeding days, we had a section cut into the north side of the camp where the ditch is deepest and the wall-mound highest. The cutting revealed nothing beyond the usual soil of the place, and the "temporary" nature of the camp was clearly evident. No built wall or stone packing of any kind; no attempt at strong defence or residential comfort was suggested by anything shown. A similar operation on the "redoubt," so-called, gave somewhat different results, and convinced us that the two works had no apparent connection, and were clearly constructions of a different period, and by a different people. It is just possible, of course, that such an advantageous post as Roy's "redoubt" would be utilised by the Romans, especially when it lay so close to their camp. This was almost necessary to insure protection from the west; and various straight wall-mounds connected with it give indications of tampering with the original design.

The traditions of the district have always associated the Channelkirk "Camp" with the site of the church and

glebe. It seems inevitable that a position once having been chosen for the camp on the heights above these, its boundaries would naturally embrace the tops of the steep ridge on the south, on which they are situated. This also seemed essential to securing the springs of the Holy Water Cleuch for a water-supply, just as Roy's "west" wall rests on a water spring on the camp's upper side, with a probable purpose of the same kind. Roy has not included in his sketch (Plate VI.) any part of the camp near the church and glebe, but the wall-mound on which the lower boundaries of the manse garden and glebe are set give even better suggestions of the camp than do those on which Roy has founded his opinion. This was the view of Mr Francis Lynn, Galashiels, who examined the whole ground with us on 17th September 1897. On the other hand, Mr James Wilson, Editor, Galashiels, on 8th June 1897, while at first satisfied, expressed later some doubts about the southern part of the camp, but accepted the northern, that is, Roy's "north" and "west" wall fragments. As both gentlemen are thoroughly conversant with "camp" evidences, the question, so far as our present proofs carry us, hovers in suspense. Undoubtedly the proofs would be more patent to General Roy, Mr Chalmers, and Mr Kinghorn, before the "horrid" ploughs had done their work; and our judgment, it appears to us, must now rest chiefly on (1) what they saw and described, (2) on the unshaken local tradition, and (3) on what may after this date be discovered in the soil.

One thing remains invulnerable amid the conflict of opinion, viz., the *character* of the camp. All admit its rectilinear construction, a fact yet clear by what is left to us, and its consequent similarity to other camps of received Roman origin. In this respect it is unique, perhaps, in

Lauderdale, as the other camps are built on the curvilinear principle. It is certainly the only one of its kind in the parish.

Kirktonhill.—This is the camp which General Roy has called a "redoubt," or "small post," either joined to the Channelkirk Camp itself, "or to have been connected with it by a line." A Photo-engraving of it is here given. Chalmers thinks the "redoubt" "remarkable" and "prodigious," and accepts Roy's theory. Undoubtedly it should have afforded as defensive a bulwark as any camp in Lauderdale. Its natural position must have been, in barbaric days, nearly invulnerable as well as inaccessible. But the character of its construction does not strengthen the view that it was ever any part of the Channelkirk Camp, except as a temporary advantage, pressed for the nonce into service. It is not rectilinear but curvilinear throughout, and the few straight wall-mounds warped into its formation do not seem sufficient to sustain the idea of even a Roman tampering, as they are built in the same way as the curved walls, and with similar materials. Mr Wilson was firmly of this opinion. In going over Roy's own ground no trace of a wall connecting the camp of Channelkirk with this "redoubt" was anywhere apparent. Mr Wilson, moreover, had measured the "redoubt" before he knew of Roy's plan, and was decidedly of opinion that it was a medium-sized "British" fort.

The fort is situated on a crest of hill three-fourths of a mile west by south of Channelkirk Church. It is 1000 ft. above sea-level, and rises almost sheer on the west side from the level of the Rauchy Burn 200 ft. lower. There are three concentric ramparts on the south-west, and two on the north-east, the two systems giving the end curves of the oval forma-

tion of the camp's original shape. As we advance from the outside of the north-east portion, and come immediately within the two ramparts, we meet with three other wall-mounds, not curved but straight, and which seem to have crossed the "oval" contour at this point as the strings of a guitar cross the sounding hole in the centre of the instrument. Going still further within the camp, we reach a small complete circle, of 70 ft. diameter, abutting upon these straight lines. In all, we have thus at the north-east end of the camp two curved ramparts, three straight ramparts cutting into the curved ones, and, in most of all, the circle of 70 ft. diameter. The whole camp in its entire ovality comprises 4 acres, 1 rood, 12 poles. When we measure the two curved ramparts, the ditch between them is found to be 7 ft. in depth. Laying the line over the outer rampart gives from base to base a surface measurement of 30 ft. From the top of the outside surface to the top of the first rampart, and spanning the ditch, we get 35 ft. The ditch is 7 ft. deep, but when cut open down to the rock, as it would be originally, it is $10\frac{1}{2}$ ft. deep. From the top of the inner curved rampart to the top of the outmost straight rampart measures 45 ft. The entire length of the longest diameter of the oval is 525 ft. The sides of the oval are gone. We have but the two ends of the camp left.

The inside circle, of 70 ft. diameter, is too regularly constructed to have been made by chance quarrying, of which there is also evidence inside. We discovered on digging signs of an opening, or narrow gateway, or passage. The wall-mounds are all built with small stones mixed with earth, and the wall of the small circle is composed of the same materials. But at the opening referred to, the stones were much larger than those composing the body of the wall, and



CAMP AT KIRKTONHILL

[Face page 648

were neatly laid and built in a curved form at the immediate entrance. From 18 in. wide this passage ran inwards to a distance of 8 to 12 ft., which evidently had been the original thickness of the wall, and widened as it went, terminating $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide. It lay in direction due east and west, the mouth of the opening facing east. It was the opinion of the workman who had the duty in hand, that the stones had been carefully built, and the gateway as carefully planned, and its direction was parallel to another opening further east, at the point where the curved and straight walls touch. All the ground in front of this to the east has been ploughed.

The whole camp bears evidence of complicated design. The straight walls may have been run across behind the ordinary curved ones for purposes of strength, as it is at this point where the ground is flat, and is the only easily assailable part of the fort. The ditches are deepest here also. It is nearly all within wood at this north-east side, and has never been ploughed. The walls seem to have been formed from the materials dug out of the ditches, and most of it must have been picked in some way to loosen the short, bruised, rotten rock that forms the surface of the hill. The walls do not seem to have been much higher than at present, as they are almost entirely like an ordinary "bing" of road-metal, and the stones are no larger, and nearly as clean of soil, except for the grass covering them. If they had ever been higher, the stones below could not have withstood the weight above them, and would have sunk down.

The whole camp, on every side save the north-east, is surrounded by steep, sloping ground, and two parts of it faces a deep ravine with water running through it. The photo-engraving is taken to show the sides facing the ravine, or the west, south-west, and south edges of the camp. At

this side there are low, straight, wall-mounds apparent, but these have nothing to do with the camp, and are marks of modern structures made for agricultural purposes.

To the south of the camp there is a smaller hill of similar shape. Some years ago, it is reported that on digging near it, a grave, or graves were found, and these were supposed to have been early Christian burials. Bones were found in them.

Hillhouse.—Between Kelpope Water and Hillhouse Burn lies Ditcher Law, a hill which rises to a height of 1202 ft. above sea-level, being 400 ft. higher than their channels. The highest point of the Law may be a mile and a quarter from the meeting-place of these waters, and the camp is situated on the haunch of the Law, nearer by a half-mile from the same place, at an elevation of 1000 ft. north north-west of the junction. The camp is immediately behind Hillhouse Farm to the north, and commands a fine view of Lauderdale and the Borders. As Kirktonhill Camp is at the one extremity of the semi-circuit of Upper Lauderdale, so Hillhouse Camp stands at the other, moving from west to east, and it is clear that the four waters, viz., Rauchy Burn, Headshaw Water, Hillhouse Burn, and Kelpope Water, with the hills between these in respective alternation, have been the chief determinants in the choice of the sites of the four camps, viz., Kirktonhill, Channelkirk, Carfrae, and Hillhouse. They constitute a complete system of defence, if we assume that the people who held them were bound by a common interest and object; and the pass through Lauderdale to the Lothians was thus rendered impossible by any of the narrow valleys which conduct these waters from the table-land of the Lammermoors down to the Leader.

The camp is egg-shaped; like an egg also it rises to a rounded height in the centre. The larger end points northwards towards Ditcher Law, and between the camp and this hill there is a wide stretching hollow or neck of land. Two water-cleft small ravines run up into this neck; one falling down to the Kelpope Water on the east, the other much larger, to Hillhouse Burn on the west. On this north side, therefore, the camp was well defended naturally. But there were also three ramparts, one within the other, which are also here apparent enough, although the second or middle one is very much defaced. It is distinct and clear, however, right round the whole of the north side. The outside wall, at the north-east corner, measures from the top to the base 24 ft., sloping at an angle of 40° . Inside this wall the ground seems to have been levelled up by the materials of the middle wall having been scattered into the ditches on either side of it, thus almost erasing the middle wall altogether. The third or inmost wall is still intact, and well preserved, considering the lapse of time. The south side of the camp, that is, the smaller end of the oval, circles round a steep part of the hill overlooking the farm, and the three walls which may have run round the entire camp are here not so much "wall and ditch" as "bank and terrace." From the bottom of the outmost bank up to the top of the first landing or terrace, measures 18 ft., at an angle of 40° : the second bank measures 20 ft., the third 25 ft. The flat landings between these measure 12 ft. each in breadth, that is, from the top of the one bank to the base of the other, at an angle of 35° to 40° throughout.

A remarkable feature of this camp is, that a deep hollow has been made clear through the topmost part of it, so that the hill has an appearance of having had a big square ditch

cut across it from east to west. This trench is 410 ft. long, measuring from side to side of the camp. It is 75 ft. broad.

When we consider how this trench has been formed, it is evident at once that the camp existed before it, for the side-walls of the camp have been cut clean through by it, and their torn edges are apparent at either side. The hollow has the look of having been made by water, for the broad groove is not only carried across the top of the camp, but is evident all down the hillside to the bottom of the glen where Hillhouse Water runs. The same appearance is presented on the other side, though not quite so pronounced. Our opinion is that, originally, there was a deep, cup-like hollow on the hill-top, which may have been converted into a site of earth houses, signs of which are said by some to have been discerned there, and that through course of time it got filled with water, which, soaking through the soil, produced something like a landslide, scooping both sides of the camp completely down into the low lands beneath. The steep nature of the ground on either side of the camp renders this occurrence probable.

The whole area of the camp may be considered as 5 acres, 1 rood, and 25 poles. The photo-engraving is taken from the south-west corner. The camp has been quarried into here and there, and in doing so, about seven years ago, a lead ball the size of a walnut was found. The walls of the camp appear to be composed of thrown-up earth, with stones dumped in at intervals to keep the earth from sliding down. The stones are nearly all laid on their edge, with their flat sides leaning against the mound. In 1893 there was found at Hillhouse an ingot of dark-coloured bronze in the form of a rude flat axe, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. long by $1\frac{1}{2}$ across the broadest end.

Carfrae Camp.—This camp is situated upon and com-



CAMP AT HILLHOUSE

[Face page 652]

mands, like Hillhouse, a promontory between two waters, Hillhouse Burn and Headshaw Water, or the Leader proper. All three camps, viz., Kirktonhill, Hillhouse, and Carfrae, have the same feature in common, that they are placed nearer to the waters or burns on their west sides than to those on their east. By the nature of the sites this was necessary, as the ground is more steep and rugged on the west sides, and the several burns have there cut closer into the hillsides than the burns have done on the east, and rendered the ascent to the camps more abrupt and precipitous. Attacks from the west would be very difficult indeed.

Carfrae Camp, oval in shape, to all appearance, has only well-ploughed-down surface "rings" or part-rings to show its site. These, three in number, are found on the south-east of the fort, and are very distinct. The hill on which it is placed is conical, abrupt in ascent, and rises in a quarter of a mile from about 700 ft. to 987 ft. above sea-level. The camp must have been of considerable size, and very strong. It would be well supplied with water from springs near it on the east side, and quite easy of access. The camp is distant from Carfrae a quarter mile south-west, and three-quarters north from Oxtou village. It is almost surrounded by woods, which hide the sharp contour of the hill on which it is placed. It was, doubtless, this camp which was the "Caer" or fort from which Carfrae derives its name; and from its central position at the head of Lauderdale and its superior strength, would be the most noted citadel of warfare on the upper watershed of the Leader.

Judging from the nature of the ground on the top of the hill, which in all likelihood would be embraced within its scope in order to complete the defence of the place, it may have been from three to four acres in area.

Close to the present farmhouse, Carfrae boasts a Border peel. It is the sole representative of many which were scattered round the parish in the days of the Stuart Kings. In 1535 the command went forth that every considerable place on the Borders should erect a fortalice or peel. The unsettled nature of the times seemed to warrant it. The law set forth that "every landit mā(n) dwelland in the inland or upon the bordouris havand thare ane hundreth pund land of new extent, sall big ane sufficient barmkyñ apoun his heretage and landis, in place maist c^ovenient, of stane and lyme c^otenand three score futis of the square, ane eln thick and vi. elnys heicht, for the ressett and defence of him, his tennēts, and their gudes in trublous tyme wt ane toure in the samī(n) for himself gif he thinks it expedient, and that all uther landit mē(n) of smaller rent and renew big pelis and gret strenthis as thai please for saising of thare selfis, mē(n), tennēts, and gudis, and that all the saidis strenthis, barmkynis and pelis be biggit and completit wⁱn twa yeres under the pane." *

This could not have been a pleasant law to landed men, and the expense must have been a grievance, for each owner had to bear it himself, a burden which would in time be felt also by the tenants. This accounts, probably, for the careless, inartistic manner in which they were built. Architectural beauty about them is nowhere discoverable, and they are not massive enough to command respect, nor old enough to be venerable; neither are they identified with any general display of heroic spirit during that period to clothe them with romance. They are simply interesting. They are relics of a past time in our country's history, which, a few years after the Peel Law, had as its chief

* *Scotch Acts*, ii., p. 346.

features a queen twelve months old; the Earl of Arran as Regent, easy and fickle, with a policy invertebrate; Henry VIII. struggling to marry the infant sovereign to his son Edward; and the nobility and clergy plotting and counter plotting to accomplish their particular schemes. The peels were certainly required, for it was during the year 1544 that an English fleet landed an army on the Forth coasts, which burned Edinburgh for three days and ravaged the Fife coasts; which marched through the Borders pillaging and destroying, being checked only at Ancrum Moor, but which returned in 1545 to destroy "192 towns, towers, stedes, barnekens, parish churches, bastel houses; 243 villages, and seven monasteries and friar-houses," among which were Jedburgh, Kelso, Melrose, and Dryburgh Abbeys.

Lauderdale was perhaps spared at that time, though it had been harried in 1406-7. But a few years later, viz., in the reign of Edward VI., to marry whom to Mary, Queen of Scots, was the chief cause of the conflict from the beginning, we find Sir Robert Bowes in possession of Lauder and fortifying it for the English, and we ascertain that he left it "in his opinion of such strength that all Scotland, with aid of any foreign prince, is not able to recover it."* Mary was in France for security, and help might be brought from there! "The Borthwicks," moreover, "and Pringles are to furnish beefs and muttons weekly, and three months beforehand if they list." But what a tale is told for the plundered dale! "There is nigh no wheat there," it is added, "and they dowbt bringing it from Berwick with their weak cattle" (none nearer than Berwick!) "but if they can they will serve them (soldiers) in bread from Lothian."

* *Calendar of Scottish Papers.*

Carfrae Peel has stood wear and tear in a worthy manner, and its chief foe, the dyke builder, has not found it necessary as a quarry. We hope it may long be spared such degradation. It is in safe hands with the present tenant.

There is said to have been a discovery of an ancient burial at Carfrae similar to that at Nether Howden and the one found at Channelkirk Church (see p. 284). But no sufficient data of its dimensions have been preserved to us to render the matter a subject of any certainty.

A dollar valued about 4s. was found in one of Carfrae fields some years ago, Spanish, and of the reign of Philip IV., King of Spain and the Indies, Archduke of Austria, and Duke of Burgundy and Artois; date about 1640. Different kinds of Spanish coins have been found in the district at various times.

Bowerhouse.—Somewhat further than a mile and a half straight west from Blackburn Farm, on the highway to Lauder, lies Bowerhouse Camp. It rises to a height of 1000 ft. above sea-level, and is very well preserved throughout, though it appears to be the smallest in area of all the "British" camps in this parish. It measures all over, 1 acre, 2 roods, 17 poles. It is a quarter mile due west from Nether Bowerhouse Farm, from which place the ascent to it is most convenient. It is entirely covered with wood. Like the other camps it is oval in shape, and measures 350 ft. long by 200 ft. broad. At the extreme west side the walls have been quarried across, but these show only loose stones and earth composing them. The ground is high in the centre. There are two concentric walls, and the ditch between measures 26 ft. from top to top, being 7 to 9 ft. deep in some parts, especially on the south side.

Bowerhouse is specially noted for the number of flint

arrow heads, knives, etc., which have been found in the fields adjacent to the steading. The present tenant, Mr John Fleming, jun., has found several fine specimens which can be examined. The following have been described in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* (Scotland) for 1887-8:— (1) A scraper of black flint, 2 in. long, curved longitudinally round at the scraping end and acutely pointed at the other, worked all round the sides; (2) A flint knife, noticed in the *Proceedings*, 1893-4, p. 323; (3) Two stemmed arrow-heads, and part of a specimen of leaf shape; (4) A bronze cheek-ring of bridle bit, of early Iron Age date, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter. With this ring were found other objects, but all were unfortunately destroyed.

Over Howden.—A few hundred yards south-west, and due west from the steading, are found the marks of two oval camps of the usual kind called "British." They were overlooked in the Survey of 1856-7, and we had the good fortune to call the attention of the Surveyors to them two years ago. The farmer at present in Over Howden, Mr Andrew Sharp, was the first to awaken interest in them. They have been for many years regularly cultivated and ploughed over, but the "rings" are unmistakable. The one in the north field, due west from the steading, is a complete circle, being 300 ft. in diameter. Mr Sharp affirms that a vast difference exists between the soil outside and that inside the "ring." It is "thin" inside, as if the top earth had been lifted and laid on the wall tops. The camp in the south field overhangs the "dene" or den, from which "Holdene" derives its name. It is oval in shape, being 400 ft. long and 300 ft. broad, and has an area of 2 acres, 3 roods. Both camps are more than 900 ft. above sea-level. The south-field camp has distinct traces of two concentric walls at each of the

oval ends. Roughly measured, being in turnips at the time, the space between the tops of the walls measured 75 ft., and we were assured that in the "ditches" the soil was very deep, though not nearly so deep everywhere else around the field.

Some interesting specimens of the Stone Age in Scotland have been found at Over Howden. In the Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh (first floor, east end of north side, case marked A F, No. 298), can be seen an axe of flint, measuring $4\frac{5}{8}$ in. by $2\frac{3}{8}$ in., found on this farm. It has its cutting edge chipped, and it is polished. It was purchased by the Museum in 1888. Again, on first floor, south side, in window cases, marked A O, No. 58, there is an Over Howden pebble of sandstone, $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. in diameter, with perforation picked from each side, purchased as above, same year. Again, in floor case, north side of same floor, case B E, Nos. 170, 171, are to be seen two whorls, one of claystone, $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. in diameter, with circle round spindle-hole on one side; and another of sandstone, $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. in diameter, both purchased as above, same year. These whorls are said to have been made and fitted on to the wooden spindle so as to increase and maintain the rotary motion given to it by the twirl of the finger and thumb in spinning from the distaff. They are of all periods, from the first appearance of the art of spinning in the Stone Age down to recent times. They are usually discovered casually in the soil, in the neighbourhood of brochs, crannogs, and other occupied sites of the Iron Age and mediæval or recent dates.

A peel or fortalice stood long at Over Howden, which, both in ancient and modern times, appears to have been a fortified place. The southern part of the present farmhouse

seems to be part of the old peel, as the walls bear evidence of age and strength far beyond modern requirements. The walls, for example, are 3 ft. 9 in. in thickness, and no doubt were reckoned to be fit to stand a siege in time of danger. The peel would in all probability be built in 1535-37, under the general Border law issued for that purpose by King James V.

Nether Howden.—At a distance of nearly half a mile south-east from Nether Howden steading, on the brow of the height which overlooks Carfraemill from the south, lie "Nether Howden Rings," as they are locally termed. This means, of course, the usual "British" fort of the kind which is so numerous in the parish. It seems to have been similar in construction to the one at Bowerhouse, viz., having one broad deep ditch with walls on either side. The ground has been long under cultivation, and this accounts for its being almost as indistinct as the fort at Carfrae. Most of it is within an ordinary field, the rest of it to the south side being underwood. It is oval in shape, stands 784 ft. above sea-level, and may have been in area from $1\frac{3}{4}$ to 2 acres.

In one of Nether Howden fields called "Little Broomie-side," one of the farm-servants, while ploughing there several years ago, stumbled upon an old grave similar to those found near Addinston in 1873. He informed us that it was five or six feet long, ordinary breadth, and from two to two and a half feet deep. Round water-worn stones between the size of a "nieve" and a head were found in it, and "burnt sticks" or charcoal. No bones were noticed. He put back the stones over it again and covered it up, and it may yet be opened by the curious.

Roman Road.—In 1888, the late Mr Mowat, for some

time editorially connected with *Chambers's Journal*, journeyed from Edinburgh to Earlston by way of Soutra Hill, and in his account of the "lions" he passed, he says, "As we are descending from the tableland of the Lammermoors (towards Lauderdale), the hills on each side apparently become higher, although it is really the valley that is getting deeper. This part of the road is said by tradition to be the work of the Romans—it seems with some truth, for in course of making the improvements sixty years ago, *portions of the original Roman pavement were come upon.*" *

In *Caledonia*† we have the following:—"From Eldon the Roman Road went past Melrose, Galtonside, Chesterlee, Waas or Walls, near to New Blainslie. . . . In proceeding up Lauderdale, the Roman Road appears to have passed on the west side of Lauder town, and between it and Old Lauder, where there are the remains of a military station. About a mile and a half above Lauder, the remains of the Roman Road again become visible, and is here named the Ox Road, as it leads up to a strong station called Blackchester. From this station the Roman Road passes on northwards by the west of Oxton, and in course of half a mile again becomes distinct, and continues obvious to every eye as it crosses the western stream of the Leader in its course to the Roman station at Channelkirk. From this commanding post the Roman Road proceeded forward to Soutra Hill, whence, turning to the left, it traversed the declivity of the country to Currie. . . ."

We give as much of his description as brings the subject into and leads it out of this parish. General Roy also

* *Chambers's Journal*, 28th April 1888.

† Vol. i., Book I., p. 141.

describes the Roman Road at an earlier date than Chalmers. The latter comments on the former's view, and says :—

“ From Eldon northward, General Roy, in tracing its (Roman Road's) course, has completely mistaken its track towards Soutra Hill. Without looking for the intimation of others, he was misled by the appearance of the Girthgate, which passes from the bridge-end of Tweed up the valley of Allan Water, across the Moors to Soutra Hospital on Soutra Hill. This footway, without any examination of its formation or materials, he mistook for the only remains of this Roman Road. He forgot that Warburton, the Surveyor and Antiquary, had rode upon the true road in 1722, from the River Reed in Northumberland, by Jedburgh, Melrose, Lauder, Ginglekirk, now Channelkirk, to Dalkeith, and to Graham's Dyke.”* Chalmers says he caused the road to be surveyed by Mr Kinghorn, who was, we believe, teacher in Blainslie.

References to the “Royal Road” across Soutra Hill are frequent in the old charters, as, for example, in the *Book of Dryburgh*, about 1170,—also in No. 28 of those of the *Domus de Soltre*, we have boundaries of land belonging to the Hospital at Soutra, given in such expressions as—“Et usque ad rivulum orientalem in Lynnesden, et ab ipso rivulo orientali per viam que ducit ad *regiam viam* tendentem versus Roxburgh,”—“And as far as to the east burn in Lindean, and from the said east burn by the way which leads to the Royal Road going towards Roxburgh.” So, too, in No. 50 of these charters, we find the “*Regiam Stratam*” existing in the same locality. We have seen also in our account of Hartside, that these lands were bounded by “*Derestrete*,” somewhere on Soutra

* *Caledonia*, vol. i., Book I., p. 141. Note c.

Hill. Derestrete is also found near Oxton in connection with Over Howden.* This Derestrete, the street or road to Deira, the southern district of Northumbria, is used in the same way as a land-boundary for property in Lauderdale near Pilmuir, *cir.* 1220 A.D.† It is assumed to have been the Roman Road, or identical with Watling Street. It certainly ran through Lauderdale.

Reference is sometimes made in old documents to "Malcolm's Road," as passing through Lauderdale. Chalmers asserts that "Malcolm's Road" was also identical with the Roman Road. "Malcolm's Road," he says, "was the public street through Lauderdale, and was also the Roman Road."‡ He thinks it may have been so named from King Malcolm IV., "who lived a good deal at Jedburgh, and died there, and may have used it going to Edinburgh, Stirling, and Perth." Watling Street, Derestrete, Roman Road, Royal Road, Malcolm's Road, appear, therefore, to have been various appellations for the same road at different times and in different localities—the several names, indeed, wandering sometimes over the same district.

Few, if any, genuine remnants of this old road of many names appear to have survived in Lauderdale. There are, of course, distinct traces of old roads leading through this parish from the dale to Lothian, but it might be difficult to affirm with any basis of certainty that these gave proof of Roman origin. The general route from Edinburgh district to England was, for centuries, undoubtedly by Soutra Hill and Lauderdale. The other available pass by way of what is now known as the Waverley railway route, a few miles to the west, was shunned owing to its marshy ground,

* *Liber de Driburgh.*

† *Ibid.*, No. 176.

‡ *Caledonia*, vol. ii., p. 207. Note *d*, *et passim*.

the heavy ravines, and the marauding character of the neighbourhood. The greater traffic over Soutra, therefore, necessitated some kind of road building, and the particular track in use seems to have been often altered. There is thus a risk that what is merely a fragment of one of these "old" roads, may be hastily assumed to be the "Roman" Road. On Soutra Hill, and at Airhouse, for example, near Channelkirk, there are fragments of road which at first sight have been accepted by experienced observers as genuine "bits" of Roman Road, but which on further examination and comparison were considered very doubtful.

But there are ample proofs of an old road running northwards from the vicinity of Blackchester in Lauder parish, passing through Channelkirk Parish *via* Oxton to Channelkirk Church, and thence over Soutra Hill, which suggests possibilities. Its course from the neighbourhood of Blackchester was near Shielfield, thence straight up the low level ground which lies in the neighbourhood of Grassmyres, near to Burnfoot, a park breadth to the east of the steading, continuing straight to Oxton, through which it may have passed over the same course as the present road. From Oxton it passed north-westwards to Channelkirk Church, and the track of its descent to Mountmill Burn, where it created a ford, is still visible. The fields of Nether Howden, through which it passes, give clear proof of its existence in ploughing seasons, when the stony stream through the rest of the dark land betrays its former course. We are inclined to think that whether or not this was a Roman Road, it may safely be called the old "Derestrete." Our first hint is from the Kelso Chartulary.* About 1206 A.D., Alan, Lord Galway, gifted five carucates of Oxton

* *Liber de Calchou*, No. 245, vol. i., p. 201.

territory to Kelso Abbey. These carucates subsequently became the farms of Over Howden (Holdene), and probably most of Nether Howden. The boundary thus begins: "From the head of Holdene, down by Holdene Burn to Derestrete" . . . Now the "burn" runs straight east-north-east from Over Howden, down past Grassmyres (Kersmyres) steading, now obliterated, to the lowest dip of the dale at this part, a field-breadth east from the old "Grassmyres," and thence turns at right angles south-south-east. This turn of the water is close to the old road, still so evident. But the boundary required to go *northwards*, and not as the burn went, *southwards*; so the description continues, "From Derestrete towards the north to Fuleforde by Samson's Marches to the Ledre." That is, from the "corner" of the Holdene Burn at Derestrete, the march went on to a place near the junction of the Mountmill Burn with the Kelfhope Water below Nether Howden, where was a ford, Foul-Ford or Fuleford. From there the march continues to the village of Oxtou, where it again crosses "Derestrete," and so to Holdene (Over Howden), thus completing the marches.

What is here absolutely certain is that *Derestrete lay between Over Howden and the Leader*. Next, it is absolutely certain that *Over Howden Burn touched Derestrete at some point in its course*. This point may have been between Over Howden and "Grassmyres," or at "Grassmyres" where the present road passes over the burn. But no trace of a road answering the description is found between Over Howden and Grassmyres, and the present road at Grassmyres is modern, and the conclusion to which we are confined is *that the burn met Derestrete where it turns south-south-east*, and it is there the evidences of the old road through the ploughed fields are yet so apparent. If our conclusion

is correct, and *Derestrete* was the *Roman Road*, then it did not pass to the west of Oxton Village, as asserted by Chalmers, but through the centre or immediate west end of it, as the charters hint, and so continued its way near to Parkfoot across the braes to Channelkirk Camp at the Church, and thence over Soutra Hill.

Part of this road to the north of Airhouse Road was used by Oxton people as a right-of-way to church from the village as late as the end of last century. This, doubtless, was the part which Chalmers meant when he says, "And in the course of half a mile" (northwards from Oxton) "again becomes distinct, and continues obvious to every eye as it crosses the western stream of the Leader in its course to the Roman Station at Channelkirk." Of course, the enormous industrial activity of this century in Upper Lauderdale renders it a matter of surprise that any glimpse of such a road should have been left at all. But the evidences of the road through Nether Howden fields are yet so glaring in ploughing time that, to a man, farmers, shepherds, and ploughmen attest the certainty of it. The "horrid" ploughs know it too well, and when the shepherd has to use the "borer" for the purpose of putting in a "stuckin" (stob), he has a harder job before him at that place than at any other over all the field. We have no doubt that it was the old "*Derestrete*" mentioned in the Kelso Chartulary, but whether "*Derestrete*" was *Roman* in construction is a point we leave to others to decide. *Derestrete*, however, as can be clearly attested by the charters noticed above, is historically distinct on Soutra Hill, then near Oxton, then at Over Howden Burn, and again at Pilmuir, a distance of perhaps six miles, and thus is visible as going clear through Channelkirk Parish, about 1170-1220.

The writer went over this ground carefully with Mr Robert Tait, one of our most intelligent working men, who had no difficulty in showing the track of the old road through the fields by the stream of stones which line its entire distance. But its existence has never been doubted, parts of it having been visible within the memory of the present generation. Going south from Oxton Village, the road almost imperceptibly tapers away from the present one, near the top of a knoll, a field-breadth from the last houses. Here the old boulder stones are quite visible beside the modern macadamising ones. Mr Tait says he "ribbed," or cut it up at this part in mending the present road, and the surface of the old road was all of fairly large boulder stones. From here it diverges to the left into Nether Howden fields, and runs straight as an arrow, south, towards Shielfield. This, by tradition among the inhabitants, has always been considered as the undoubted "Roman" Road. It can hardly be doubted that it was Derestrete.

Girthingate, or *Sanctuary Road*.—The peculiar pathway which runs through the western portion of the parish called *Girthingate* is yet, in several parts of it, in excellent preservation, and where the land has not been ploughed up frequently, is easily traceable. In some places it is broad enough to admit a cart, at others it is a mere footpath. Tradition of long standing freely asserts it to have been made by the monks of old Melrose to facilitate their intercourse between that chapel (capellam Sancti Cuthberti de Aldmelros) and Soutra Hospital.* The need of some intercommunication towards the north was no doubt required by the possessions held by these monks all through Lauderdale, Channelkirk, and the Lothians. But the chief reason, and the one from

* *Monastic Annals*, p. 193. Edinburgh, 1832. Rev. James Morton, B.D.

which the road takes its name, is said to have been that of *Sanctuary* or *Girth*. Stow and Soutra Hospital had this privilege in olden times, where those who were compelled to flee from vengeance found refuge and security under the shield of the Church.

“ Gif menslaers and robbours
Haue here gyth and socours
They will dryue vs to scorne.” *

Its general route seems to have been up the watershed of the Allan Water, passing Stow on the top of the heights, two miles to the east of that place, and running very near the boundary of Lauder Parish on to Inchkeith Hill. It comes into Channelkirk Parish at its south-west march, near the head of the Wimple Burn, about 1100 ft. above sea-level. It touches Collielaw Hill on its west side, 100 ft. below its highest point, and then descends north-west to Threeburnford. From this place it runs west along the parish boundary, up Threeburnford Hill until it reaches the “ Resting House,” so-called, three-fourths of a mile from Clints steading. Its course then lies northwards to Soutra Isle, crossing by the east side of Hartside Hill.

Threeburnford we believe to have received its name from the need of travellers by the Girthgate to cross the three burns which meet at this place. The fact of three burns meeting might, indeed, have been sufficient to create the name Threeburns, but the Girthgate *fords* them, and thus “ ford ” is added. In our account of Threeburnford, it will be seen that, prior to this place-name, we consider it to have been the Fulewidness or Futhewidenes of the charters. The Girthgate is quite clearly marked at the cottar houses

* *Life of St Cuthbert*: Surtees Society, 1889, p. 149.

at this place, running up the hill on the west side of the bounding dyke or wall to the old ruin called Resting House, or Rushlaw House.

Resting House.—In 1794 this curious building, 1243 ft. above sea-level, was called Reshlaw or Restlaw Ha' or House. It is conjecturable that the hill or *law* was originally called by a name approaching in sound to *rush*, *ruch*, or *resh*, and when the present structure was built on it, the addition of Ha' or House was then added. The Ordnance Survey Maps call it Resting House. This name has been ostensibly derived from the popular belief that there the Melrose monks *rested* on their way to and from their abbey. It is now a ruin. Portions of the walls, arched roof, and foundations of other walls overgrown with grass are still intact. From their prominence on the landscape they are visible from a great distance. Nothing notable has been found at the place.

Holy Water Cleuch.—In 1588 "the Halywattercleuch" is mentioned as the western boundary of the "Sucken" of the mill of Ugston.* It is situated south-west of the church at a distance of a quarter mile. It is a long cleft in the face of the hill-ridge on which the church is placed, and must have been made by the spring of water which still runs through it. At the top of the cleuch, its depth and breadth are respectively 30 and 60 ft. As it descends to Mountmill Burn, ("Arras Water") it gradually becomes shallower, until it loses itself in the level of the haugh. Its length is approximately 600 yards running south-east. There can be no doubt that the water of the cleuch was in ancient times associated with religious rites, and it may possibly have been used by St Cuthbert himself in baptizing his converts. As it is the nearest natural water spring to the church, the

* Great Seal.



RESHLAW OR RESTING HOUSE

[Face page 668



THE HOLY WATER CLEUCH

[Face page 668

"holy" water used in its ancient Roman Catholic services would no doubt be found there. There is no tradition that it was ever used as a place of cures. It is locally known as "the well of the Holy Water Cleuch."

Stone Cross at Midburn.—This farm is near to the "Blackchester" camp which lies in Lauder Parish, to the south of it a quarter mile, on a prominent height. The camp is well preserved, covered with wood, and is of the usual construction and dimensions of oval or "British" camps. It is said to have been "used" by the Romans as a defensive post.

Near the steading of Midburn is to be seen a heavy cross of sandstone which has evoked much speculation among the natives. It is in the ordinary Latin form, but tapering to the top and towards the ends of the arms. There is no inscription. It is 4 ft. 2 in. in length, and 1 ft. 4 in. across the arms. It is 8 in. thick. Part of the right arm is broken off. It is said to have originally stood in one of Shielfield fields, but was brought to Midburn by one of the tenants there. It seems to have no special significance, except that it may have been used as one of the march or boundary-crosses to which there are frequent allusions in the charters of the religious chroniclers. Both Shielfield and Midburn Farms are on the boundary of the two parishes of Lauder and Channellkirk, and, moreover, Shielfield land was at one time in the hands of the Dryburgh Abbots, and a cross to mark a boundary in that locality is not a matter of surprise. Such crosses are noticed in the Dryburgh Chartulary as having stood near Pilmuir, and in Kelso Chartulary as standing near Oxtou and Over Howden. These are referred to as landmarks or boundary guides. Presumably, in the absence of clearer knowledge, this stone

cross of Midburn is one of the same kind. It may be, in that case, as old as the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries.

Memorial Stone at Threeburnford.—A stone of some interest is built into the front wall of the stables at this place which, though it may not be an "antiquity," is venerable enough to be inserted among the relics of the parish which convey "a tale of the days of old." It is in the shape of a horse-shoe, with the arch at the top and the open part resting on a flat band at the foot. Part of the top of the stone is worn or broken off, as the block has been removed to different parts of the farm during its existence, and has had adventures. On the legs of the "shoe" are two inscriptions. When facing the stone, that on the left hand reads, "Behold a sower went forth to sow, Matt. 13 and 3. One soweth and another reapeth;" and that on the right reads, "Sow to yourselves in righteousness, reap in mercy, Hosea 10 and 12." In the central space is the worn figure of a man with a sowing sheet. On the right-hand corner of the flat-band or plinth, at the foot, there has been a date, but it is now too much obliterated to be discernable. Some have affirmed it to be 1734, but others, with more likelihood, believe it to be far older. The legend connected with it is religious, of course, and characteristically Scotch, in that it sets forth the profanity of working on Sabbath. The farmer of Threeburnford, at some remote date (days and names all being rubbed out for ever), was anxious to sow his pease, and taking advantage of a fine Sabbath morning suitable for his purpose, "went forth to sow," sorely against the will and warnings of his "better half." He persisted, however, and sowed his field, though not "in righteousness." And, as a consequence, the judgment

fell in the usual fiery form. A thunderstorm swept across the moors in wrath, "cramming all the blast before it; in its breast the thunderbolt," which slew at one fell blow the poor over-busy farmer. And so, what he sowed another reaped.

There is no reason to doubt the tradition. It is enamelled into the local folklore, and it is here verified in stone. The stone is evidently a memorial one, similar to many which were set up in all the "kirkyairds" of the country at one time. But the stone, homely in its sculpture, and carefully hewn, we may be sure, on the steading, during many earnest hours, could not be set up in the churchyard, for obvious reasons. The farmer could not be buried there. It would have been sacrilege; and more so, if the stone points to a period before the Reformation, which it reasonably enough may. He was accursed of God. No consecrated ground could tolerate his corpse. He would consequently be buried where they found him, or about the steading somewhere. The stone would originally be set up over his remains, and during the changes of building on the farm it would also change its locality with them. The "preaching" of the stone bears strong confirmation of the truth of the legend. The texts, or part texts, have been carefully selected to emphasise the disaster. "Behold a sower went forth to sow" is the latter part of Matthew xiii. 3; while "one soweth and another reapeth" is the latter part of John iv. 37. The legend could not possibly have a more weighty comment, while the words "Sow to yourselves in righteousness, reap in mercy," from Hosea x. 12, first clause, prove the long search that had been undertaken to find words appropriate enough to clinch the terrible facts. For the farmer had not sown in righteousness, and reaped far other

than mercy. We regard the stone, therefore, as a gravestone which could not be permitted to enter the consecrated precincts of the churchyard even to preach the awful warning of sin and Sabbath-breaking, but which loving hands would not suffer, at the same time, to descend to oblivion. For patent reasons the plain narrative could not be set on the stone, as it would have perpetrated the disgrace; yet while the artist evidently acknowledged the justice of the judgment, he had a warm affection for the misguided man. Hence the endeavour to reveal and yet conceal in the words of Scripture.

The Kirk Cross and Sundial.—We mention these because it is our conviction that they have been handed down from former buildings which have stood on the same spot, and may date back to pre-Reformation times. If there is a doubt, it gathers over the "cross," but the sundial seems unmistakably old. That a stone cross should have been purposely hewn and put up on the east gable of a country church, in 1817, seems foreign to the strong feeling which prevailed among our forefathers against all signs of prelacy and popery. On the other hand, we have never met with any evidence that Channelkirk Protestants were at any time in bygone days so moved by religious fervour as to forcibly alter or inaugurate any of the external or internal fittings of the church. There is, indeed, a part of the right arm of the cross broken off, as if it might have stood siege at one time, but the explanation is sadly prosaic. The cross was fixed to the gable by wooden staunchions only, and when rain and wind had rotted and shoved at them for some time, over went the cross to the ground! Iron staunchions were substituted, and we may now expect the sacred emblem to remain secure for a longer time. Our

impression is that the cross would be found on the old building and simply transferred to the new one, and we see no reason to think that Channelkirk Church has ever been without the cross-emblem all through the Protestant period. But the present stone erection may be comparatively modern, notwithstanding. The sundial is decidedly old, and is fixed into the centre of the south wall of the church. It projects from the wall at the east side more than at the west, and this must have been done to "regulate" the shadow to the truth.

Some old roads ought to be mentioned which have partly fallen into disuse within this generation. One from Old Channelkirk Farm, opposite the Manse, ran straight north, through the present glebe and Glengelt fields beyond, to join the Edinburgh Road. Another went directly from the church to join the Edinburgh Road opposite Headshaw, and went off the present Church Road at the first turn in it, as one goes from the church north-east. Part of the old bridge over which it passed exists still below Headshaw Farm-steading at Headshaw Burn. The old "Derestrete" Road, which runs uphill past the churchyard, and goes through the Manse dining-room, was used for cart traffic by the present generation. It is now only used by pedestrians, chiefly going and coming to church. The same remark applies to the pathway which leads from Annfield Inn, south-west to the Manse Road through Kirtonhill field. They are "auld kirk roads."

CHAPTER XXIV

CHANNELKIRK TO-DAY

The Lammermoors—Skelton and Carlyle—Area of Channelkirk Parish—Population from 1755—Industry—Soil and Sheep—Shepherding—The Farmers and the Land—The Agricultural Labourer—Prices of Stock in 1490 and 1656—The Game—The Weather—Our Public Men—The Railway.

THE Channelkirk Parish of to-day, sometimes called Upper Lauderdale, occupies in area a fourth part perhaps of the valley of Lauderdale, which is one of the three districts of Berwickshire: the Merse and the Lammermoors being the two others. The southern and lower parts of the dale are comprised in the parishes of Lauder, Legerwood, Earlston, and Melrose. The Leader Water, from which Lauderdale derives its name, flows through it in a south-easterly direction, rising in Channelkirk Parish to the north of Glengelt among the Lammermoor Hills, and joining the River Tweed after a meandering course of about twenty miles. A series of beautiful, yet oftentimes turbulent streams breaking forth from as many small glens which diverge from the dale, amplifies its waters, and drains the whole watershed between Soutra Hill and the Black Hill of Earlston into its bed. From Leaderfoot, where the Leader joins the Tweed, to Glengelt at the foot of Soutra, Lauderdale, in general configuration, is fairly comparable to a leaf whose edges are



VIEW OF UPPER LAUDERDALE FROM ABOVE MOUNTMILL

[Face page 674

high in ridge above the centre, representing the surrounding summits of the hills, and whose veins are many, delineating the waters or "burns" flowing across its surface. Like a leaf, also, it gradually broadens upwards from Earlston, where it is rather straitened to a mile or two in breadth, till it reaches its widest bounds between Bowerhouse and Addinston, across the boundaries of Lauder and Channelkirk Parishes, a distance of five or six miles from crest to crest of the hills. After which, still running northward, it tapers to a mere narrow ravine near the top of Soutra Hill.

The "summer visitor" who catches his first glimpse of Upper Lauderdale as the trap, cycle, or motor winds down the "Red Braes" from off the broad back of Soutra, and views the extended basin of the Leader, and the Eildons and Cheviots closing-in the horizon in the far distance, usually exclaims his rapturous approval of the beautiful prospect, and surprise at finding this "remote" region so replete with nature's charms. After a few weeks' residence, however, a sense of soberness and monotony modifies the first enthusiasm; something is missed in the scene, as if a chord in the band of light had been lost in the prism, or as if a string in the harp had failed to respond. Skelton, in speaking deprecatingly of the Lammermoors,* says, "There is nothing Alpine about the scenery; it would be absurd to associate the mountain glory or the mountain gloom with these unromantic uplands."—"A dusky continent of barren hills, the Lammermoor," says Carlyle, "where only mountain sheep can be at home. The crossing of *which*, by any of its boggy passes and brawling stream-courses, no army, hardly a solitary Scotch packman, could attempt in such weather."†

* *Maitland of Lethington*, vol. i., p. 2.

† *Cromwell's Letters, etc.*, vol. iii., p. 29.

And he reiterates the "heath continent" description of them. While all this may be true, it is certainly not the whole truth concerning these "unromantic," "dusky" uplands. But the spectator must bring in his sympathies, something which will respond to the impressions they have to give. The modern quickstep to which he is accustomed from city fifes and commercial drums, must slow down to the adagios of the "trotting burn's meander," and the halting pace of the shepherd as he lingers on the weary ewes. Nothing moves faster here than the plough through the furrow. The turnip, not the time-gun or the train, is the prompter to speed. Sheep, cattle, and poultry fix the rate of human life. Human nature is not to be abused for this. It is of the passionless spirit of the scene. All the landscape tells the same story. There is not a hurried or broken line in all the winding curves of its ploughed slopes or heathy summits. Nothing has been done by Nature under haste or provocation. No precipice marks her spasms of strength; no deep ravine her smiting heel. Calmly has she smoothened the heavy brows of these her hill children, resting long as the centuries passed by, while she cradled them, like him of the ark of bulrushes, into fathomless sleep of meekness, in the waves of her ancient seas. They do not rise up like giants to overawe, nor are they savages to alarm, nor pigmies to excite contempt. Neither do they wield sceptres of terror over the scene from their snowy thrones; but, simple in their majesty of helpfulness to the human race, they bring bread and water to desiring man and beast, grander, perhaps, in fulfilling their duty through the wants of suffering creatures than in creating a star-crowned Olympus for the carnival of the gods. Let no one expect to be entertained on these

Lauderdale uplands with the pleasant panics of the city. The raging of municipal drivers is not heard, the thong of the modern newspaper is not felt. Neither do the pious agonies of modern church-life, which make not a thousand years as one day, but one day as a thousand years, either wring the heart or cloud the brow. "The so-called monotony of these softly undulating hills constitutes, I do not doubt," says Sir Archibald Geikie, "one main element in the peculiar fascination which they have always exercised upon minds of a poetic cast. From the sky-line on either side, gentle but boldly drawn curves of bent-covered moorland sweep down into the grassy meadow on the floor of the valley. These are architectural forms of the hill-slopes, and remain distinct at all seasons of the year. But their beauty and impressiveness vary from month to month, almost from hour to hour." "Moreover, a pleasing loneliness broods over it all, which, in the case of sterner scenery, becomes oppressive and almost insupportable. The silence is broken fitfully by the breeze as it bears back the murmur of the distant brook, or by the curlew screaming from the nearer hill. The very sounds of the valley—the plaintive cadence of the river, and the low, sad sough of the wind along the slopes—combine to produce that tone of melancholy which seems so characteristic and so inseparable from these pastoral valleys."*

The parish, lying thus among hills, has few, if any, extensive levels in its area. Height and hollow, sloping field and rugged bank, are its prominent features. The entire acreage totals to 14,202·587, of which 14,124·334 are land, 11·944 water, 61·407, or thereby, public roads, and 4·902 private roads. It lies in the extreme north-west of

* *Scenery of Scotland*, Ed. 1887, p. 295.

Berwickshire, and the boundaries of parish and county are for a considerable distance identical.

The population in 1755 numbered 531

"	1794	"	600
"	1801	"	640
"	1811	"	707
"	1821	"	730
"	1831	"	841
"	1841	"	780
"	1861	"	641
"	1881	"	607
"	1891	"	545

A steady decrease has taken place, it will be seen, since 1831.

With the advent of the railway it is to be hoped that the drain upon the population will cease, seeing that there will be more employment, and farmers may be induced, perhaps, to occupy all the farms instead of putting them under stewards and staying themselves elsewhere.

The chief industry of the parish is sheep-breeding. Some farms keep from 70 to 80 score, while others may have but 100 to 200 sheep. The species called "Cheviot," "Leicester," "Half-breds" are most common, but those farms with extensive hill pasture, such as Hillhouse, Glengelt, and Kirktonhill, stock a considerable number of blackfaces or "Lammermuirs." Sheep of the black-faced type have grazed Channelkirk fields and fells, to all appearance, from time immemorial. Naismith of Hamilton, in 1796, states that there is no tradition that the sheep of the Lammermoors were ever other than blackfaces. In the raid of Glengelt, about 1490 A.D., 240 "yowis," 40 wedders, and 80 hoggs were forcibly taken away. The species, however, is not given, although there is little doubt that it would be "black-faced," as according to the best authorities it is the oldest variety known in Great Britain, and there was no other kind in this parish

till last century. The "Cheviot" species were introduced into this parish by Robert Hogarth, tenant in Carfrae. Coming from East Berwickshire about 1770, he instituted many improvements which have been highly beneficial. The turnip, which is now the staple food of sheep, was unknown till he brought it here; and he also initiated the use of lime, and the sown grass system. The turnip was in 1794 of wider benefit than it is now, for it is recorded that it then "constituted fully half of the food of our cottagers." About 1860, which was a severe season on hill flocks, "Cheviots" again declined in favour. Great improvements have recently been accomplished in the quality of blackfaces, and this has been due mainly to such breeders as Archibald, Overshiels, late of Glengelt; Howatson, Glenbuck; Foyer, sometime of Knowhead; Welsh, Earshaugh; and other less well-known names.

It is well said that it is the soil that makes the sheep, the plant being the link between the living animal and the dead earth. Upper Lauderdale is, in general, very fertile, and seldom later than other districts which have a less elevated exposure. This is chiefly due to the red sandstone soil which fills its main basin, and the branching glens running up into the hills. Sheep, it is found, thrive well on almost every kind of soil, but on some they decline in quality quicker than on others. Clay soil is detrimental to the blackfaces, though good for Cheviots, and a comparatively small area of this kind of ground is to be found in the parish. The generally dry, chisley, porous soil which prevails is more favourable, and on hill pasturage, where bracken and gorse abound, black-faced sheep are found to do very well. Peat or moss soil ranges along the moor band of the parish, and suits for wintering, and especially where the ground is well drained.

Sheep thrive on moss heather, too, if it be young, and some feeders think that this species of nutriment is as fattening as the best of clover. If, however, it be old and woody, it becomes of no value, and burning is resorted to for the sake of a young sprout, a process which, it is maintained, should be carried out once in every ten years at least. The heather district of this parish extends along the northern portion of it—that is, the part devoted generally to black-faced stock.

Lying for most part on very high ground, it may be surmised that the flocks suffer considerably in winter. Yet even the severest seasons (and the winter of 1899-1900 was a record one) do less damage than might be supposed. This is due to careful shepherding, provident husbanding of resources, and keeping the sheep in fairly good condition by a judicious supply of hay and turnip. Farming in general is prosperous, and wages for workmen never were better. Complaints are sometimes heard regarding buildings, drainage, and kindred subjects, but, as a rule, the farmers are a contented, industrious class, and frugal to a fault. They view the increasing foreign competition in agricultural produce with much apprehension, and foresee that a change must come in the system of land-holding if they are not to be driven off the soil. The Duke of Fife's sentiments, expressed last summer (July 1899) at the Centenary Show of Morayshire Farmer's Club, were highly applauded in this district. He said during these twenty years he had sold land to 360 persons—that was to say, he had added 360 names to the roll of landed proprietors in those north-eastern counties of Scotland. In his opinion, it was far better for the district and for all concerned that the land should be largely in the hands of farmers and of small proprietors rather than

in the hands of one individual, who could only pay them occasional visits. The trend of the times is, however, towards large farms. It is said that much profit accrues from fewer buildings, no need for upkeep of cottars' houses, machinery, and fences, on the big farm system ; and thus the landowner can afford to lower the rent to the tenant and have his income kept at its wonted level owing to less outlay ; while the tenant can have larger flocks with the same shepherding, more cattle with the same attendance, and two farms worked with almost the same number of hands which are required for a single farm. The stress of the foreign competition is lightened in this way, but its results are depopulation and roofless cottages ; the families of the workers have all to leave home ; the young are too early thrown into surroundings where parental guidance is denied them. This system benefits the classes and ruins the masses. This topic forms the bitter subject of many a growling conversation among our hinds. A few who have saved a little money and have added it to the sum left them by careful parents, would venture on farming, and thereby realise an honest ambition, but for the severe obstacle to begin with, that there are no farms small enough to permit their capital to cope with them. Hence a natural desire is thwarted ; there seems no possibility of rising in life, and discontent settles in the heart, and another source of unrest is added to society. Perhaps this state of matters is deeper seated than is generally realised, and as it is believed by workpeople that the interests of landowners and tenants are, as a rule, thrown into the scale against that of the workmen, it cannot surprise any one if the strain between mass and class, workmen and master, increases rather than diminishes in intensity.

The home life of the agricultural labourer is, without a

doubt, vastly improved. He is well-housed; constantly employed; he receives pay whether well or sick; gets a holiday when it is asked reasonably, without losing that day's wage; his hours are shorter and his work is lighter. He is perhaps better in circumstances than any labouring man in the land, and an authority says, "His position, in my opinion, is far superior to that of the ordinary artisan, and to that of many a city clerk."* This advancement is supposed to have the result of reducing discontent in the breasts of aspiring workmen. It often seems to have the opposite effect. Fine clothes, fine furniture, spare parlours, and money in the bank suggest still higher possibilities to the ploughman, and interrogations and comparisons grow apace, till "Jack's as good's his master" becomes a fixed article in his belief; and when he finds it impossible to become "master," "Jack," for all his prosperity, fosters rebellious feelings against his fate.

It may be interesting to note a few of the prices of farm stock in Lauderdale at different periods. The earliest mention of such in this parish is in the year 1490 A.D. At that date prices were (in Glengelt):—

An ox, 2 merks = £1, 6s. 8d. Scots.

A wedder, 5s. Scots.

A hogg, 3s. "

A ewe, 5s. "

A horse (and certain other "gudes," probably its "graith"), 10 merks = £6, 13s. 4d. Scots.

In 1630-2 (Carfrae and the parish generally)—

1 boll of bear, £5, 6s. 8d. Scots = 9s. 0½d. sterling.

1 boll of oats, £3, 5s. " = 5s. "

1 lamb (2 lbs. of wool allowed with each lamb), £1, 13s. 4d. Scots = 2s. 9½d. sterling.

* Wilkinson's Report on Berwick and Roxburgh, to Royal Commission, 1892-3.

In 1656 (valued at the "mercat crose of Lauder")—*

1 ox, 50 merks Scots	=	£2 16 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	sterling.
1 kye, £22 Scots	=	1 16 8	"
1 ox, £24 Scots	=	2 0 0	"
1 quey, £20 Scots	=	1 13 4	"
1 kye, £24 Scots	=	2 0 0	"
1 stot, £10 Scots	=	0 16 8	"
1 merkall stot, £20 Scots	=	1 13 4	"
1 mare, £4, 12s. 6d. Scots	=	0 7 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	"
1 naig, 40 merks Scots	=	2 2 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	"
1 staig, 40 merks Scots	=	2 2 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	"
1 old mare and staig, 40 merks Scots	=	2 2 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	"
1 sheep (field), £5 Scots	=	0 8 4	"
1 ewe and lamb, £4 Scots	=	0 6 8	"
1 ewe and lamb, 7 merks Scots	=	0 9 11	"
1 hogg, £2, 13s. Scots	=	0 4 5	"
1 udder sheep, £6	=	0 10 0	"
1 boll of oats, 10 merks Scots	{	= 6 13 4	Scots.
		= 0 11 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	sterling.

It may interest the farmers in the dale to see an old-fashioned receipt of two hundred years ago, on the sale of a "naig."† The year is 1695, the day the 24th of January.

"The same day I, Robert Walker, acknowledge and confess that I have sold to Thomas Simson in Clickhimin, ane dun gray naig of the aige of four years or thereby, cut-tailed. The whilk naig I bought at Ferniebridge about 15 days since or thereby, and has sold him to the said Thomas this day at Clickhimin before and in presence of Alex. Simsson, tenant in Dods; Wm. Waterstoun, tenant in Aldingstone; Robert Turnble, in Thirlestane Mylne; and which naig is treulie his, having fullie payed me fiftie merks Scots for him. As witness my hand, day and dait aforesaid.

"R. W."

As the prices of farm stock in the past, though exceedingly interesting, are very variable, and might easily stretch

* Lauder Burgh Records.

† *Ibid.*

into great proportions, it may suffice to point out to those who are curious in the matter, that the fiars prices of Berwickshire wheat, bear, oats, peas, and oatmeal for 120 years, viz., from 1689 till 1808, may be consulted in "Berwickshire Agricultural Report" by Robert Kerr, 1813, Appendix ; and the prices of Cheviot sheep, black-faced sheep, and wool per stone, from 1818 till 1893, in the *Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society* for 1894. *Black-faced Sheep*, by Messrs John and Charles Scott (Edinburgh, 1888), gives their history, distribution, and improvement, methods of management and treatment of their diseases, together with many interesting hints to farmers, shepherds, and all interested in the breed.

One complaint appears to be universal among the farmers of the parish, viz., the game. There is a feeling that every farmer should have the game on his farm whether it be winged or ground. One will say, "The less vermin, rabbits, game, and hunting, the better ;" and another, "Landlord and tenant should have equal rights, with no power on either side to sublet ;" while another, "Tenants should shoot game ; rabbits ought to be exterminated ; hares are too few to count in the matter, but pigeons and partridges do much harm." Fox-hunting is held by some as a "relic of barbarism." All agree that it does harm. It disturbs stock, and in the spring of the year, when lambing is going forward, the ewes suffer, and fences are in many places ruined.

Pheasants are hand-reared in hundreds every season, as many as 600 being turned out from one place. This form of sport seems expensive, as each bird is said to cost from first to last about 7s. 6d., while a price like 3s. or 3s. 6d. may be found for them when killed.

Any sharp feeling of rancour on the game question

is, notwithstanding, quite absent. As the tenants put it, "We can't get everything," or, "There's aye something hooever;" and the complaint dies away in some good-humoured remark. The kindness and courtesy of sportsmen, also, mitigate any acerbity that might be entertained, for during the "season" there must be few who are not substantially reminded that the "potting" of the guns on moor and field means now and then a very good and savoury dinner. And so long as good feeling is fostered in this way, the sportsman may get all the pleasure he wants, and the farmer all the grumbling he likes, and both be found in the end both fat and well-favoured by the exercise! Perhaps, if there was more genial interchange of human kindness of this description between all parties in all the relationships of our busy days, and less heard about the "rights" and the "should be's," the million mills of industry might grind more merrily, and never have a handful the less in the gernel in the end.

Perhaps the most noticeable feature of the weather in this upland parish is its sudden changes. A sunny afternoon, with red light glowing on the hills, will quickly change into rain and wind such as horses blench from facing. There are few days when the atmosphere may be said to be calm. The normal state is windy, and wind chiefly from the west. The big snowstorms usually come from the north-east and south-east. The north-west wind is almost always dry and cold, and the north-east misty and rainy. The south-west is strongest, and does most injury to the church and manse. Owing to the sharp variableness from heat to cold, and *vice versa*, rheumatism is perhaps the most prevalent ailment, and also, unfortunately, the one for which least can be done. Few farms but have a martyr to "the

pains." The warmest days of summer are as insufferable to its victims as are the frostiest days of winter. Few winters pass without claiming a victim from among the aged, just as few springs go without prostrating the young, and leaving homes bereft of some of their little ones.

The severity of the winter is, from the elevated character of the parish, very severely felt. Storms which mean only rain to the lower parts of the dale, are to us fraught with deep snow, which frequently lies long in corrie and dingle when it has disappeared elsewhere. Outdoor work then ceases, except the necessary carting of hay to the sheep, and picking turnips out of the hard ground. The greatest storms during this generation, judging from the Kirk Records, were in the years 1878-79, 1882, and 1895. The last mentioned was exceptionally severe, not only from the heavy fall of snow, but on account of the long-continued frost, which made walking over a depth of six to nine feet of snow as easy as over a macadamised road. Dykes and hedges offered no obstacle, as they were all buried up, and the landscape presented quite a level expanse to the eye. From the middle of January till the beginning of April, scarcely any one could venture to church—three, five, eight, and eleven being the usual congregation. But even under such adverse circumstances, all our public servants, such as postman, grocer, butcher, and roadmen, stuck to their daily tasks with a courage truly praiseworthy. No road was possible on many occasions, and detours by "banks, and braes, and streams around," frequented ordinarily by sheep and game, had to be ventured. Vans were overturned, extra hours were consumed in the attempts, and letters belated, but the task was done, and the duty met in every case, and in such an isolated country district, service so loyally rendered

by those who receive no extra reward in return, is surely matter of great gratitude, and worthy of honourable mention.

There is another class of public servants which calls for encomiums here. Small parishes in the country need direction and administration as well as the most important city district, and considering the rough freedom of criticism, and the floating population of rural areas who have little knowledge and less gratitude for work done for them by men who remain faithful to their duty through many years, the working of a country parish presents fewer attractions, perhaps, to men of influence and ability, and more deterrents than many a city parish, where, despite the drawbacks, public spirit and diligent service are sure to be applauded in councils and newspapers. The controllers of the affairs of this parish are expected to fulfil their duties as strictly as if these equalled in magnitude the fiscal functions of the nation, and yet praise is neither expected nor given, although it is richly deserved by those who voluntarily undertake such labours. Two names have always stood conspicuously before the public in this connection in Channelkirk Parish, viz., that of Robert Romanes, Esq., Writer, of Harryburn, Lauder, and P. B. Swinton, Esq., Holynbank, Gifford. The former has passed from all earthly toil to a well-earned rest, but his name will long be remembered in Upper Lauderdale for the kind and painstaking interest he manifested in its people's welfare during almost half a century. This embraced, of course, but a meagre portion of his work, which had ramifications far and wide, and was highly esteemed throughout the county. We heartily seize this opportunity to testify our gratitude for his inestimable services to this parish, and record its sense of his worth both as a man and an administrator of its parochial concerns.

Mr Swinton is still going in and out among us, and we but echo the universal wish that he may be long spared to carry on the work with which he has been familiar for more than forty years. Heritors' meetings are practically left in his hands. The Parochial Board, so long as it lasted, found in him a steady and considerate member, and the School Board has had its chief ornament in him from its inauguration. The parish is greatly indebted to him. With his splendid business capacity, it may be said such duties sit lightly on him, and call for little exertion. All this is true; and this mastery over work is the best guarantee that it will be well done, and perhaps is one of the reasons why he is so admired, and esteemed, and trusted in this district. As factor to the Marquis of Tweeddale, who is the largest landowner in Channelkirk, and therefore the chief heritor, Mr Swinton has a varied sphere of influence which covers both sacred and secular interests. Farms and farmers, land and landowners, kirks and kirkyards, manses and glebes, represent a wide range of responsibility, and the man who has to receive as well as assert an authority with each, may easily find the task an onerous one, and fraught with much friction of a disagreeable nature. Mr Swinton bears the balance of just and equable dealing to the entire satisfaction of all, we believe, and does not find it militate against the warm friendship and high respect accorded to him by both peer and peasant.

William Dickinson, Esq. of Longcroft, long County Councillor for this district, was also, during his lifetime, highly esteemed throughout Upper Lauderdale. He was an especial favourite among the labouring people, to whom his kindness was proverbial. Nothing that seemed to promise profit or advantage to the district but obtained his warmest

support, and his last days were spent in a consuming interest to further the railway scheme which is now approaching completion.

Had we been dealing with the lives of these gentlemen in a comprehensive way, we should have had much to record concerning the many excellent gifts which have made them notable men in the valley. Their public lives, and only that portion which falls within the area of this parish, can alone be referred to here.

Every country district possesses a phase of public life which may be termed, for want of a better name, domestic. In this domestic life of a parish move such functionaries as the doctor, the provost, the retired captain, the old dominie, the "man of means," and such like, all of whom are held in highest respect, and give distinct colouring to its character, and keep fresh its vitality. With us the chief of these is undoubtedly the doctor. His practice extends over and beyond Lauderdale, but with our parishioners he is specially *our* doctor. His duties are also of such a nature that it would be difficult to say where his public life ended and his private life began, for all alike claim and receive his services, and what privacy he ever knows is shared with every family in the valley. From Fifeshire, of which county he is a native, Dr Skinner came to reside in Lauder in 1873, the practice having been vacated by Dr Robertson, who went to London, and since that year his professional career has been unwearied and wholly successful. It would be difficult to find a better specimen of a country doctor, and one more beloved by the people. On horseback in winter, on cycle in summer, he may be seen at all hours of day and night exploiting the "lang Scots miles" through hill and glen, on errands of healing and mercy. Tough and "stug" in constitution, he

never seems to think it necessary to spare himself, and apart from his medical skill, which is absolutely relied upon by all, his cheery manner carries sunshine wherever he goes, and to despairing patients is often a sure prophecy of returning health. He has had many proofs, monetary and otherwise, of the high place he occupies in the esteem of the people of Lauderdale.

The School Board includes the rest of our public officials, most of whom have already been mentioned. Their names are P. B. Swinton, Chairman; Andrew Sharp, farmer, Over Howden; John Fleming, farmer, Bowerhouse; Andrew Waddell, clothier, Oxton; David Tweedie, farmer, Nether Howden.

The Parish Council consists of David Tweedie, farmer, Chairman; Andrew Sharp, farmer; John Fleming, farmer; John Gilchrist, farmer, Burnfoot; Andrew H. Waddell, clothier; John Hogg, farmer, Airhouse; and Robert Tait, roadman, Oxton.

Nothing has transpired in the valley for centuries to equal in importance, perhaps, the advent of the railway. The situation of Lauderdale cuts it off from all communication with the outside world, except what is afforded across Soutra Hill on the north, and Stow Hills on the west. In winter this means, in too many instances, no communication at all, owing to the roads being blocked with snow. This season proved the express need of a change in the distressing inconveniences which the long-continued storm produced. On 9th December of last year, 1899, a south-east wind, accompanied with frost, set in, which increased in severity till on the 11th and 12th snow was obstructively lying everywhere. Scarcely any change took place till the latter days of March, February having been the wildest month of

snowstorms within living memory. As a consequence, for several weeks, no traffic was possible across Soutra, and the parish suffered in many ways, as the trade in that direction is important. The railway will minimise our winter severities, and make the valley no longer a land of the weary. It is universally welcomed as a boon of the highest magnitude, for the commercial and social advantages which are expected to follow its completion are certain to be both many and great.

Nevertheless, while such enfranchisement of trade and travelling awakens many pleasurable anticipations, the departure of the spirit of the olden times also evokes certain pensive reflections. The shriek of the whistle, the grating thunder of rolling wheels, and the fever-cough of steam engines refuse to blend with the melodious if common voices of hill and glen, and one can fancy the ancient Genius of the Dale, long dreaming on his rural throne, starting up from his trance of centuries at the first insolent snort of the intrusive locomotive, wrapping his hoary head in his mantle of mists, and vanishing from the scene for ever. But so "the old order changeth, giving place to new."

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Allan, Archibald
History of Channelkirk

